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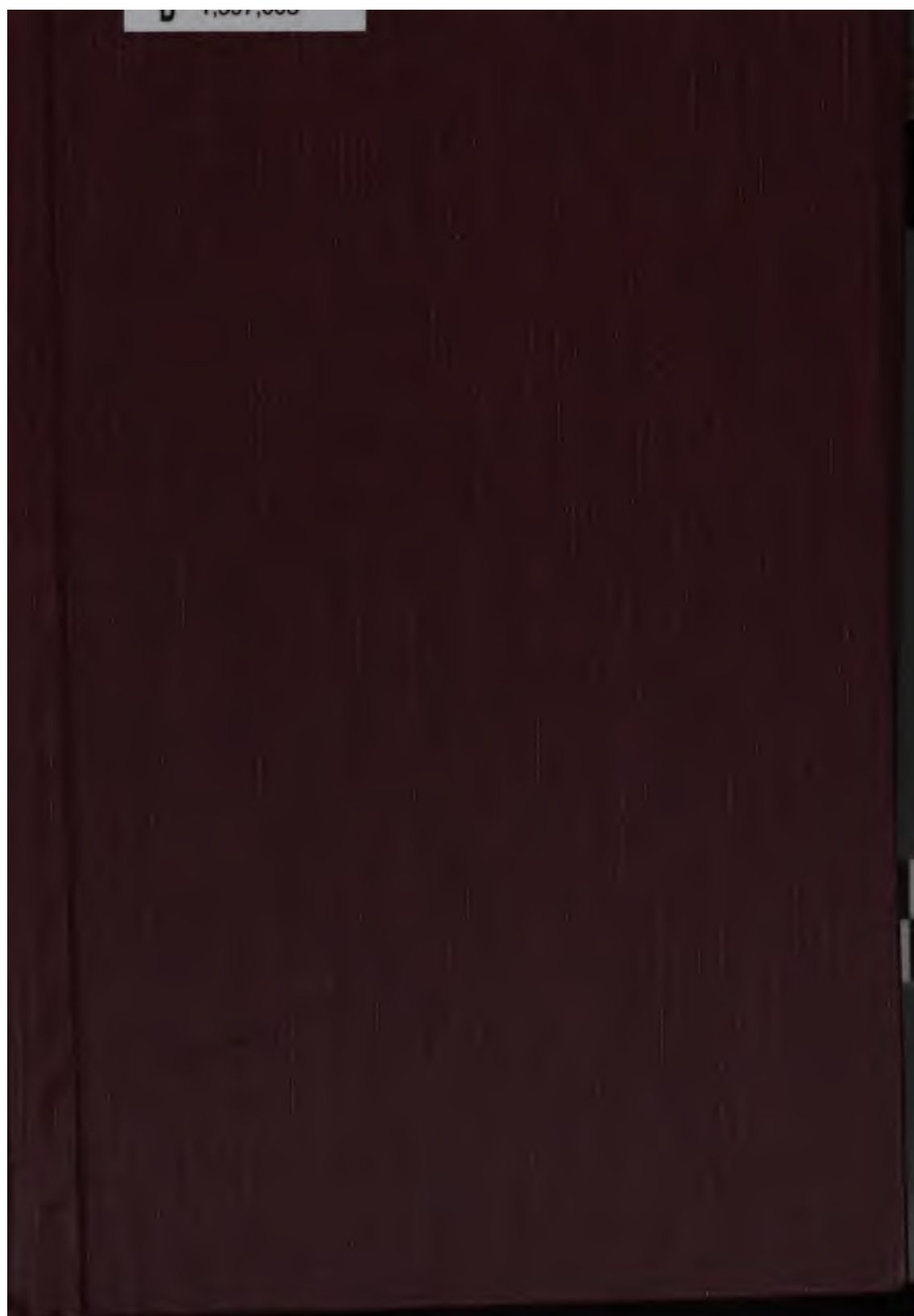
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## I.—THE ARYAN FUTURE.

- Part I. The Participle in the Rig-Veda.
- Part II. Participial and Verbal *sy*-Futures in the Rig-Veda.
- Part III. The Indo-Iranic Future.
- Part IV. The Sigmatic Future.
- Part V. The Primitive Future.

## PART I.—THE VEDIC PARTICIPLE.

In the Rig-Veda are found not only verbals of purely adjectival significance, but also adjectives of verbal character, which like active participles govern the accusative. The province of such verbals is enlarged in later literature by the application of terminations, hitherto intransitive, in a new active sense. The usage is doubtless Aryan, and includes nouns as well as adjectives.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In this paper Aryan means Indo-European, Indo-Germanic, Teutarian, etc. Purely adjectival in the Rig-Veda are, for instance, the verbals *utvici*, *siṣāsāni*, *gaviṣṭ*. In later literature the terminations *-aka*, *-uka*, etc., are added to those of active sense in *a*, *i*, *in*, *u*, *van*, *nu*, *ani* of the Vedic period. The simple root, participles proper modified by affix, *tar*-stems, gerunds, infinitives, so-called absolutes, and stems in *añc* complete the Vedic list. Compare Gaedicke, Accusative, p. 184 sq.—who rightly rejects *ditsū* and *didṛkṣu* (P. W. and Grassmann with accusative). The corresponding forms *dipsū*, *siṣāsū* take no object till late (Whitney, Gr. 1178 f. to modify). For *-aka*, *-uka* compare R. V. *pāvaka*, *sānuka* (without object) with the later and active *ghātuka*, etc. Nominal construction of other sort is almost unknown in the Rig-Veda, except in the case of infinitives (Gaedicke, p. 192; Delbrück, Syntax, p. 181). With the noun *mām kāmēna*, A. V., compare the adjective, R. V. 8. 11. 7, *vānukāma*, perhaps also the noun *vanamkaraṇa*, and, A. V. 19. 2. 5, *ayakamaṇ-karaṇa* (noun-adjective, Index; P. W. °*a-karaṇa*). Both uses are familiar to

In the Rig-Veda, unless reduplicated (*i*-stems), the active adjectives are usually limited to compounds, used either with a preposition or with the accusative immediately preceding. How near together lie adjective and participle may be seen by comparing the application of the former in the *a*-class, by far the largest group of active adjectives.<sup>1</sup> Beside *invanto viçvam* stands *viçvam . . . invás*, the difference being that the former is felt as stating an additional fact, the latter as an appellation of the preceding subject. The syntactical construction is, however, identical. That the restriction to compounds is not found in other classes (*turvñi*, *sakṣāni*, *kāmin*) shows that the line of demarcation was at first still less distinct, for when the adjective is uncompounded it may be replaced by a participle that makes an independent clause. Again, active adjectives are not restricted to the simple stem, but are found made, e. g. from causals, as in the case of *nidhārayá*, *-ñkhaya*, *-ejaya*; nor is there any other difference than that defined above between *nidhārayás* and *nidhārayantas*. The constantly increasing number of adjectives in *a* causes the verbals of this declension to be felt as more peculiarly adjectival, and finally results in confining such verbals to cases that exhibited only this relationship with the rest of the sentence, the sole exception being the adjective of this class compounded with a preposition, as is well illustrated by the first of Gaedicke's examples: *valamhrujāh . . . indro dṛḍhā cid ārujāh*, 'he that breaks the vala breaks up the strengthened places.'<sup>2</sup> The simple root may be used to make such an adjective, *svarvid*, *dhiyamdhās*, *svarṣās*, or the verbal form + *t*, *svarjit*, as well as without modified object, *açvasās*. Occasionally a striking correspondence between adjective and participle is found, as in *parihṛut*, verbal to *hṛ* used exactly like a participle, while the true participle is used only as an adjective, *āvihvarant*. As the participle may be used in the superlative,

the Greek, where, however, are found fewer forms, the construction being more poetical and individual. Aeschylus has *πρίμος* (an ending not used actively in the Rig-Veda, Gaedicke, p. 190), *οἰμῖος*, *ῥύσιος*, *συνίστωρ* and the verbal nouns *προπομπός*, *πεμπαστής*; Sophocles, *φύξιμος*; Euripides, *συνετός*, *τρίβων*; Lysias and Plato, *ἐξαρνος*; the latter also *ἀνήκοος*, *ἐπιστήμων*, *φροντιστής*. For a late case of active noun compare Dem. 4. 45: *τεθνῶσι τῷ δέει τοὺς τοιοῦτους ἀποστόλους*. Perhaps the adjective with accusative (in *ώκεις*, etc.) originated in the same construction ('sharpening his pace, feet').

<sup>1</sup> See the list, Lindner, Nominalbildung, p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> Occasionally in *-i*, as in *hṛdatśdñi*; *ahatśana*, egoist, is indirect object (cf. *ahatnyā*).

so the verbal adjective may be at the same time verbal and superlative, *vṛtrām hāniṣṭhas*, 'he that most-slays Vṛtra.' Finally, each gradation between nominal and verbal signification is successively traced by the stems in *-tar*, which are on the one hand substantives governing the genitive, on the other verbals taking a direct object, their ultimate mission in this capacity being to form a new future tense (periphrastic) unknown to the Rig-Veda.<sup>1</sup>

Turning from the participial adjective to the adjectival participle (Whitney, 450), one finds a number of forms that are in outward appearance participles, but in meaning adjectives (*br̥hānto'atī*, *māhāntī*, *pṛṣant pṛṣati*, *rūcant*, *rūcati*, *jāgat*, *'ti*, *ṛhānt*) or, perhaps through an adjectival stage, nouns.<sup>2</sup> Besides these forms which have either lost wholly or never completely attained purely participial meaning, there are many active participles that appear as adjectives or adverbs, alone or in composition.<sup>3</sup>

Often the participle appears as adjective by virtue of an *a-*privative, *ākhanat* alone from *khan*, *ākṣiyamāṇa* alone from *kṣi*, *āchidyamāṇa* alone from *chid*, *āhrayāṇa* from *hrī*, *āsridhāna* (just like *asridh*) alone from *sridh*, etc. In respect of the passive the usage of the Rig-Veda supports the fact established on the use of the participle (adjective) in Avestan, Greek and Latin, that the 'passive participle' in *ta*, *na* stands to the verb merely as an adjective, which is also the relation borne by several middle participles, such as *āsridhāna*, just mentioned, and the not unusual *yādamāna*, the latter being the only form representing the verb at all.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lindner, p. 72 sq.; Gaedicke, p. 185. The accent generally varies with the meaning, but not with regularity. As in Greek the oxytona are usually nouns, the barytona verbals, *pātā* (*sutdm*), *mātā* (*padām*), *pātā* (*sōmānām*), *mātā* (*gāvām*).

<sup>2</sup> *Br̥hānt*, simple stem not used for simple verb; *māhānt*, half adj. inflection; *pṛṣant*, cf. *pṛṣni*, *pṛṣd*, perhaps from root *spṛṣ* rather than *pṛcch*; *rūcant*, adj. alone (verb-stem *ruc*); *jāgat* (cf. *jīgat*, *jāgṛvi*, intens. adj., *dyu-gd*, *patarīn-gd*) like *ḍjat*; *ṛhant*, i. e. *'oatī*. On *meka*, *maekant* see Geldner, K. Z. 24, 144; on *śdṣvat*, *śdṣdt*, Brugmann, Gr.<sup>2</sup> p. 32. As nouns, *sṛavdt* (ptc. *sṛvat*, cf. *vdhat*, *vahdt*, *vdhantī*, streams), perhaps also *dṛṣdt* (= *dṛṣdt*, cf. *dṛṣdt*), *ddt*, *ddgan*, *vṛṣan*, etc. For further noun-development compare Whitney, Gr. 383, 1172.

<sup>3</sup> Such are *jāḡṇat*, *dōdhat*, *dravdt* (*drdvat*, ptc., cf. *drahydt*), *ddṛṣyat* (*ddṛṣita*, etc.), *abhi-jīghraṇti*, *yēṇanti*, *jāṇjhati*, *jāḡhati*, *hēṇant* (Vd. St. 47, 89), etc. Like *hayd* the participle *hāyantā* without object must also be taken as the equivalent of an adjective or noun.

<sup>4</sup> Such adjectives are employed to form words of color, but not exclusively. *dsita*, *dsikni*, *palitā*, *pdlikni*, *rōhita*, *bradhnd*, *ḍta*, *ḍni*, etc. (*ta* and *na* united).

The question whether it is necessary to assume that adjective participles are originally verbals, i. e. part of the verb-system, answers itself on comparing the many forms without corresponding verbs. There is no necessity for assuming primitive passivity for *āptā* any more than in the word of corresponding meaning *προσῆκων*, nor does a comparison of forms induce a belief in the original passive force.<sup>1</sup>

Noteworthy are cases where the verb is compounded or has a different stem. The root *cud* gives us in the Rig-Veda *cod* ptc. only as adj., *acodānt*, *cōdiṣṭha*; *cyu*, only *ācyuta*, *hāstacyuta*, etc. as adjectives; *tap*, only *ātapyamāna* as middle adjective (*taptd* as ptc.). From *tan* come *tatd*, *tāyamāna*, *tānā* only in *uttānd*, etc. Traces of a different root are apparent here and there, sometimes of a root in older form. Thus in *ānavaprgna* there is not the same root as in *prktā*, and while *prc* is the only root that gives verb-forms, *prj* gives the adjectival participle in the Rig-Veda and noun *avaprajana* in the Brāhmanas (compare *ac*, *aknā*). Again, the participle of *srj* is *srjant*, but as adjective *sarājant*, that of *tras* (as adj.) is *tardsant*, forms occurring only in these adjective-stems. On comparison with Avest. and Greek it may be doubted whether the forms *srj*, *tras* are older than *saraj*, *taras*

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Compare also *pruṣitd*, *pruṣitdpsu* (Whitney, Gr. 1176d). That the meanings interchange between noun, adjective and participle is shown by *dnānata*, *nāthitd*, *nādhitd*, *nādhāmāna*, *caritd* (= *cāraṇa*), *ddana* (cf. ἑδανὸν ἢ ποτόν), *danna*, *dhāna*, *ḥvāntd*, *sthāna*, *pūrtā* (noun, *pūrṇā* adj. ptc.), *kistd*, *sītā*, *ḥāna*, etc., while that even *na*, which of all the passive endings seems most often purely passive, is intransitive, withal active in meaning, is shown by *ḥund*, *anāmṛṇā*, *sadīpṛṇā*, *sathpṛaṇd*, *svdpna* (ὑπνος), *stend* (cf. *steyd*, *stāyānt*), and perhaps *kdrṇa*, *karṇā* (the hearing, ear, *cerno*, *kar* older form of *gar*, *gru*?). With *-itd*-endings compare those in *-atd*, *yajātā*, *darṣatā*, *rajatā*, *haryatā*, gerundive in character (*darṣatā* 'sightly,' etc.) Gerundive are also *dsprta*, *dgrbhita*. The ending *itd* (*caritd*) rarely gives nominal character; yet compare *jivitā*, life, and other examples, Lindner, Nom. p. 71; Whitney, Gr. 1176-7. Here may be mentioned the gerundive equivalents *anavabravd*, *sulābhika* (εὐλαβητικός) and the odd diminutive (?) made of the participle *pravartamānakd*. With the form *stend*, steal (no prefix!), *tāyū*, compare Sk. *stṛṇā*, *tṛṇā*; *stṛhant*, *tṛhant*; *stim*, *tim*, stiff, still; *stu*, *tuḥ* (drip); Greek, *stabh*, *ταφ-*; *ἀστῆρ*, *stṛbhī*, *τέρας*, *tārū*; *στίζω*, *tij*; Latin *stan*, *tan*, *tonitru*; *sthas*, *στέγος*, *tego*; strideo, *tṛd*; German stossen, *tud*; French state, *état*; English stomach, tummy.

<sup>1</sup> Compare *βροτός*, *θνητός*, *περίστατος*, *ρητός*, *κλεινός* classical, *κλειτός* Homeric. *Svapdnt*, the sleeper, *āsina*, the sitter, like *ὁ οράσας*, the guide, are equally nominal and participial. Compare the quotations, Syntax, p. 372, and especially Delbrück's view on *ta*, p. 382. Osthoff, M. U. IV, s. 72.

(compare *ḍpey-*, *tareç*, *terreo*, and see Pischel, Ved. St. 1. 104).<sup>1</sup> The only forms of a presumable root *si*, *sinoti* (*si*?) are the participial adjective *ásinvant* and the adjective *asinud*, insatiate. Is one to suppose that a complete verb once existed, or that the participle like the adjective does not necessarily imply more than a theoretical root,<sup>2</sup> from which only these forms were produced? *Áprošivān*, the only form of the perfect ptc., and the only pf. participle of this kind in the Rig-Veda, and *emušām* on account of its accent, may be reckoned out of the discussion, but in *okivāṁsā* there is an undoubted instance of an older form of the root than that of the verb, *uc*. From the root *av* comes later the ptc. *avita*, but in the Rig-Veda only *ūta*, in compounds *indrotā*, *yuzmōta*, etc. The adj. ptc. which is looked upon by P. W. as causal (for *veṣṭita*), viz. *āviṣṭitas*, from *veṣṭ*, must be with Whitney referred to *viṣṭ*, and thus stands as the only representative of this form of the root. In the group *grā*, *grātā*, *grānā*, *çr*, *çrītā*, the former makes all verbal forms, the latter exists only in participle (*çrīdm*, *çrītasas*).<sup>3</sup> So in general the weaker form of the root is used to make participles in *ta*, *na*.<sup>4</sup>

Sometimes the original root appears in the participle when preserved by composition as an adjective, *sūdhita*, *dūrdhita*, but *hitā*. In *tigitā*, again, as against *tij*, the older form of the root is seen, for it is impossible to separate as non-participial *tigitā* and *palitā* from the kindred participles, *svaditā*, etc. In *spaṣṭā* compared with *paç*; in *kāma-mūtā*; in *meghā*, *mēghamāna*, *mehanti*; in *rupitā*; in *mluktā* (A. V. *nimrocat*, B. S. *mluptā*)—wherever any variation appears the form presumably older is that of the participle.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> So *ard* adjectives are as old as those in *rd* (*dravard*, etc.); cf. *namaram* (*namrd*), *ugaras* (*ugrd*), *rjara* (*rjrd*), *citarās* (*citrd*), *Indara* (*indra*), *tivarās* (*tivrd*), *dasaras* (*dasrd*), *dhvasira* (*dhvasrd*), *Rudara* (*Rudrd*), etc. For interpretation of value cf. Whitney, Gr. 371; Kirste, B. B. 16. 294; Bechtel, Hauptprobleme, p. 141, note.

<sup>2</sup> This would not prevent the assumption of a verb produced in other languages from the same root, or even from the same stem; compare *οἰάω* Hesych. *οἰάω*; *οἰάω*.

<sup>3</sup> Whitney puts *çrītā*, *çrītā* under *çrī*, *çr*; P. W. *çrītā* and *çrānā* under *çrā*; in which obvious confusion the fact here of importance is, however, clear, that the simplest root exists only in the participle.

<sup>4</sup> Compare *tan*, but *latā*, *tāydmāna*; so *aktā*, *uktd*, *haktā*, *ūtd* (*av*), *uditā*, etc., Whitney, Gr. 952-7.

<sup>5</sup> Connected closely are *ru*, *ruj* (*rugnd*), *rup*, *lup*. The only Rig-Vedic form is *ārupitā*. In A. V. *luptā* with the same root for verb alternating with *rup*.

Some few forms of passive participles support the possible hypothesis that verbals of this kind may antedate pure verb-forms, but not so many as in the case of active participles. If, however, one added all the adjectives and nouns that have the same termination and seem to be of the same origin (the accent generally but not always is shifted), there would be a fair row of verbals independent of the roots that make verbs. The rare participles thus left to represent verbals may, of course, be supposed to be the survivors of vanished verbs, which were once conjugated throughout (like 'friend,' 'fiend'), but as there is nothing to prove the existence of such verbs, one may with equal right assume that, as in the case of active adjective with participial form and without corresponding verb, the *ta* 'participle' passive existed alone, while the verb was never developed. Such are *yādamāna*, not rare; *krākṣamāna* once, with derivative neighbors; *raphitā* once 'miserable'; *jéhamāna* (the perfect future and other forms assigned to "jeh" exist only in the mouth of grammarians), but this may be, as Whitney thinks, a secondary form from *hā* (by P. W. ascribed to *jrambh*, occurs several times, once as *vijehamāna*); *guspitdm*, once in R. V., and later, but always thus; possibly *prāsita*, twice, middle, of birds shooting through the air (doubtful, cf. *śr*<sup>2</sup> P. W., compare *sūtā*); *dūdhitā* (*dōdhat*), several times, either *dudh* or reduplicated, else undeveloped form of *dhū*; *ūnā* (in composition *ānūna*, cf. *ūna-y*); *gadhitā* (*ā, pari*), *gādhia*; *ā-pibdamāna*, *pibdamā*; *bāḍhā* (adj. adv.), *bāḍhiṣṭha* (cf. *ḍṛḍham*), *bhāmītā* (?). The forms represented by only one verbal occurrence like *drūṇānā* in R. V. followed MS. by *drūṇāti* (only forms extant), or even in the Rig-Veda itself (*vrādh* occurs ten times as participle, only once as verb) may incline one to believe that the participle represents a verb; while the participles' *grathitā*, *mlātā*, *mlukitā*, *drūkṣita*, *rupitā* (found in R. V. only thus, but with full verbal forms in later literature) prevent any conclusions

Although both *rup* and *lup* are older than the period of unity (rumpo, urupi, lupus), the older must be *rup*. There is perhaps a still older guttural in *rukṣā*, for *ruc* appears to be of the same root, *rokā*, 'the break of day,' etc., 'the heavens break open (i. e. light up) to their highest'; cf. *frangere*, *flagrare*, *bhrāj*, \**bhrañj*, *bhañj*. With *méghamāna* compare *maegha*, etc. Fick assumes that *migh* comes from *mizh*.

<sup>1</sup> I think *çūrtā*, I. 174. 6, belongs here and is from the same root as *çūra*, victor (Whitney, Grassmann from *çr* for *çirta*), *tvayā çūrtāḥ* 'conquered by thee,' originally 'shake,' cf. *çurpa*. Natives give *çur*, *çuray*. Compare *pur*, *pūrv*, *pūrb*, *pūrtā*, *pūra*.

drawn from the chronological order of appearance, since the verb follows the participle too soon to doubt that it existed contemporaneously. Nevertheless, participles without other trace of verb at all are not uncommon in the later literature, and it is impossible to suppose that the verbs have all been lost for (*iṭdas*) *iṭant*, K. B., *klathan*, B., *viklavita*, C. v. note, *khadant*, Ç. B., *ujjhaṭita*, C., *ḍamant*, C., *dūta*, *uddrāḍayan*, C., (*yahvānt*), *roṭhamāna*, R., 'āreḍatā mānasā,' BS., *lañcita*, C., *vruḍita*, C., *ḥalant*, *ḥalita* + *ud*, C., *strhant*, S., *sphaṭita*, C.<sup>1</sup>

Returning to the Rig-Veda: Important is the participial representation of verbs in other than present stems. Thus the later common verb *svīd* is represented here only by the perfect participle *siṣvidāna* (A. V. *svinnā*). But besides participles present and perfect, of the causal we find, e. g. *nartāyant*, *lobhāyanti* (*prati*), *sphūrjāyant*, *srevdānt* as sole representatives; in the desiderative, e. g. *būbhūṣat*, *jījyāsatas*, *dīpsantas*, *rūrukṣatas*, alone. Particularly is this true of the intensive stem. The participles *carcuryāmāna*, *nenīydmāna*, *pēpiṣat*, *pōpruthat*, *pānīphaṇat*, *rā-rakṣānd* (pf.), *rārajaṭ*, *rōruvat*, *rōrucāna*, *cāniṣcadat*, *śūḥrūṣamāna*, *śūḥvasat*, *śūḥujāna* (*śvañc*), *sāniṣyadat*, etc.,<sup>2</sup> are the only existing intensives of their respective verbs in the Rig-Veda.

There is found in the Rig-Veda a comparatively large number of denominative stems that are registered as verbs but occur only as participles. Observe:

*adhvaryāntā*, once, no verb, *adhvari* ptc. and verb, acting the *adhvaryū*.

*añkūyāntam*, once, no verb, *añka*, acting or wishing *añka* (*añku*?).

*annīyate*, once, no verb, accent ! wishing *anna*.

*amitrāyāntam*, thrice, no verb, acting the *amitra*.

[*arātīyatās*, once, no verb; verb in A. V.].

*avasyatē*, once, no verb, acting the *avasyū* (wishing *avas*).

*aṣvāyatē*, etc., five, no verb, acting the *aṣvayū* (wishing *aṣva*).

*asūyān*, once, no verb, verb late (*asūyā* late), fretting.

*iṣūyatē*, once, no verb, *iṣu* ? desiring.

<sup>1</sup> These, together with participles mentioned already, and omitting *thūrvant*, *rañgant* and *maṇita*, which Whitney marks respectively as 'false reading,' 'doubtless artificial,' and 'assumed,' make up the list of participles given without verbs in the Roots. I have not noticed the occasionally appended 'doubtful' except in these three instances, as the doubt seems based on the fact of the form being unique. C., 'classical.'

<sup>2</sup> The list does not aim at completeness.



*ukṣaṇyāntas*, once, no verb, *ukṣaṇyú*, acting the *ukṣán*.

*udanyān*, once, no verb, *udanyú*, Pāṇ. wishing *udán*, or (P. W.) watering.

*ṛjūyāntam*, etc., five, no verb; *ṛjūydmānas*, once; *ṛjuyú*, acting *ṛjú*.

*ṛtāyān*, etc., twelve, no verb; verb *ṛtay*; *ṛtāyú*, acting *ṛtá*.

*ojāydmānas*, *am*, thrice, no verb, *ójas*! acting with *ójas*.

*kaṇūkayāntis*, once, no verb, no noun, adj. meaning?

*kavīyān*, *-dmānas*, once each, no verb, acting the *kaví*.

*kulāyayāt*, once, no verb, acting *kulāya* (nestling).

*kṣemayāntam*, *āntas*, thrice, no verb, acting *kṣéma*, being at rest and giving rest.

*gavyān*, etc., fifteen times, no verb, *gavyú* and *gavyayú*, wishing (*gās*), lusting.

*caraṇīyāmānā* f. s., once, no verb, *carany*, verb A. V., acting the *carāṇi*.

[*janiyāntas*, twice, no verb; verb in A. V.]

*jmāyāntam*, once, no verb, *jmā* or *jman*, seeking earth, or wishing (making) way.

*taruṣyatās*, pl., once, no verb, *tārus*, *tāruṣa*, acting the *tāruṣa*.

*tvāyāntam*, *tuāyātā*, etc., nine, no verb, *tvāyā*, *tvāyú*, affecting thee.

*durhaṇāyatās*, sg., once, no verb, *durhaṇāyú*, *durhṛṇāyú*, acting, wishing, ill.

*devayān*, etc., about fifty times, no verb (A. V. also only ptc.), *devayú*, seeking gods, pious.

*dhiṣanyāntas*, once, no verb, *dhiṣā*, *dhiṣdṇā* (*dhiṣ*, *dhā*, P. W.), wishing to worship gladly.

*pīlīyatās*, sg., once, no verb, wishing food, *pīlú*.

[*putrīyāntas*, once, no verb; verb in A. V. once.]

*ṛṣtanāyāntam*, once, no verb, *ṛṣtanāyú* (*ṛṣtany*, verb and ptc.), striving or wishing strife.

*brahmanyatā*, etc., five, no verb, *brahmanyā*, doing *brahmān*, pious.

*bhandanāyatās*, pl., once, no verb, wishing *bhanddnā* (fame, Gr.), *jauchzend* P. W.

*mānavasyatā*, once, no verb, *mānava*! Sāy. wishing priests, acting the man.

*yajñāyatā*, once, no verb, *yajñā*, active in *yajñd*, sacrificing.

*yusmayāntis*, once, no verb, affecting you.

*raghūyāt*, once, no verb, *raghú* (cf. *raghuṣyād*), acting *raghú*.

*rathirāyātām*, once, no verb, acting the *rathirā*, swift.  
*rathīyāntī*, once, no verb, acting with *rātha*, wishing to fare.  
*rayīyān*, once, no verb, *rayi*, wishing wealth.  
*vadharyāntīm*, once, no verb, *vadhar*, acting or (Sāy.) wishing the *vādhar*.

*vasnayāntā*, dl., once, no verb, *vasnā*, higgling.  
*vṛjināyāntam*, once, no verb, acting *vṛjind*, cheating.  
*ṣatṛīyāntam*, etc., five times, no verb; A. V. only ptc., acting the *ṣatru* (= *ṣatrus*).

*ṣarmayāntīā*, inst., once, no verb, acting as or wishing *ṣarma*.  
*ṣrudhīyatās*, pl., once, no verb (*ṣrudh*, cf. *gūrdhāy*, Altind. Vb., p. 202; Ved. St., p. 191); obedient.

*sakhiyān*, etc., seven times, no verb, acting the *sakhi*.  
*sacanasayāmānā*, once, no verb, acting or wishing *sacanas*, in a helpful way.

*sacasyāmānas*, once, no verb, acting with \**sacas*, 'receiving aid.'

*sanāyatā*, once, no verb, *sāna*, *sanāyū*, acting old, being old.  
*samarayatā*, once, no verb, acting *samarā*, or wishing (strife).  
*sumanasyāmānas*<sup>1</sup>, *ā*<sup>1</sup>, *ās*<sup>2</sup>; eleven times in A. V.; also later; always ptc.; *sumānas*, being well-minded, well-disposed or happy.  
*sumnāyān*, etc., five times, no verb, acting the *sumnāyū*, well-disposed.

*stabhīyān*<sup>1</sup>, -*āmānasam*<sup>2</sup> (cf. *stabhāy*, causal), standing, or wishing to stand, firm.

*hrṇāyāntam*, once, no verb; cf. *hrṇīyāmāna*, *durhrṇāyū* (s. v. verb *hrṇīy*).<sup>1</sup>

There are thus, without reckoning doubtful causatives of the same character,<sup>2</sup> nearly as many denominatives that exist only in

<sup>1</sup> The verb *hary* occurs *haryānt* (v. Gr.), *haryant* (v. P. W.). *Vājdyant* and *vājāyānt* are also doubtful, as they may be causal or denominative, most of the verb-forms being regarded as of the latter class by Whitney (A. V. MSS have *oyānti* against causal in text). But some twenty-four cases of this participle appear as denominative, while the verb-forms may be all causal. For parallelism with adjectives, compare: *aṣṭayāntaḥ* . . . *vājīnaḥ* . . . *gavyāntaḥ*; *gavyāntaḥ* . . . *aṣṭayāntaḥ* . . . *vājāyāntaḥ* (see R. V. 4. 17. 16; 7. 32. 23; 10. 131. 3; 160. 5). As purely adjectival *advāyāntam* might be added. On *aviyān* see below. The ending occasionally varies, as noted above, only one form giving the verb. Sometimes the long vowel is found later, as *kṛpāy*, Vedic; *kṛpāy*, Mbhā., etc. Words in the list found in A. V. as verbs are bracketed.

<sup>2</sup> Compare *ṣudhyāntam*, etc., only the causal ptc. of this stem, but *ṣocaya*; *jārdyāntī* (*jārdyāntī*, etc.) only the ptc. of the causal; *damīdyāntam* only in this ptc., withal not in causative sense but = *damāyāntam*.

participial form as there are real verbs of this class. Not quite half of the whole number are purely participial. Conversely, however, with the exception of the verbs from *a*-stems, it is seldom that denominatives make verbs without being found in participial form.<sup>1</sup> That the denominatives are still incipient in form is shown by the fact that at this period they have not yet attained to the possession of a future tense, which is subsequently (ÇB.) developed, and have but one doubtful aorist form (*ūnayis*); not till the Brahmanic period is the verb well developed (see Whitney, Gr. 1068).

As then it would be rash to judge from *ūnayis* that other Rig-Vedic denominatives had in use aorists which by chance were not represented in our extant hymns, but rather right to say that in this form lies the beginning<sup>2</sup> of an extension of the denominative system to other tenses than the present (the form occurs only 1. 53. 3), so, seeing that the participial is everywhere the prevailing form in the Rig-Veda, and that many denominatives have only participles while few have verbs without participles (the ratio in the A. V. being also such that personal forms are less than participial, Wh. Gr. 1057), it is not, perhaps, rash to conclude that the participial is the first denominative form, and that from this was developed the verb with personal endings. In fact it requires too much imagination to suppose that *gavyānt*, used fifteen times as a participial adjective, and never as a verb; and *devayānt*, used in R. V. and A. V. together more than fifty times as participial adjective, and never as a verb, were originally verbs. Not less convincing is the number of these denominatives used but once, seldom as verb alone, often as participles.

So far as other present stems are concerned the probability of the adjectival participle not being originally a factor in the verbal system is strong enough to warrant the assumption that in the creation of new verbal classes such participles may have antedated personal verb-forms; for *mahāntam*, as in meaning it is older than *mahema*, etc., so in form cannot have been a participle developed out of the verbal system, but must have existed independently.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ajirāyde*, no ptc., has the *a*-stem lengthened; so *śubhāyde*; from other stems cf. *rathary*, thrice verb, no ptc.; *kratūy*, twice verb, no ptc., but the examples as compared with those above are few.

<sup>2</sup> That other present systems are denominative in origin has been admitted in a general way for a long time. If one bears in mind the fact that the endings *ta* and *na*, *nu*, *ni*, which make adjectives, nouns, and quasi-participles are,

It seems, then, possible if not probable that verbal adjectives

as explained above, primarily expressive of adjectival and intransitive participial rather than of the later passive participial relation, he may perhaps see these suffixes in the make-up of the *zu* and *na* verbs. Such verbs are distinguished from those of the simple stem by being more nominal in character, as the verbs with raised root-vowels are adjectival and gerundive. Thus *bhāva-zu* and *ābhāvat* are denominative in the sense of *bhāva* plus verbal endings, and so also while *ākar* means 'he made,' *karā-mi*, *kṛpā-mi* means 'am a-making,' from \**kṛpā*=*kṛtā* (cf. *pletus*, *plenus*, *plerus*), as in the form above *āmayi* is from *āma*. In Latin the *zu*-ending was preferred, *beto*, *capto*, *captus*, but also *dano*, *dignor*, *dignus*, etc.; in Greek, the nasal *na*-forms (*καπνῶν*, *καπνιστῶν*) prevail, but those in *zu* are still preserved, *καίπτω*, *καίπτομαι*, etc. (cf. *καίρω*, *καίρω-τω*, *καίρην-μαι*); in Sk. only the nasal suffix is used, *na*, *mi*, also kept in verbal adjectives, *dharṇi*, strong, *tūrṇi*, hastening, *śyānti*, the shining; *grāhṇi*, hastening, *sānti*, pressing; as well as the forms in *na*, *edṛṇa*, covering, *ghṛṇa*, heating, *ānna*, eatable, with the so-called participles. The ending *na* seems to have been established as verbal adjective first and incorporated as a verbal class; the ending *zu* later, as the more popular ptc., usurped the position of *na* in this regard, while the latter, confined to a few verbs as participle, for the most part retired to the verbal class. But in Greek and Latin *zu* intruded on the prerogative of *na*, and like it became active in creating verbal classes. Thus in Sk. is found from the root *stṛ* the verbal adjective-stem *stṛu-ṭi*; then from the participial adjective *stṛṇḍ* (older form of *stṛṇḍi*, preserved in *bhūstṛṇa*) *stṛṇḍ-nti*, etc., while *stṛtā* is kept as adjective participle; and from *ṛ* with ptc. *ṛṇḍ* either the secondary ending *dh* added to the nominal stem, giving *ṛṇadh* (cf. *dravṇaj*, *tṛṇḍj*), or this secondary ending added first to the simple root and then the complex treated in the usual manner, *ṛdh-na*; again from *pr*, *prṇḍ-c*, etc. So *du* is to agitate, *dūnd* agitated (*śāṇna* A. V.), and *duṇoti* is 'burns, is agitated, distressed' (cf. *dhū*, *dhūmds*, *θυοο*); *u*, to call *uno-ti*, is calling. The significance of the stem-meaning becomes apparent when applied to the so-called root-aorist, which is nothing but a preterite to a root-present, its aoristhood being not that of tense but of stem, i. e. the act registered by it is simple and unlimited—*kṛṇi*, thou makest, *dhar* thou madest, while *bhāvati*, *gacchati*, *kṇḍti* express 'he is becoming, is going, is doing'; their preterites *dbhavat*, etc., express 'he was becoming,' etc., as distinguished from *dbhūt*, *dgāt*, 'he became, he went.' The simple present-stems with the increasing raised-stem and nasal denominatives gradually declined, but the preterites remained longest. Hence a distinction originally of stem was conceived of as inherent in the tense that alone preserved many of the forms, and so root-preterites were regarded as differing from denominative preterites. And they did indeed practically differ, not, however, by virtue of a special preterite meaning (aorist) inherent in them, but because the other preterites (imperfects) were preterites to stems which from their very origin expressed more broadly the verbal action than could the simple stem whether past or present. There came in addition the *s*-aorists to help the confusion, which are to root-preterites as futures are to root-presents; but it will be seen that even *s*-preterites had their corresponding presents.

which in form and function were identical with participles, and<sup>1</sup> which, from the point of view of their ultimate development, one may most conveniently call participles, have preceded in some cases the existence of personal verb-forms of the same stem, and that new verbal classes, whether independent of these or not, may arise after the participial system is completed.

To return to tense-systems: although *arçasānd*, *grayasānd*, *dhiyasānd*, *rabhasānd*, *śdvasānd* should presuppose verbal forms, yet the corresponding tenses are wanting, if not the complete conjugation. As in the case of *devaydnt*, which knows no *devayāti*, so in *arçasānd* there is only a form with sigmatic element and ending common to participle and adjective, nor need one here seek a verb, nor for the others an aorist tense-formation.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> There is current a popular half-schooled prejudice against 'and which' which is likely to annihilate a correct use of the idiom and which only a lack of discrimination fosters.

<sup>2</sup> These forms in *ānd* contain no primitive ending of the middle ptc. That ending was *mna* or *mana*. In Indo-Iranic, comparing Sk. *āna*, *māna*, Avest. *āna*, *ana*, *anā*, *mana*, *mna*, I think that *āna* was probably, as is the case with *māna*, originally not *āna* but *ana*, and it can scarcely be doubted that the *a* was an element not of the ending but of the stem. If one notes the shifting accent of the nominal formations, like that of the adj. ptc. in *na*, he sees the same state of things as in the adj. ptc. in *āna*, *īcānd*, *īcāna*, *āsānd*, *āsāna*, etc., and so far as Indic goes the *ā* could well be explained by the fact that *ā*-roots with *na* (in distinction from those in *ta*) make such forms as *hānd*, *gyānd*, etc., which may well have been the original state of things, for the ending is the same as in the *na*-nouns, *bharaṇa*, etc. The *na*-ending called 'preterite' is of course primitive. Euphony against the combination consonants *+mn* led to the gradual restriction of this ending to thematic stems, while *nd* in the form *āna* was retained after consonants. Each was originally joined with either (cf. Bartholomae, Handbuch, p. 357). In the Veda it is only *māna* (by analogy with *āna* after the earlier establishment of this form), which keeps a markedly present force (in distinction from *ta*); it is only *ānd* which interchanges as purely adjectival ending—*cydvāna*, *ardhvasānd* (Whitney, Gr. 1175) and has a purely adjective sense, *cakānd*, etc. Compare Delbrück, Syntax, p. 379 (the *ānd* ptc.) often 'comes close to the ptc. in *ta* in preterital sense.' In prose *ānd* is almost exclusively preterital (ib. p. 381), i. e. not present. *Hyānd* is older than *hiyānd*, *svānd* than *suvānd*, so that the *na* of *bharaṇa*, etc., must long have been regarded as *bhar-ana* instead of *bhara-na*. But it is quite possible that *na* itself after consonants became *ana* (cf. *ata*). In either case syntactically *ana* is identical with *na*, *ta*; an adjectival, not a present middle ending in the sense that *māna* is, nor is *ā* (in *ānd*)=*η-v*.

PART II.—PARTICIPIAL AND VERBAL *sy*-FUTURES.

Delbrück (*Verbum*, p. 183) says: 'it is comparatively seldom that there is occasion to use the future in the texts of the Rig-Veda,' and would thus explain why so few cases of future form are found in the hymns. The explanation seems to me not quite satisfactory. A glance at the passages translated as futures in the same author's *Syntax* will show that there was opportunity enough to use the future, but that to express it other means was employed than that of the *sy*-tense.

This, however, remains true, that, in view of the extent of the literature, verbal forms of the *sy*-future with personal endings are extremely rare in the Rig-Veda. Such forms in comparison with those of the participle are few, but this mutual proportion gradually shifts as we reach later literature, so that, while in the Rig-Veda there are twenty-nine occurrences of participles of the future and only sixteen or seventeen occurrences of corresponding verbal forms with personal endings, in the Atharva-Veda there are twenty-one occurrences of participles of the future and fifty-two occurrences of corresponding verbal forms with personal endings. Further, it is known that the number of roots making *sy*-futures grows constantly greater in the post-Vedic literature; and, finally, while but one sure case of subjunctive and one conditional are found in the Rig-Veda, several subjunctives and conditionals occur in the prose period, and ultimately comes the imperative. In a word, what probably no one will deny, the *sy*-future, in spite of the later rivalry of the periphrastic future, is in no sense moribund, but is growing in the Vedas, and waxes greater thereafter. Whether accident and circumstances or other causes produced the rarity of forms in the Rig-Veda must now be investigated.<sup>1</sup> And first the future participle.

There is one difficulty in interpreting the future forms which appears at the outset and accompanies one all the way. In the list of denominatives given above it will have been seen that in *s*-denominatives the verb and participle resemble those of the future. In *vanuṣyāti*, *uruṣyāti*, *svapasyāte*, *manasyāsi*, *taruṣyānt*, etc., there is essentially the same formation as in the future, save for the connecting vowel, and when this happens to be *i* the

<sup>1</sup> To the numbers given above must be added two occurrences of verbal futures from denominative stems for the Rig and five for the Atharva.

cases are equal, so that *stu* gives us *staviṣyadse*, *staviṣyāmāna* (A. V.); *taviṣy*, *taviṣyāte*, *taviṣyāmāṇa*.

Now the denominative participial adjective is generally (was perhaps always in the spoken language) accompanied with a pure verbal adjective of the same character, thus with *aṣvāyaté*, *aṣvayú*; with *avasyaté*, *avasyú*, etc. In like manner of the twenty-nine occurrences of future participles eleven are of participles by the side of which stand such verbal adjectives. The other participles, with the exception of *kariṣyánt*, occur once or twice only, but *aviṣyánt* and *saniṣyánt* respectively four and seven times, accompanied with the verbal adjectives *aviṣyú*, *saniṣyú*. Hence Grassmann reckons them both to denominative stems, assuming an *aviṣy* and a *saniṣy*. In my own opinion, who hold that the Sanskrit *s*-future is itself denominative, it makes no difference whether one connects *aviṣyánt* with *av* as a part of the verb or with *aviṣyú*, since I regard it as independent of either, but in discussing the matter here the form may be regarded (as in P. W., Whitney, Delbrück) as a participle.

I find the following participial forms:

*aviṣyánt* (-*dn*, -*dnlam*, -*até*) occurs four times, 1. 58. 2; 7. 3. 2; 10. 115. 6, all of Agni; 8. 51. 3—of Indra. Cf. *aviṣyā*, *aviṣyú*, used either absolutely=wishing to please, or intransitively=avens (loc.); does not take acc.

*asiṣyán* occurs once, 6. 3. 5: *sá id áste 'va prdtidhād asiṣyán*, without object, 'Like a shooter wishing to shoot he set (the arrow)'—of Agni.

*kariṣyánt* (-*dn*, -*atáh*) occurs seven times='wishing to do,' perhaps 'about to do.'

7. 20. 1: *cakrir āpo nāryo yāt kariṣyán*—of Indra.

9. 113. 1: *bālan dādhanā ātmāni kariṣyān vīryām*—of Indra.

6. 26. 3: *Atithigvāya śāmsyañ kariṣyān*—of Indra (Soma?).

7. 19. 8: *Atithigvāya śāmsyañ kariṣyān*—of Indra.

2. 24. 14: *Bṛhmanaspatēr abhavad yathāvaśāñ satyó manyúr māhi karmā (ā) kariṣyatāñ*—of Brahmanaspati.

4. 31. 9: *nahí . . te . . rādho varanta . . ná cāutnāni kariṣyatāñ*—of Indra.

8. 62. 3: *pravācyam indra tāt tava vīryāñi kariṣyatā, bhadraḥ indrasya rātāyañ*—of Indra.

*kṣeṣyántas* occurs once, 2. 4. 3: *Agnīm devāso mānuṣiṣu vikṣu priyāñ dhuñ kṣeṣyānto ná mitrām*—of Agni: 'wishing to rest' or 'to remain,' no object.

*vi-dhakṣyánt* occurs once, 10. 16. 7: *nét tvā . . dadhṛg vidhakṣyán paryāṅkháyāte*—of Agni. 'Lest he envelop thee wishing to consume,' not necessarily with object.

*yakṣydmāṇam* (-ān) occurs twice, 1. 113. 9, agreeing with *mānuṣān*; 1. 125. 4, opposed to *ijāndm*. 'Thou wakest men to sacrifice'; (wealth comes) 'to him who has sacrificed or is about to sacrifice.' The latter is rejected by Grassmann on account of late expressions (praise of generosity).<sup>1</sup> The only middle future participle.

*vakṣyánti* occurs once, 6. 75. 3: *vakṣyánti 'vé 'd ā ganiganti kārṇam*. Last hymn in sixth book; the bow-string 'approaches like one that wishes to speak.' Grassmann 'late.'

*vayisyánt* occurs once, 7. 33. 12: *yamēna tatām paridhātḥ vayisyán* (cf. 9, *vāyantā*)—of Vasiṣṭha. Compare Grassmann, who rejects the whole hymn as late: "All, or at least all after the seventh verse is of later origin" (*sārvān* for *viśvān*, expressions, Vasiṣṭha's praise, and position after Indra hymns). This verse describes Vasiṣṭha's divine birth.

*saniṣyánt* (-an, -dntam, -dntinām), occurs seven times, compare *saniṣyú* both with and without object, like *saniṣyú*, and meaning 'wishing to obtain':

3. 2. 3: *ātyam ná vājam saniṣyānn ūpa bruve*—of Agni.

3. 2. 4: *saniṣyāntaḥ* . . idem—of Agni.

3. 13. 2: *havīṣmantas tām īlate tām saniṣyāntō 'vase*—Agni.

7. 100. 1: *nā mārto dayate saniṣyān yō viṣṇave . . dāṣat* without object; compare (*mārtas*) *saniṣyūs*—Viṣṇu.

9. 90. 1: *rātho ná vājam saniṣyān*—Soma.

10. 97. 8: *śūsmāḥ . . śṣadhinām dhānam saniṣyāntinām*. Physician's song, with praise of priest (22).

10. 99. 3: *svārṣātā pāri ṣadat saniṣyān*—of Indra. Without object. Grassmann rejects the whole hymn.

*sariṣyán* occurs twice, 4. 38. 6: *prathamāḥ sariṣyān niveveti*, 'wishing to get in first,' of a racehorse (*dadhikrāvan*, cf. Vd. St. p. 124).

2. 11. 7: *āraṁsta pārvataḥ cit sariṣyān*.

Der bewegliche berg hielt auch stille, Ludwig.

Der Wolkenberg auch jauchzte, Wasser strömend, Grassmann.

<sup>1</sup> I prefer another's statement here and below on this point, although in most of the instances the inference will not be disputed, I think, as the 'rejected' passages are obviously in form or matter late.



'The cloud paused, wishing to pour down,' finely describing the pause between the thunder and the rain's downpour. As in *saniṣyān* the idea of wish, not of simple futurity, is prominent. It is a vivid picture of the succession of events in a thunderstorm; (7) 'it thundered, at the same instant it lightened (*vi samanā bhūmir aprathiṣṭa*), then the cloud waited, intending to descend; 8, down came the cloud,' etc.

*śiṣyantyāh* once, 5. 78. 5 accent! (gleichwie der Schooss) der kreissenden.

*haniṣyān* once, 4. 18. 11: 'Then spoke Indra, wishing to kill Vṛtra'; active.

It will be noticed that the only case of future participle compounded with a preposition is in the tenth book; that the examples are from every book; that of the twenty-nine occurrences only four are found in passages which have been regarded as very late; and that of the two occurrences of the same middle future, both of which are in the first book, one is in a late *dāna-stuti*.

Turning now to the corresponding verbal forms, one finds first that *kṛ* (three occurrences), the participle of which occurs in books 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, is found only in the first book, once in conjunction with a *bhū*-future:

*kariṣyāsi*, 1. 1. 6: *yād aṅgā dāṣuṣe tvām āgne bhadraṁ kariṣyāsi*.

*kariṣyātha*, 1. 161. 2 (apparently late): Agni speaks to Sudhanvan's sons, the Ribhus. 'The gods said "make four (cups out of) one cup"; hence I came to you (to say this): O sons of Sudhanvan, if you will act in this way you will become equally worthy of receiving sacrifice with the gods.' *yady evā kariṣyātha sākṣī devāir yajñtyāso bhaviṣyatha*.

*kariṣyāti*, 1. 164. 39 ("gehört zu den spätesten stücken des R. V," Grassmann): *yās tān nā veda kim ṛcā kariṣyāti*, i. e. 'what shall he do with the Rig-Veda who does not know that all the gods are included in (sit on) the syllable *om*?'

The second root represented by verb and participle is *vac*; the participle occurring in the sixth book, the verb once in the sixth book (in conjunction with the one occurrence of a (*man*) future middle of the first person), and once in the hymn of the first book, 162, most like 161, that in which was found *kariṣyātha*.

*vakṣyāmi*, *maniṣye*, 6. 9. 6: *kīṁ svid vakṣyāmi kīm u nū maniṣye*. Vs. 2 seems to indicate a later poet (so Grassmann):

*kāśya svit putrá ihā vāktuāni paró vadāti dvareṇa pītṛā*: 'what man's son will speak better (beyond) his father (who thus would be) inferior (to his son)?' Grassmann omits *dvareṇa* in translation, and Ludwig's 'ohne den untern gott, den vater,' needs a Sāyana to make itself intelligible; *dvara* is the result of *paró vadāti*.

*pra-vakṣyāmaḥ*, 1. 162. 1: *yād vājino . . pravakṣyāmaḥ . . vīryāni*. These hymns, 162, 163, 164, are shown to be of late origin by their contents (Grassmann, who points out allusion to beast-sacrifice, metre, contractions, and late words as proof of this, and rejects all three).

As *kr̥* with seven participial occurrences gives three verbal forms, so *san* with seven occurrences of the participle gives two of the verb:

*saniṣyāsi*, 4. 20. 3, *saniṣyasi kr̥tūm*, to Indra.

*saniṣyati*, 5. 31. 11, *kr̥tūm*, to Indra. In regard to which I have only to observe that the formula expressed is the same, reminding the reader again of *saniṣyānt*, *saniṣyū*.

Of the two occurrences of *bhū*-future, one, *bhaviṣyātha* in 1. 161. 2, has been given above; the other occurs:

*bhaviṣyāti*, 10. 86. 7: *uvé amba sulābhike yathe 'vā 'ṅā bhaviṣyāti*, followed by *hr̥ṣyati*, 7, as if future (Grassmann), from *hr̥ṣ*, rejected by Grassmann in toto, who remarks on vss. 6 and 7 that they seem parts of another hymn. It is the hymn containing the obscene dialogue between Indra and Indrāṇi. Cf. A. V. 20. 126. 7.

*janiṣyāte*, twice in the same formula, to Indra: *nā tvātvāṇ anyó divyó nā pārthivo ná jātó ná janiṣyate*, 7. 32. 23; *nā tvātvāṇ indra káccanā jātó ná janiṣyate*, 1. 81. 5. Cf. A. V. 20. 121. 2.

*maniṣyē*, 6. 9. 6, see above, *vakṣyāmi*.

*staviṣyāmi*, 1. 44. 5, *tvām ahám (agne)*. The older usage (see below) was to employ the subj., as *stāvā*, 2. 11. 6.

*staviṣyāse*, 8. 70. 14: *ṛṣibhiḥ staviṣyase*, used passively, of Indra, verse rejected by Grassmann on account of metre.

*jeṣyāmi*, 10. 34. 6, in the late song of the gambler.

In addition must be reckoned one *ābharīṣyat*, conditional, 2. 30. 2, in a rather doubtful passage so far as the sense goes, and the forms from secondary stems; of which there are *vāsaiṣyāse* occurring twice in the same formula, *yād góbhir vāsaiṣyāse*, 9. 2. 4: 66. 13; and *dhārayiṣyāti (viṣvan bhiivanam)*, 4. 54. 4. In 1. 165. 9 and 4. 30. 23 is read *kariṣyā(h)*, a future subjunctive. The formula in the second passage is nearly that of the first, and

to my mind (perhaps prejudiced) appears to have been borrowed from the first, of which (1. 165) the epic tone sufficiently betrays its comparative lateness. My reason is mainly that the next verse, 4. 30. 23, is so out of keeping with the preceding as to have been rejected any way by Grassmann, thus leaving the twenty-third verse as the last of the hymn, in which position it could easily have been intruded. Moreover, verse twenty-two seems to be the real end of the song.

In the two lists above given the only future participle compounded with a preposition is in the tenth book; the only compound verb, in the first book, withal in a notoriously late passage.

If it be allowable to say that in general the first and tenth are later than the intermediate books, it will be of interest to compare the use of participle and verb from this point of view. The participle is represented by the intermediate books as much as by the first and last. So is the verb, to a certain extent, but if one associate with the cases found in the later books one passage which, although found in an earlier book, has been rejected for metrical reasons (other rejections it will be observed are also coincident with several of the cases in the later books marked late for the obvious reasons given above), and the one passage in which apparently a late poet is speaking, he will find that unsuspected verbal forms are represented with exceeding rarity in the body of the work. In fact, except for the much-discussed equivalent of a denominative to *sanīṣyú*, the only case that remains is that of *jan*, and this occurs in a formula which meets us again in the first book.

Future stems in late books and late or suspected passages :

1st book : *kr*, three times (once in a passage of palpably late content, once in a passage already rejected by Grassmann).

*jan*, once (same formula as that in the seventh book).

*pra-vac*, once, in a passage rejected by Grassmann (corresponding participle also in a rejected passage).

*stu*, once (see eighth book, below).

1st and 10th books : *bhū*, twice (once in a rejected passage in the tenth book, once, see *kariṣyātha* above, in a passage apparently late).

10th book : *ji*, once, in late gambler's song.

8th book : *stu*, once (passage rejected on account of metre).

Future stems in earlier books and unsuspected passages :

4th and 5th books : *san* (once in each book in same formula.

Compare *sanīṣyú*, and Grassmann's *sanīṣy*).

6th book: *vac* and *man* (once each in same verse).

7th book: *jan*, once (same formula as in first book).

It seems to me that no exception can be taken to this division. On the contrary, a more pressing critique might insist that the forms *vac* and *man* occurring together in a hymn apparently sung by a later poet should be put in the first division, and even claim that it was doubtful whether the formula embracing *janiṣyāte* in the first book should not cast doubt on the antiquity of that in the seventh, thus leaving for the earlier books of the Rig-Veda as the only unsuspicious future stem *saniṣya*.

Apart from the verisimilitude of such critique, however, it is of course not my intention to call in question the possibility of the existence of any of the above future-stems at the period represented by books II-IX (if there be such a period), but simply to show with this grouping how few are the verbal forms in what is reckoned the early part of the Rig-Veda. The number of those cases called late ought properly to be increased by the addition of the future subjunctive, the one conditional, and the causals, for when it is remembered that in no Vedic text is extant any other case of a conditional than this in the Rig-Veda (its province is the Brāhmaṇas), and that of the one hundred and fifty causals in the Rig-Veda only two make futures,<sup>1</sup> while the closely related denominatives give no future till a later period, it becomes clear that the text here contains forms that stand near to the Brahmanic period, where such forms flourish, and not to an earlier period—for the latter view would assume a sporadic appearance in early times, a sudden and complete cessation, and a later disconnected growth, while the former gives an historical continuance to the whole, with unbroken connection from the first to the last period. The same is true of the isolated subjunctive.

Admitted that *vakṣyāmi*, *bhaviṣyāmi*, and any other of the roots above mentioned may have pre-existed as futures in verbal form although not found as such till the later hymns, it still remains a curious phenomenon that so very few verbal forms are represented in that literature's future-system—*jan*, *san*, *vac*, and *man* alone exempt from distrust on account of their position, and of these only *san* absolutely untouched by suspicion of lateness.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Whitney, Gr. 941, 1050.

<sup>2</sup> As for the form *maniṣyē* (occurring here and in one other passage: *mddhu man-īṣyē*, *mddhu janiṣyē*, *mddhu vakṣyāmi*, *mddhu vadiṣyāmi*, TS. iii. 3. 2<sup>3</sup>; TA. iv. 1<sup>4</sup>; Qṣ. 1. 6. 9) compared with Brahmanic *maṣyāte* (TS. iii. 1. 9<sup>6</sup> and ÇB.), although

## PART III.—THE INDO-IRANIC FUTURE.

As one looks up the pyramid of Sanskrit *sy*-futures he is forced to ask the question whether with the means of going higher than the Veda he would not discover that he had reached the apex of

the latter is the type of most frequent occurrence in the period from the Rig-Veda until the Epic, yet a statistical comparison will scarcely lead to any inference of more than theoretical priority for one or the other. The general facts in regard to the use of *sy*, *iṣy*-forms are, however, in themselves not void of interest. In the first place most of the Rig-Veda future-stems are not at any time alterable or the equivalent is late (of *sy* to *iṣy*, *jeṣy*, B. *jaiṣy*; *dhakṣy*, Epic, *dahiṣy*; *sūṣy* R. V. and C! *soṣy* B., *saviṣy* Epic; and of *iṣy* to *sy*, *janiṣy*, Epic *jāsy*; *maṇiṣy*, B. *maṇsy*; *staviṣy*, B. *stoṣy*; *haniṣy*, Ep. *haṇsy*); then, in the Brahmanic period while a few roots, e. g. *jeṣy* R. V. and *neṣy* A. V., are represented by *jaiṣy*, *naiṣy*, yet on the other hand, besides the changes above, *svapiṣy*, A. V., appears in B. as *svapsy*, and even side by side stand *eṣy*, *ayiṣy*; *drapsy* ÇB., *darpiṣy* JB.; *soṣy*, *saviṣy*; *kraṇṣy* Vedic, and B. *kraṇsy*, *kraṇiṣy*; and such reversions, if one may call them so, extend into the Sūtra period, of the new future-stems *hvasy* representing B. *hvaiṣy*; or even later, Epic *kṛaṇsy*, B. *kṛaṇiṣy*; Epic *vetṣy*, B. *vediṣy*; Epic *ceṣy*, B. *çaiṣy*. After this *iṣy* scarcely changes to *sy*, but *tyakṣy* and *tyajiṣy*, *sakṣy* and *sahiṣy* are still Epic confreres. Generally, however, there are about nine cases, *sy* became *iṣy* in the Epic future. It is thus seen that so far as the forms go the usage of the Rig-Veda, whether one takes future stems of verbal forms alone, or of verbs and participles together, conforms neither to that of the A. V. nor to that of the Brāhmaṇas, but to that of the Epic. The proportion of *sy*-stems, verbs and ptc., to *iṣy*-stems being in all in R. V. 6 : 12; in A. V. in all 21 : 14; in the Brāhmaṇas of new future stems (sometimes both forms on one stem) circa 77 : 53; in the Sūtras do. 6 : 5; in the Epic do. 14 : 41; in C., 5 : 16. In R. V. and A. V., separating verb and participle and comparing precisely, R. V. has *sy* 2 verbs, 4 more ptc.; *iṣy*, 7 verbs and 5 more ptc.; while A. V. has *sy* 13 verbs, 8 more ptc.; *iṣy* (Index caret *janiṣyate*, 20. 121. 2), 14 verbs (no more ptc.; for in A. V., except in the case of *i*, no future ptc. stem in *sy* is identical with a future verb, while all future ptc. in *iṣy* are coincident). As regards the form of new futures the Sūtra period represents an equilibrium between the A. V. and Brahmanic period on the one hand, where, roughly speaking, about two-thirds of the new future stems are made with *sy*, and the Epic on the other, where about one-third are so made (excluding, of course, secondary stems). The R. V. future stems are then in so far remarkable as that their preponderating formation in *iṣy* agrees with that of a much later period of the language. From a comparative point of view *sy* is the older form. Apropos of *maṇiṣyē*, *maṇsyāte* it may not be otiose to remark that the special form *taniṣydti*, which comparative philologists (Brugmann, Gr. Gr.<sup>2</sup> §140) equate with \*τεν-ε-σω, does not really exist. The only form of the future of *tan* with which philology is strictly entitled to operate is *taṇsyāte*, although as a theoretical analogue *-iṣydti* is unobjectionable.

*sy*-forms, or that at most a still diminishing line of participles remained. At this inquiry some scholars would in turn force upon him the reply that the *sy*-future is the prototype, from which was derived the *s*-future and which was originally common to all the Aryans. Before theorizing, for, as Brugmann said, a decade back, this answer contains an 'unbewiesenes' dogma (M. U. III 63), the facts must be examined, but examined without prejudgment based, consciously or not, on *a priori* theory.

The Iranian future is made like the Vedic in *sy*. But nearly all the forms are participles (adjectives), which appear to have a desiderative meaning. The future is regularly expressed by the subjunctive. Nothing could agree better with the state of things found in the Rig-Veda. And there is another form with the function of future than that in *sy*. On the theory that *s*-futures cannot have existed, these forms in *s* instead of *sy*, formerly called futures, are now relegated to the subjunctive aorist.<sup>1</sup>

Yet no subjunctive meaning is claimed for these forms. They are simply future in sense. Relegated, however, they must be to the subjunctive—why? Because there is an 'unbewiesenes' dogma that the Aryan future is different to that of the Greek.

I shall not quarrel on a question of terminology such as I believe this to be. It is sufficient for the purpose of my paper to emphasize the fact that forms in *s* with future meaning, i. e. to all intent and purpose futures in *s* are found in Iranian, and that the same specially participial province as in the Rig-Veda is recognized for the Iranian future in *sy*.

If it be true that the *sy*-future is a development from denominative participial adjectives one may expect to find some traces of other future formation. But it must be granted that in the writing of the texts there would be with the gradual growth of the *sy*-future a temptation to change such ancient *s*-futures as may have existed by the addition of a single letter in the popular form. How many such cases have occurred we cannot tell. Are there any traces of such *s*-futures extant?

The form *sākṣṣ*, on the basis of the best manuscript authority, has long been recognized and received into the Atharvan text (A. V. 2. 27. 5). Now that the Index is at hand it appears that it

<sup>1</sup>"Die einfachste und sicherste Erklärung für alle Formen welche aus der Wurzel + *sa* bestehen und futurische Bedeutung haben ist die als Conjunctive des Aorists," Bartholomae, Verbum, p. 127. For the statements made above compare ib. p. 127, 240-1; §229; Handbuch, §281; Jackson, Grammar, §669 ff.

is not an isolated future. Side by side with it, also supported by the authority of the MSS, stands *mekṣāmi* (7. 102. 1).<sup>1</sup>

To regard these forms as merely due to clerical errors is, as Bartholomae says, 'the easiest and safest' way of escaping the evidence of the manuscripts. Whitney, however, seems to give a reluctant consent to a view the conservatism of which must not be judged by theories, and says (Index, p. 382): "*sākṣe* has been treated as if *sākṣye* (fut.)." That with the forms *gróṣamāna* . . . *dhīṣamāna* of the Rig-Veda, the future which Bloomfield edits as *\*vi-bhuñkṣyamāna*, and which stands in the MSS at each occurrence as *vi-bhunkṣamāna*, with all due conservatism may at least be tentatively compared no one will deny.<sup>2</sup>

It was seen above that the strong stem of the *sy*-future was not universal; in Avestan *bāšyant* is found the same more primitive type that is shown in *sūšyant*. The close connection between aoristic and future formations is paralleled by a like correspondence in the forms *yūṣam*, *yoṣam*, *prkṣase*. It is not impossible, therefore, that, granting the well-authorized forms *mekṣāmi* and *sākṣé* as indicative of an *s*-future, in such a future there would also be traces of an original weak stem in the middle corresponding to *ástrṣi*, *ánūsi*, presumably older forms of the aorist (Grammar, 884, 887). There is indeed a *kṛṣe* in rather a late passage, 10. 49. 7, in a sense that warrants Whitney's interpretation as a present (Gr. §894).

But other root-forms of this *se*-group are in form still more primitive (for they have the vowel unlengthened) than *ánūsi*, while their meaning is more evidently future. Their preservation may well be explained by the collected meaning. They are all (with the exception of *kṛṣe*) antique formulae of devotion, expressing the act of worship; to praise, sing, adorn a hymn being their general signification. Again, they usually stand near the beginning, with the hymn before them (some interesting exceptions are explained in the note below), so that the future meaning is not forced upon them. They correspond to the few cases of *sy*-future in the like case noted above—*pravakṣyāmas*, etc. As for their form, it has never been explained in any satisfactory

<sup>1</sup> The *vi-dhakṣdn* of 18. 2. 58=R. V. x. 16. 7 is now (note the participial form) corrected to *dhakṣydn*. The form *yokṣe*, 19. 13. 1, though given by the manuscripts, leaves the text metrically imperfect.

<sup>2</sup> *Vi-bhuñkṣamāna*, Kāuç. S. 23. 9; 38. 26 (in the first passage K (Kielhorn's MS); in the second, all the MSS.

manner. I venture, therefore, to suggest that they correspond to *ἀείσομαι μνήσομαι* at the beginning of Homeric hymns. By anticipation I should add that in the view of the origin of the future here advocated, although I have shown above a half resemblance to aoristic formation, it makes no difference whether these forms be regarded as analogous to aorists or as made independently by affixing an *s* with indicative endings to root or to stem.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The form *stuṣṣe* occurs (not inf.) 19-21 times; *gāyise* and *puniṣṣe* once each; *gṛñise* about a dozen times; *ṛñjase* half a dozen (*ṛñjase* 2d pers.) and sporadically the less frequent words *arcase yajase, hiṣe ohiṣe*. Compare the following: in 1. 186. (1 and 2 the gods shall come hither), 3. I will sing Agni (*gṛñise*), last verse, 'this is my song'; 2. 20. 4, 'we will further you, Indra,' then *tām u stuṣṣa indram tām gṛñise*, cf. *gṛñe stuṣṣe*, 8. 23. 7; 6. 44 (1-3 'great art thou, Indra') 4, I will sing Indra (*gṛñise*, cf. *upāstṛñisedpi* in 6), 7 ff. Indra's deeds recounted (*dvidat*, etc.) for 18 vss.; 7. 6 (1 *vānde*, 2 *vivāse*, like form) 4, *gṛñiṣṣe* Ag., 7 vss.; 7. 66. 7 (19 vss.); 7. 97. 3 (10 vss.); 10. 122. 1. When a hymn is to all the gods the word may be found later, yet cf. 7. 34. 16 *dhīm gṛñise*; after others have been praised the poet begins with a new subject (25 vss. in all). So in 2. 33. 12, the hymn begins with impv. and opt. to Rudra, in 11 begins again with *stuṣṣi gṛtām . . mṛṣā* 12, *pratinānāma . . dātāram . . gṛñise*, 'I want what father Manu got,' etc., with three more vss. of laudation. In 5. 34. 9 *gṛñise* occurs for the only time in a last vs. to gods without a song following, but 1-8 are *jag.* to Indra; 9 (last) *tṛṣṭubh* to Agniveṇi Çatri, an after-piece. *Gāyise*, 7. 96. 1: *bṛhdd u gāyise vdaḥ*. *Puniṣṣe*, 7. 85. 1: *puniṣṣe vām . . maniṣṣam . . sōmatm jūhvai* ('while getting this soma ready I will sing you a song'), 5 vss., last 'may this my song reach you.' In 4. 8. 1 (*agnīm*) *ṛñjase girā*, 8 vss.; so 6. 15. 1 and 4 (20 vss.); 10. 76. 1 (8 vss. to stones). In 5. 13. 6 (last vs.) not the god but *rādhas* is object, as a result of the song *ā rādhaḥ citrām ṛñjase*. In 8. 5. 3, the poet cries out, 'Your praises have been seen (by me) and I will extol you' (*prdti stomā adṛkṣata vācam ohiṣe*), which he does in thirty-odd verses (here *stuṣṣe* follows; inf., unless *kaṇvāso* be voc. In 7. 7. 1, *prā devdm hiṣe ndmobhis*. The same formation on developed stem with like application in *arcase* 10. 64. 3 (1-4, 'how shall we worship (subj.). I will sing (*arcase*) with what voice is he extolled,' *vāvṛdhate*), . . end, *dstāvi*; and in *yajase* 8. 25. 1 (it will be noticed that most of the forms occur in bks. 2-7). It is unnecessary to give more than the normal use in *stuṣṣe*: 1. 46. 1, *uṣā vyūcchati . . stuṣṣe vām aṣvinā bṛhāt*; 1. 159. 1, *dyāus* and *pṛthivī stuṣṣe*, etc. As above with all-gods and *rādhas* united 1. 122. 8 *asyā stuṣṣe rādhas* (7, *stuṣṣe* . . *rātis*, inf.); 2. 20. 4 (v. *gṛñise*); 2. 31. 5 (all-gods, 7 vss. change of subject) 5. 33. 6 (*stuṣṣe dānam*); 5. 58. 1, 6. 21. 2 (12 vss.) normal; 6. 48. 14 (interesting case, 1-10 to Agni, 11 exhortation to sing, cf. 2. 31. 5), 22 vss.; 6. 49. 1; 51. 3; 62. 1, all normal; 7. 32 (cf. 8. 5. 4) monstrous exception or inf.; 8. 21. 9 (13 vss. neutral as to argument); 8. 23. 2, 7 (30 vss., normal); 8. 24. 1 (or inf. ?); 74. 1; 84. 1, all normal; 8. 65. 5 (cf. above 2. 20. 4); cf. 3, *ā tvā . . huve*, 4, *ā ta indra mahimānām hṛdayo deva te mahat* . . *vahantu bībhṛataḥ*, 5, *indra gṛñiṣṣe u stuṣṣe* (2d pers. or read *indram*, see next). *Cārṣṣe*, intensive, 3 sg., see P. W.; all in



But in saying that *stuṣé* (*sūṣyant*), *mekṣāmi*, *staviṣyāti* seem to me to be equally future, I must explain what I mean by the word. If, as seems probable, *mṛkṣā* (*mṛj* or *mṛc*, Avest. *marc*) is the phonetic equivalent of *marekṣ-aile*, and one finds a number of roots, as Whitney points out (Gr. 108), which increased by an *s* become desiderative (see the whole list, Roots, p. 247)—suffice to note *bhū + s*, *bhūṣati*, R. V.; *hā + s*, *hāsante* 'go emulously' (A. V. 4. 36. 5, Roots, p. 204)—if the future verb in Iranian and Veda, as was noticed above, and by Delbrück, S. F. iii. 8; iv. 99, marks intention as well as temporal posteriority (I think without bias a difference may be detected between the earlier and later examples in the list above from the Rig-Veda), then it is almost imperative to connect with this desiderative *s* and future the reduplicated *s*-future known as the desiderative. Therefore, as it seems to me, it is not exact to speak of future tense, meaning thereby a tense marking a coming action, but of a desiderative tense, more or less strongly expressed. As for the desiderative proper with which Zimmer has wished to identify the Keltic reduplicated future (K. Z. xxx. 128), it may, conversely, be called either a strong desiderative or a strong 'future,' but in that case 'future' must, as in the simple future, be synonymous with will-tense. In respect of all these forms there appears to me to be only one solution possible: To a root or to a stem (strengthened or not) may be added an *s* which denotes desideration. It may be added explanatorily that when strengthened by reduplication this strength augments the force of the whole form, as ordinary reduplication augments the force of the simple root in presents (perfects, etc.).<sup>1</sup> That in the pre-Vedic period the participle in *sy* gives rise to the non-primitive *sy*-future is, indeed, not proved, but rendered likely by the use of participial and verbal forms in the Rig-Veda; by the fact that

10th book, where, as perhaps 10. 93. 9, *stuṣé*, the sense of the form as 1st sg. is lost and, with the inf. use keeping it from dying out, it is used irregularly for 3d sg., like *gṛṇé*, 1st or 3d person. *Āṛṇe*, 10. 49. 7, see above and cf. 8. 3. 20; 32. 3, same as above (?). List in Delbrück, Verbum, pp. 29, 181. Accents above from the text.

<sup>1</sup> That the perfect was primarily a special form of the present is shown by the Vedic meaning, by the same meaning surviving in certain well known Greek, Latin and German forms (=present), and by such present-perfect forms as *yuydjate*, *bubodhati*, which are respectively present and present-future. That the reduplication was, as in the case of desideratives, merely a strengthening of an unduplicated present is shown by unduplicated 'perfects,' such as *véda*. To assume the loss of reduplication here is to theorize against facts.

active future participles show *sy* alone, whereas simple verbal forms show both *sy* and *s*, certainly in Avestan and perhaps in the Veda; and by the fact that the only future form existing in Slavic is a participle. Conversely, if this hypothesis be rejected, one has to assume, on resubstituting *sy* as the original type, that *tāsya* > *roio* and *dāsya* > *δῶσω*; whereas, with the hypothesis that *s* is original and *sy* a special development of Slavic-Indic-Iranic, no phonetic law is violated.<sup>1</sup> That, however, by the side of a desiderative *s* should stand an *s* which, like the former, makes verbal forms but has not the same desiderative force seems impossible. The *s*-future must, therefore, have been identical in sigmatic origin with the *s*-aorist, yet this in the indicative, perhaps on account of the presence beside it of an unsibilant aorist, lost its peculiar character at an earlier date than did the future, which was itself rapidly losing such force in the earliest Greek and Vedic literature (Greek future participles still like Sk. and Avest. participles have a desiderative force, see Delbrück, loc. cit.). I am not aware, however, that it has ever been shown that there is

<sup>1</sup> The reader will think it high time I alluded to Johansson. The idea given above first occurred to me some time ago on correlating the A. V. forms with *stusē* and with the desiderative *s* in *hā-s*. I found on examining into the literature on the subject that I had been in part anticipated by the third excursus in Johansson (*De derivatis verbis contractis linguae graecae*, 1886), to whom, therefore, the combinations of *s* as illustrated by root, future, etc. (excepting examples in Avest. and A. V.), are of course to be referred. There is, however, or was from the beginning, in my mind a different interpretation of this *s* than that given by Johansson. The latter sees in it, if I rightly understand him, a sign the force of which he strives to show is not confined to the future, but may express the present, and which is to be connected (the old opinion) with the *s* of neuters, and so with denominatives. The reduplicated aorist is to him *a-nam + s + is + am* = *ε + τε/ε + σ + σ + α* (without connecting vowel). *jivdse*, *legere*, *stusē* (inf.), *λῆσαι*, *dare*, *fore*, are all 'formae variatae stirpis primigeniae -s.' Comparing *s* in Lat. pres. and Greek aorist Johansson continues: "verisimillimum puto hanc divisionem vel dispositionem formarum cum usu quodam praesentico vel potius a principio indefinito stirpis *s*, unde postea et praes. et aorist. profecta sint cohaerere." J. compares *arcasē*, etc., to show present sense, and p. 210 alludes to *stusē* 'notione praes.', arguing for an old present sense in *s*-aorist. The Doric future, in distinction from Brugmann's explanation, is derived by J. from the *siq*-aorist. In a word, I have followed Johansson in comparison of *s*-forms, but the use we make of them is not the same. He claims an indefinite *s* and gives it a wider application than I should venture to do, for he regards aorist, future, inf., noun, denominative, and simple root as builded by the same *s*, to which he gives a 'present or rather indefinite' character.

not a difference even in the aoristic use, though I have been unable to trace any in some examples selected for examination in the Rig-Veda.

The special Eastern form of the future was developed, as it seems to me, after the period of westward emigration was past, perhaps by direct analogy with denominatives or by passing itself through a denominative stage, in India beginning with the 'participle' adjective, or noun and adjective, then influenced by formations like *aviśyānt*. The ending *yu*, an adjective-former very common in Sanskrit, is used quite independently in the R. V. (e. g. *yuvayū* 'desiring you both,' *varāhayūh śvā* 'the dog seeking the boar'). It is found in Iranic, where it is identical with Sk. (e. g. Sk. *dāsyu*=Ir. *dahyu*), and is one of the most common endings in Slavic (Lithuanian); yet *scarcely a trace of it remains* in other Aryan languages. The details are worth noting. Very few examples of *yu* exist in Gothic, none in Latin, none in Celtic, no sure case in Armenian; and *vīs* alone in Greek stands certain. That is, the languages where *sy*-futures appear are those where *yu*-suffix is common. In connection with this it is to be noted that the ending *nu* is almost as rare in Greek as is that in *yu*, and that the only languages that have *s-nu* are Indo-Iranic-Slavic (Lithuanian).<sup>1</sup>

The commonest consonantal denominative formation in Sanskrit is from neuter nouns in *s*, as typical of which may serve *nāmas*, *namasyānti*, *āvas*, *avasyānt* (see the list above, and compare Whitney, Gr. 1064). Two points have been made clear above, one that *avasyānt*, *avasyū* is norm of a common parallel; one that participial denominatives may precede verbal forms of corresponding kind, and possibly other participles as well.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sanskrit *kraviṇū*, *jīṇū*, etc., Lithuanian *doomsūs* (*dā*) 'liberal.' Compare Brugmann, Gdr. ii. p. 300-302; Gr. Gr. §70b 2.

<sup>2</sup> I trust it will not be considered a case of *καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ γραμμῶς κινεῖ λίθον* if I add some very modern illustrations of verbs developed from (virtual) participles. One says 'a homing pigeon,' but there is no verb 'to home.' There is no verb 'to thunderstorm,' but 'is thunderstorming' is not unusual. In New England, where new forms are daily making, I have always heard *glanging*, yet never as a verb (*glanging* is from 'go-along-ing,' participial formation from imperative + adv. + ing). The participle is common ('he was glanging along,' etc.) and used as an equivalent of urging (a horse). Only in the pseudo-dialect of stories have I seen *glanged* written immediately after *glanging*, and I doubt if Miss Wilkins, who gives us the form, ever really heard the verb. Used chiefly (originally?) as participles (not gerunds) are also wheeling = bicycling, bobbing = sledding, lovering, kiting. Compare Sk. *phullant*, without verbal forms, from *phulla*, 'blooming.'

The attempt below to trace the origin of this future is of course based on the only surviving historical material; hence, while perhaps explaining the Indian development, it must be held only to indicate a possible parallel in the two other languages knowing an *sy*-future. The Lithuanian future may have developed on the same lines, as would be rather implied by the fact that in Slavic proper the only form of the *sy*-future is one participle. There was then the parallel formations, *ávas*, *avasyú*, *avasyánt*; the adjective standing sometimes in the form *-a*, as in *tárus*, *táruša*, *tarușyánt*, and the connection extended by verbal abstract nouns, as in *ápas*, *apasía*, *apasyā*, *apasyú* (vb. *apasyāt*), *vācas*, *vacasā*, *vacasyā*, *vacasyú* (vb. *vacasyāte*). It is not difficult to see how from a root *san* with a denominative *sanīsyú*, *sanīsyánt* (adj.) on the one side, and the future ptc. *\*sañsant* on the other, with the many verbal forms employing *i* as connecting vowel, we should first get *\*sanīzant* and then, by analogy with denominatives in *\*syant*, *sanīsyánt*, or from a root capable of adding the desiderative *s* direct, *su*, *\*sūzant*, *sūzsyant*,<sup>1</sup> to which still remains the intermediate *sūṣā*. Since the obsolescent *yu*<sup>2</sup> of the Vedic period (Whitney, Gr. 1178) is passing away even in denominatives, it is not surprising to find it disappearing in the combination *s + yu*. The accent of the future in its new (genuine or imitated) denominative form is, like that of the pure denominatives, on the stem, but it is possible that *sūsyantī* may really represent the older root-accent, in which case it would be a question whether we should not refer *dhākṣant* *sākṣant*, *arṣaṣānā* (but denom. fut. *dhakṣyánt*) to future rather than to aorist, or, still more correctly, term them timeless desideratives without specific tense (cf. *īpsant*).<sup>3</sup> The strongly marked desiderative character of the formal denominatives raises the question (see Johansson) whether the same *s* as that of the future is not in *māna-s*, *nāma-s*, and if so, can *manis* in *manis-ya* = *mañs-ya* be regarded as from a neuter in *is*. A comparison of such nouns with the futures of their roots will, however, scarcely show this—we have *stavișyánt*, *stoșyánt*,

<sup>1</sup> Compare R. V. *irasyā*, *irasyāti*, A. V. *īrāyā*, *īrāyú*; ptc. T. S. *īrāyānt*.

<sup>2</sup> That this adjective ending *yu*, which is almost peculiarly Slavic-Indiranian, may in turn have arisen from *y + u* (cf. *ji-jay-*, *jay-ús*) is not improbable (see Brugmann, loc. cit.), but such formation antecedent to the *yu*-ending which is found regarded as complete in itself (*tvā-yú*, *yuva-yú*) does not affect the present question.

<sup>3</sup> These so-called aorist participles have no aorist sense. Delbrück, Syntax, p. 381. Compare Avest. 'aor.' ptc. from *van*, Yt. 13. 155, plainly future.

but no *stavis*; *havis*, but no *\*haviṣyānt*, etc. Compare the whole list below.<sup>1</sup> Tempting as it would be, therefore, to set up *\*manis*=*manas* (cf. *°ta*, *°ila* adj.), *\*sanis*, *\*janis*, etc., after Grassmann (analogous to *vapus-yānt*, *taruṣyānt*), it seems more probable that the *s* of *sanīṣya* and *man-i-ṣya* is the same as in *maṇṣya* (= *√s*, not *manis*), compare *mānava-ṣ-yānt*. I add, what seem to me also illustrative of the Vedic *s*-‘future,’ a few examples of futureless *s*-roots which are reckoned as presents (the list is easily increased; ‘no ft.’ means none in literature): *srāṇsate* (no ft.); *dhvaṇsati* (no ft.); *nīṇsate* (no ft.); *dharṣati* (*dhṛṣānt*, cf. *dhṛṣṇú*, *°ṇóti*; no ft., and no ft. to *dhṛ* till Epic *dharīṣyati*); *rakṣ*, *ṣaṇs*, *hiṇs* (no fts. till B.); *bhreṣati*=*bhraṇṣate*, etc.; secondary; *daṇśáyās*, *taṇśáyati* (no fts.).<sup>2</sup> To recapitulate: desiderative *s* makes *srāṇsate*, desiderative *s+y* makes *maṇṣyāte*. The *y* has come by analogy with *manasyānt*, or like it through denominatives (*sūṣā*, *\*suṣyā*, *sūṣyanti*)—direct by analogy being the more probable. Perhaps the simplest explanation is after all this, that roots in *s* have a predilection for the *y*-conjugation, so that the tendency of the language as well as analogy with *manasyé*, etc., conduces to the transformation of a desiderative present *\*saṇsati* first into *\*saṇsyati*, then (like *maṇs*, *maṇīṣyá*) into *sanīṣyāti*. Compare *pluṣ*, *plóṣati*, Lex. *pluṣyati*; *ruṣ*, R. V. *róṣati*, Ep. *ruṣyati*; R. V. *ghóṣate*, C. *ghuṣyant* (also C. *dūṣyant* ptc. against *duṣyati*); R. V. *átviṣanta*, C. *tviṣyant*; R. V. *trásanti*, Epic *trasyati*. Compare also *ásyati*, *iṣyati*, *jasyata* (pret.), *tṛṣyati*, *túṣyati* (S., *toṣy*, Ep.), *pīsyati* (sic; for *pīṇsyati* ?), *pūṣyati*, *mṛṣyate*, *yásyati*, *riṣyati*, *ṣúṣyati*, *ḥliṣyati*, *hṛṣyati*, etc., accent stereotyped to distinguish from passive. But there is an ‘uncertain form’ (P. W.) from *bhikṣā*, viz. *bhikṣyāti* which is, as compared with *bhikṣate*, analogous to the ‘present’ *bhartṣyāmi* (though this A. V. form is questionable, Index, p. 382) and presupposes *\*bhikṣyā*, *\*bhikṣyānt* as noun and adjective. The stages of change would be represented by *\*sānsant*, *\*saṇsati* with adjectives *sanīṣyú*, *sanīṣyānt*; *\*sāṇsyati*, *sanīṣyāti*. Both ‘future’ and ‘desiderative pres-

<sup>1</sup>*Aréś*, but no *arēṣyānti* till C.; *kravís*, but no verb; *chadís*, *barhís*, but no ft. to *chad*, *bṛh*; *rocís*, no *rocīṣyānti* till Epic; *vartís*, but *vartīṣyānti* till Epic *vartīṣyānti*; *gocís*, but no ft. till Epic *gocīṣyānti*; *sarṣís*, but only ft. in *sy*; *havis*, but only *hoṣyānti*; (*jyḍís*, no ft., *jyut*). See nouns in Lindner, Nom. §28. Conversely, there is no *tavis* to *tavás*, *taviṣá*, *tdviṣi*, *taviṣyā*, *taviṣyānt* (*taviṣiy*).

<sup>2</sup>Of roots with obvious increase by means of *s* I have noted *kam kīṇkṣ*, *bhāj bhakṣ*, *bhikṣ*, *bhū bhūṣ*, *bhū bhāṣ*, *bhī bhīṣ*; *muc*, *mokṣ*, *rā rās*, *ṣak ṣikṣ*, *ṣā*, *ṣās ṣaṇs*, *ṣru ṣroṣ*, *han hiṇs*, *hā hās*; perhaps *taṇs* and *carṣ*: *ddsyati* with *dāsyu* is doubtful.

ent' are simply desideratives employed to indicate future (will for shall). Possible parallels: Avestan *varešaite* beside *vakhšyeite*, Vedic *hāsate* beside *hāsyāte*; A. V. *sākṣé*; R. V. *stuṣṣ*=B. *stosyē* (old and late root); *dhákṣant*, *dhakṣyánt* (?). In agreement with what was seen in the case of denominatives the new future in *syant* began with adj. ptc. formations and thence by analogy was extended to the verbal forms, giving in Slavic one form and that a participle; in Avestan chiefly participles, verbals in *sy* and *s*, but participles in *sy* alone; in R. V. *syant* common, *esyati* and other verbals rare and late. There are in R. V. more than two and a half times as many occurrences of *stuṣṣ* and such forms as of all the verbal futures in *sy* put together.<sup>1</sup>

#### PART IV.—THE SIGMATIC FUTURE.

Granted any truth in the view expressed above, the position of the Aryan sigmatic future has been changed. If an inkling of doubt attach to priority of *sy*-futures in Indiranian the ground is taken away on which rested the priority of *sy* for the Aryan future. It is no longer an *unbewiesenes*, it is an improbable dogma. It will not be necessary to show that *πρᾶξις* might have come from *sy*, but to show that it must. For, outside of Greece, where is the West-European future identical with an *sy*-future? It is, indeed, surprising on how narrow a foundation has been built the hypothesis of original *sy*. It is not, however, simply in order to emphasize the statement that *s* and not *sy* is the sigmatic future in other languages that I group below the well-known facts in regard to this point, but to call attention to another point quite as well known but little used in the discussion of the primitive future. The reader will please observe in *what way the idea of the future is most universally expressed by the Aryan nations, East and West*, remembering at the same time that the future in *sy* and in *s* has been declared by Delbrück and Bartholomae to have in Sanskrit, Greek and Avestan a sense not always simply temporal, but sometimes expressing intent.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps some of the *dhātupāṭha*-forms like *jeṣate* may be survivals of the same sort. The offensiveness of *gṛñīṣṣ* as future is, I admit, greater even than that of *stuṣṣ* from the point of view of a completed grammatical system. Compare the ft. *aṣṇuvīṣyāmahe* in ÇB, which is also offensive, but not on that account non-existent as a future.

<sup>2</sup> Compare in Lithuanian the use of future as stated by Schleicher, Lit. Gr. p. 309. For the minatory force of the Sk. future cf. Whitney, Gr. §948.

Future idea expressed by indicative *sy*-form (possibly *s*-form) and subjunctive.

*Sanskrit*: *sy*, the common form (participles prior to verbs originally?) (a Vedic *s*-form, possible). The subjunctive has, according to Delbrück (Syntax, p. 309) a sense sometimes 'approaching that of the future,' or (ib. p. 313) 'near the future,' or (ib. p. 318) 'contains a future sense.'

*Avestan*: *sy*, rare in verbal, common in participial form (participles prior to verbs?) (*s*-form, in verbs alone probable). The subjunctive has, according to Bartholomae, the function of a future: "Indicative forms of the future occur very seldom in our [Iranian] texts; for the most part the future is expressed by the subjunctive, more seldom by the present" (Verb, p. 240).

Indicative *sy*-form and indicative without sigmatic form.

*Slavic*: *sy* the regular form of future in Lithuanian (*siu*, *lipsiu*, *liksiu*). *Sy* exists only as one participle in Slavic proper (*byšę*.) The present indicative is regularly used to give the future idea in all Slavic dialects.<sup>1</sup> Lithuanian *si* from *s* (?).

N. B. In Sanskrit and Avestan *yu* adjectives and *sy* future; in Lith. *siu* future and more *yu* adjectives than in any other Aryan language (Brugmann, Grnd. ii. p. 301).

Indicative (auxiliaries) and no sigmatic future.

*Gothic*: The future is expressed by the present indicative or by auxiliary verbs.<sup>2</sup>

Indicative (auxiliary), subjunctive (*s*).

*Latin*: Auxiliary *bo* (new form?). Subjunctive, *dicam*; *ero* (*eso*) (used as future indicatives). *s*-aorist subjunctive, *axo*, *faxo* ('si ita faxitis vestrae res meliores erunt').

<sup>1</sup>As substitute for future the present of the so-called perfect verbs is used (Leskien, Handbuch, p. 149). Compare Miklosich, Gr. pp. 176, 200, 246, 285, 397, 466). As an example, p. 200, in Bulgarian 'the future has no sign, but is made by combining the present with auxiliaries.' So throughout, either auxiliaries or pres. old Slavic, new Slavic, Bulgarian, Russian, Czechish, Polish. Leskien (loc. cit.) and Miklosich (iii. p. 89) of course assume that the ptc. *byšę* implies indicative *byša*. The same assumption is very naturally made by others—Whitney, Gr. 1059 '*devaydti*'; Roots '*asięydti* R. V.,' '*dāsydti* A. V.'

<sup>2</sup>The indicative present may be used always to express what is more naturally rendered by the future. But it is not a future on that account. In *bhāvin* (used as a future) *εἰμι*, or in English 'I go to-morrow,' 'we meet to-night,' the speaker simply widens his horizon till his present time includes the future. So 'to-morrow is Tuesday' is not future but absolute present. The auxiliaries referred to in Gothic are (anavairts visan) as in English, shall, have and begin (duginnan). Compare Streitberg, Perfective u. imp. actionsart, PB. 15, p. 132.

[*Keltic*: Subjunctive (*s*), *b*-future, etc.<sup>1</sup>]

Subjunctive *s*.

*Armenian*: "The future is a subjunctive of the aorist; its *ç* probably for *iç*" (Hübschmann, *Armenische Stud.* pp. 94-5).<sup>2</sup>

Subjunctive (*s*).

*Greek*: *s*-aorist (future), σώσω, τενῶ (τενεσω), denom. vbs., πράξω, πράξιω. Subjunctive without *s* (Homer), as in Latin, Sanskrit, Avestan (with *s*, as in Latin, Avestan, Vedic (?), Keltic, Armenian), used to express simple future.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The judgment of scholars differs regarding the problems in this branch. Brugmann says (*M. U.* iii. 57): "sjo-suffix does not exist in Irish. That the forms are, like Latin *faxo*, subjunctives is made probable by the subj. meaning," touching on other points only to be discussed by specialists. Windisch says (*Irish Gr.* §285) "the *s*-future often has subjunctive meaning." Zimmer (*KZ.* xxx. pp. 124, 125-8) claims the simple future of Windisch as aorist subj.; the reduplicated, as desid.; and denies (p. 115) that Irish phonetic laws make it possible to equate Keltic *s*-future and Sk. *sy*-future. So far as Irish goes, it seems to a layman that it is merely a question as to whether *s* can be the off-spring of *sy*, not whether *s* must be so. If *axo* is to be referred to *sy*, then the Keltic *s*-future must be, but this does not seem necessary. Accepting the mental equation 'Keltic ft.=Sk. future' (Windisch), so far as I can judge the phonetic equation *s*=*sy* is established in no Aryan language, except in isolated special forms of *si* (Lith.) resulting from secondary laws. For the purpose of this discussion, therefore, it should be stated that a Keltic sigmatic future parallel to *sy* has been upheld by prominent Keltic scholars, but is also stoutly opposed. Not pretending to an opinion in Keltic matters I leave this language bracketed out of deference to the great authority of the scholar whose opinion supports a theory (Keltic *s*=Sk. *sy*) which, if correct, overthrows my whole argument. Other Keltic futures do not concern the present argument, as a *z*-ft. if not subj. is not primitive.

<sup>2</sup> Brugmann, *Grnd.* i. §561: "Armenian *y* for *si*, *mardoy* (= *mrtasya*, *βοροιο*." Phonetic laws forbid this 'future' being derived from *sy*.

<sup>3</sup> It is phonetically possible to derive the Doric future from *sy* only when we ignore the fact that *i* of the Doric dialects, *θιός*, etc., represents *ε*. Osthoff, *M. U.* ii. 41; Brugmann, *ib.* iii. 59. Johansson rather daringly derives the same ft. from aorist *s* (see note above). In Greek, on a last analysis, we have three forms of the future (disregarding the subj.); two of them cannot be equated with *sy*, the third can with difficulty be set equal to it, but in a not unreasonable way can be explained as a resultant of contamination with the first two. It is then for him that insists on the identity of *s*=*sy* to prove that *πράξιω* cannot be explained in any other way than as coming from *sy*. Neither the close related Latin nor the other forms of Greek futures admit this hypothesis. *τενῶ* equates *\*taniṣyāmi* as little as it does the real Sanskrit fut. *tanīṣyāt*; *δῶσω* (cf. *ἀκ-σω*=*ἄξω*) equates *dāsyāmi* only when *τοιο* equates no longer *tāsyā*. "Von dem *i* hinter *σ* ist im Griechischen bis jetzt noch keine spur nachgewiesen" (Brugmann, *Gr. Gr.* §140 anm.). Mahlow, *KZ.* 26. 586, also regards



So far as sigmatic form goes a *s* (not *sy*) is proved for Avestan, Armenian, Greek, Latin, Keltic; *sy* in Slavic-Indiranian is not proved for other languages (though suspected). But as for the means of expressing the future idea the subjunctive is used in Sanskrit, Avestan, Armenian, Greek, Latin, [Keltic], that is, both East and West, *sy* or *s*. One form alone of futures is the common property of the Aryans—a form in its earliest appearance often used as a simple future, whereas the sigmatic future in its earliest appearance is used to express will and becomes a time-form in proportion as the subjunctive gains the ability to express modality. Which first, then, represented to the Aryan the idea of simple future time? *δοῦν' αὐτὸν ἀνάγκη θάτερον*. He either used *s* for connoting will and the subjunctive for simple time, or the subjunctive for will and *s* for simple time; but the latter hypothesis appears to be untenable.

#### PART V.—THE PRIMITIVE FUTURE.

There can be little doubt that the sigmatic future originally denoted will. The fact has been stated independently of any speculation by the authors quoted above, Delbrück, S. F. 3. 8 ff.; 4. 98 ff., and was the first step in advance of that older theory which touching form and meaning claimed that the sigmatic future is from the nominal form plus the verb 'go,' or root plus 'be,' made by an auxiliary verb, and denoting 'am to' or 'am going to.'

That a tense has a force which is appreciable in older times but later is lost, shows it to have been in origin different to the tense it is in classic literature—not simple futurity was then the primitive function of the sigmatic future.

The subjunctive in classic Greek cannot be used as broadly as in Homer—where lies the difference? In Homer it may freely represent in independent clauses a simple future, in classic Greek it cannot. Is there then an antecedent probability that the subjunctive originally expressed not simple time, but will? The question is asked not concerning *s* (aorist) subjunctives, but con-

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the Doric fut. as a new form, though acquired by a different means. The same scholar's 'two futures' (one in *s*, one in *ēs*, ib. p. 597), are scarcely supported by sufficient evidence for granting to *ēs* a primitive character. The denominatives like *τιμίσουαι* were enough to explain *γενήσουαι*, as it seems to me.

<sup>1</sup> Sonne, KZ. xii. and Hirzel (Schleicher) KZ. xiii. respectively teach that *svāpnyāmi* is *svāpas* + *yāmi* (dormitum eo) and (or) *svāp* + "*āsnyāmi*" (compare Schleicher on "*σιν* from *as*" future in Lith. Gr.).

cerning the subjunctive at large, did *ἔδομαι*, *ero*, mean I will or I shall eat, I will or shall be?

The field is limited almost to Homer and the Vedic literature, because in Latin the present subjunctive is formally entangled with indicative and optative forms, and because in other languages the desiderative *s* of the aorist subjunctive makes it impossible to subject the literature to syntactical analysis. This is also true to a certain extent in Greek and Sanskrit, but, on the other hand, pure present subjunctives are of literary frequency and can to a certain extent be kept apart from aorists.

That the subjunctive originally expressed the will of the speaker alone is a view at present generally accepted. The interpretation rests upon the results drawn from comparing Vedic and Homeric subjunctives. The invaluable labor of Delbrück which has produced these results is not lightly to be underestimated, nor is it in any way my intention to dispute the fact that the Vedic and Homeric subjunctive expresses will. Whether, however, sufficient weight has been laid upon the causes which united to produce the modal force found so conspicuous in these literatures must be considered in determining, not the Vedic, but the primitive value of the subjunctive. A great difficulty—that of prestige—lies in the way of any one who would dispute the force of many Vedic subjunctives given by Delbrück, for the meaning often rests on subjective impression and individual interpretation—where they that differ from the most pre-eminent scholar in Aryan syntax are necessarily at a disadvantage. Notwithstanding this difficulty the facts stated above seem to counterbalance the presumptive correctness of any theory that ignores the simple future idea of the subjunctive. The earliest independent subjunctive in Greek is capable of expressing simple futurity freely; the later, scarcely—the modal, hortatory, deliberative, prohibitive meaning cannot then, at least on *a priori* grounds, have been earlier than the subjunctive in *νῦν δ' ἂν πολλὰ πάθῃσι*='he will suffer': *οὐδὲ ἔδομαι*='nor shall I see'; *ἔδομαι*='I shall eat.'

I purpose then briefly to consider the salient features of the modal subjunctive in the Rig-Veda with a view to seeing whether the idea of simple futurity has not been too much ignored in the examples especially quoted by Delbrück to prove that such an idea was not the primitive one. In many cases this will lead to the discovery that the learned leader of the investigation has not ignored the future idea at all, but frankly grants it and trans-

lates accordingly. How then do the two views stand related one to another? By insisting on will as the motive power of the subjunctive Delbrück interprets other passages as will that might as well be translated future, and thus unduly depreciates (as it seems to me) the antecedent probability of the future being, from a comparative point of view, the older content of the mood (tense). If, however, to express time and not will be regarded as the primitive function of the subjunctive, the doubtful cases must be left neutral or ranged on the side upheld by comparison with subjunctive use in Homer as against that in Attic Greek.

I agree, however, fully with Delbrück that a modal sense is, if not fully developed, conspicuous in the usage of the Rig-Veda. That modal sense is will. But its origin seems to me to have been fortuitous, not inherent. For a great mass of subjunctive forms are aoristic; of these by far the greater part aorists in *s*. We have then a desiderative element influencing the subjunctive from remote antiquity. Further, the injunctive, as I think, influenced form and function of the subjunctive. Hence it is antecedently possible that a will-sense may arise in the subjunctive as a whole from a will-sense originally peculiar to certain parts. That will-sense would, however, be an attribute of the agent.

Subjunctive phenomena in the Rig-Veda:

To express prohibition (with the injunctive) *mā* is used. With the subjunctive only *nā*, the same negation as that used with the indicative.<sup>1</sup>

Independent clauses: The first person of the subjunctive: It is clearly impossible to say with certainty whether *viryaṁ prā bravā* (10. 39. 5), means 'I shall,' 'I will,' or 'let me praise your deeds.'<sup>2</sup> The form is identical with the one used for the imperative. On the other hand the simple future is used in just such cases (cf. *vakṣyāmaḥ* above). In *δῶρ' ὀνομήνω* (Il. 9. 121) and in *σῆμά τε οἱ χεύω* (Od. 2. 222) the distinction between present and aorist, *δῶσω*, is well given by shall and will. In the dual and plural 'will' or 'let us' may be the result of the fact that the examples are chiefly preterital in ending (see note below on secondary endings), yet even here it will not do to pass over the fact that in, e. g. *dakṣiṇatō bhavā me 'dhā vṛtrāṇi jaṇghanāva* (10. 83. 7) the force of *adhā*

<sup>1</sup> Delbrück, Syntax, §§177, 203. In Synt. Forsch. I., p. 112, subjunctive and injunctive are not distinguished, and the examples must be carefully sifted.

<sup>2</sup> The citations are mostly taken from Delbrück's own collection in the *Forschungen* and Syntax, whose arrangement of examples I have also followed.

may be thus expressed: 'stand at my right, *then* we two shall slay the demons.'<sup>1</sup> Moreover, in the example *sān nū vocāvahar pūnar yāto me mādhu ābhṛtam* (1. 25. 17), which Delbrück translates 'let us talk after the drink is fetched,' the *nū* may be temporal rather than exhortative, and the meaning simple future. In the second class of 'hortatory' subjunctives *jēṣāma tvityā yujā* (8. 63. 11), is it not quite arbitrary to translate 'we *will* conquer with you as friend' rather than 'with you as our friend we shall (are going to) conquer'? Although the modal sense must have been even more pronounced in prose as the indicative future superseded the future use of the subjunctive, yet even here in TS. 6. 2. 7. 4 *ihāivā vi jayāmahā ity* can scarcely mean 'will.' The demons are going to attack the gods; when they can they will conquer. Therefore the meaning must be, not 'here is the place where we will,' but 'here is the place where we shall conquer,' and consequently they there make the attack. Again, what force of will lies in Indra's remark to Prajāpati in AB. 3. 21. 1? Indra is here a smaller god than Prajāpati, but he has just done a great deed, and full of pride in it comes to Prajāpati and says, 'I am going to be the same as you, I shall be great'—Delbrück, 'I will be great,' a remark more fitting for the time before the great deed (*aham etad asāni yat tvam aham mahān asāni*, ego illud ero quod tu, ego magnus ero). It is, I admit, quite possible to read will in every first person future, such as 7. 86. 7: *āram . . mīlhūṣe karāṇi*, but the same meaning with as much apparent right may be read in the present ind. used as a future, e. g. 10. 125. 4: *ṣrudhī ṣraddhivām te vadāmi*, 'listen, I am going to tell you something credible' (I will).<sup>2</sup> But in all these examples by the very nature of the person the province of the will-force, where it exists, is doubtful. Better opportunity for examining this is given by the second person.

The second person of the subjunctive: The first example of subjunctive of will (exhortative) quoted S. F. 1. 111 is *ā vahāsi tān ihā devān* (1. 74. 6) wherewith is compared 6. 2. 11 *devān vocaḥ*, 'bring the gods here, call the gods.' As for the second

<sup>1</sup> Compare *āv* in Greek, which even in stereotyped form may often with true effect be rendered 'then,' 'in that case,' as pronominal adverb. In 8. 100. 2: 'if you will be my friend, then we shall slay,' etc., just as above, preceded by *daṣ ca*, 'and you will be' (as in Old English) = if.

<sup>2</sup> For secondary endings see below. In 2. 11. 6; 21. 3, etc., either injunctive or future meaning is possible; *stavāma*, *prdvocam* like *vakṣyāmaḥ* or imperative, cf. 1. 41. 8, *vocē*, inj.

case we do not know in what connection it originally stood, for it is out of touch with the metre of the verses immediately preceding; but in the first case the particle *ca* has been inadvertently omitted, which seems to change the sense to a *ca*-subj. This Delbrück himself renders as simple future in §186. Compare there *indraçca mṛīdyāti no nā naḥ paścād aghān naçat*, two subjunctives rendered by Delbrück "if Indra is (will be) kind to us no harm will come to us," 2. 41. 11, Syntax, p. 330. So here the prior member is *havyā . . vītāye*, '(there are) oblations for their pleasure if you will bring them here.' Or, if this interpretation be objected to, since we have no correlation as in *ā ca huvé nī ca satsihā* (76. 4), the only meaning of *ca* must be in connection with the foregoing: 'happy is any one in whose house you are and here (to us also) you will bring the gods.' Another mistranslation (if I may use the word where so much is debatable) seems to me to be given by leaving out the environment of *ghāsaḥ, joṣāyāse* in 3. 52. 3; 4. 32. 16, which words Delbrück, Syntax, p. 309, gives in partial connection as 'eat (our cake and) take joyfully (our laud).' The passage (comparing the two references) obviously is original in the second, not in the first. In the second passage it reads thus: 'Let my song reach you (impv.), drive your steeds hither (impv.), you will eat a cake and rejoice in our song as a bridegroom (does) in a bride,' the result of the imperative is expressed by the (future) subjunctive. Again (1. 80. 3) Delbrück (Synt., p. 309) translates *hānaḥ jītyāḥ* as 'strike (Vritra) win (the water),' which obviously makes excellent sense and looks like an exhortative subjunctive until we read it in connection with the preceding imperatives *prēhy abhihi*, and consider that Delbrück himself translates an intervening subjunctive (*nī yaṁsate*, Syntax, p. 316) as a simple future. The whole passage then seems rather to mean: 'Go on, attack him, be courageous, your bolt will not fail, for virile is your strength, you will slay Vritra, you will win the waters' (simple future). The poet is encouraging the god all along and tells him what will be the result of energy. The rendering of *mādayādhvāi* in 1. 37. 14 as 'wollet euch ergötzen,' I find, with all respect to Delbrück's interpretation, unsatisfactory on account of the omitted words *tātto ṣu* which precede, i. e. 'as soon as you come you will (are going to) be happy.'

Whatever modal force there is in the subjunctive shows itself best in circumstances where it is doubtful whether the modal force in the word resides in the form. Thus, in 4. 31. 3,

where Delbrück sees in *abhi bhavāsi* a 'komm herbei,' there is a concatenation of imperative and subjunctives, and to me the sense seems to be: 'How will he come, what will please him? (subjunctives as interrogatives Delbrück translates as futures); as helper indeed you will come (*abhi bhavāsi*); do come (impv.) to us.' So Ludwig, as far as the mood goes (du wirst siegen). With a participle also at times a conditional force is expressed, to which the subjunctive seems to be the apodosis. Thus 1. 139. 6-7: 'Come, O Indra, and you too, O Agni, listen to us; (when you are) worshipped you will speak' (and say what follows). The future indicative is found in this connection in prose, as in the examples cited by Delbrück from T. S. 1. 5. 9. 4: *mā stutāḥ suvargān lokān gamayiṣyati*, '(when he is) praised he will bear me to heaven.' Sometimes *ut* indicates the apodosis, as in 8. 26. 10-12: 'praise the Aṣvins; will they (subj.) hear the call and will they destroy the sinners? (O Aṣvins) hear, and you will understand (what I want to say); give me (wealth, etc.).' Here *gru-tam narot* . . . *vedaṭhaḥ* can scarcely be rendered as if they were parallel commands or exhortations.

There are, of course, cases where exhortation or command may lie, not in the formal expression, but in the situation of a simple future. This use is parallel to English 'you will stop that noise at once,' the most emphatic of all commands. Again the future (subj.) expresses the result of an agreement, the only use the subj. has in prose in the second person (Syntax, p. 309). Thus in the great fish story, ÇB. 1. 8. 1. 1 ff., the deity says to the man 'you will do so and so' (subj.), and in other cases described by Delbrück, as where conditions are made: 'she said I will make a condition, you will get all your wishes, but the oblation shall (will) first come to me,' TS. 6. 2. 7. 1.

Subjunctives of the *ā tiṣṭhātaḥ* class (8. 9. 8) might in some cases be construed as an appeal, in others like those just mentioned, but even here in such an example as that cited for exhortative use from 8. 30. 2 *iti stutāso asatha*, we have rather a *sic laudabimini* than a *so lasst euch preisen*, for the verse explains the preceding. The only cases cited by Delbrück where a future meaning is irreconcilable with the text are, it seems to me, aorists with secondary endings parallel in thought to a preceding imperative: *trdsva* . . . *rakṣisah*, 8. 61. 17, 'save, protect' (on these forms see below), which differ radically from, e. g. 3. 29. 8: 'sit down here in your own place, establish the sacrifice . . . being one that

rejoices the gods you will (thus) make sacrifice to the gods.' Generally the imperative differentiates the clauses, as in 8. 5. 27-30: 'in song we worship you; of golden seat . . . the car you will forthwith ascend (subj.) . . . with this car come to us' (impv.), where *hi* is less exhortative than affirmative. It is perhaps useless to add more examples. I think it must be admitted that in many of these cases the necessity of translating by a will-idea is not very clear. So evidently future are the two following cases that Delbrück himself regards them as about equivalent ('a sense nearly that of the future') and translates 8. 96. 7: 'Let there be friendship (impv.) then you shall (will) conquer'; and 1. 165. 12: 'you have pleased and will (shall) please now.'

The third person: The first example of this person which Delbrück (§175) regards as exhortative prayer to the gods is of the same class as some of those above: (the other gods drink) 'and so Indra will also drink,' 8. 94. 6 (so Ludwig), where *utí* (*matsati*) does not seem more than a connective. Again, in 8. 43. 24, *agnim iḥe sá u gravat*, 'I praise Agni and he will hear'; 8. 89. 3, 'being a Vṛtra-killer he will (is going to) kill Vṛtra,' *hanati*. Conditional again appears to be the participle in 5. 40. 4: *yuktvá* . . . *úpa yāsat*, 'he will come when he has yoked,' though this passage appears to be late. Delbrück freely gives over to the future meaning more cases in this person than in the second, but it is difficult to see why *á ghā tá gachān úttarā yugāni* (10. 10. 10) should be future, 'later ages will come,' and the other subjunctive four verses below, *pári śvajāte*, should not be so ('another will embrace'). The adjective *úttarā* (later) allows no escape from the future in one case: because nothing necessitates future in the other the subjunctive idea is preferred? Such plain futures as *uvāsa* . . . *uchāc ca nú*, 'dawn has shone and will shine now,' 1. 48. 3, with 1. 124. 11: *vī nūnām uchād āsati prā ketūr grhām grhām úpa tiṣṭhāte agnis*, i. e. where an adverb shows that the sense must be future, should, I think, make us doubtful of accepting cases without such adverbs as exhortations (e. g. *tiṣṭhāti* in 4. 20. 2), especially as the Vedic prose can show no exhortative use, but employs the subjunctive only to indicate the content of conditions and promises. In most of these cases, moreover, the preterite ending is used, which seems rather to indicate command than will. It is, too, possible that the preterite subjunctive may have the force of a gnomic aorist when united with the present as in 10. 25. 11: 'He gives wealth (present) he helps the

blind and lame' (*tāriṣat*); cf. 1. 128. 5: *sá nas trāsate duritāt* (also after a present), 'he will (always) save us'; and so be distinguished from *rakṣiṣat*, 8. 61. 15, which like *rakṣiṣas*, ib. 17 (S. pp. 311, 309) when united with imperatives itself gives a command.<sup>1</sup>

When the cases that might be future are weighed with those which must be simple future in the list above, when it is remembered that Vedic prose gives no example of this form of subjunctive used in exhortative sense, and that the only Homeric instances of it are οὐδ' ἔσσεται οὐδὲ γένηται: καὶ ποτέ τις εἴηται, it will perhaps seem somewhat bold to claim that the subjunctive must be originally exhortative, representing the speaker's will.

The question where the will lies in a subjunctive utterance has thus far been veiled by the doubt in regard to the real meaning of the form. In the following examples that form is confessed to be equivalent to a future (I give Delbrück's translations), and it is important to note in each case whether the supposed volition lies with the speaker (as Delbrück claims for the subjunctive in general) or with the agent. In 4. 43. 1: *ká u ḡravat katamó juṣāte*, 'welcher wird hören, wird sich erfreuen?' 'who will hear' is evidently the meaning, and looking back to *ḡravat* above, it may well be asked why a simple interrogative turn to a verb should alter the modal force—the same question will arise with the negative. In 4. 31. 2: *kás . . matsat*, 'wird erfreuen.' In 1. 84. 18: *kó maṁsate*, 'wer wird gelten.' In 1. 40. 7: *kó aḡnavat*, 'wird (kann).' Other cases: *kó yāciṣat*, 'wer wird'; *kás sṛjāt*, 'wer wird'; *kadā nv āntār bhuvāni*, 'wann werde ich'; *gachātha*, '(wann) werdet ihr kommen'; *ḡuḡrávat*, '(wann) wird er hören'; *kuvāt ḡrávatas*, 'ob sie hören' (dependent after *stuhi*). So *kin̄ kṛṇavā*, 'what shall I do,' but here Delbrück yields to 'soll ich'; and puts potential force into *varāte* (1. 65. 6) and *pāri carāṇi* (5. 29. 13) 'kann ich (soll ich).' But compare *kin̄ sá kṛṇavat*, 'what will he do,' 4. 18. 4; *ká imān ā dadharṣati*, 10. 155. 5. In most of these examples (all in Syntax, pp. 314–15) the present subjunctive is used; the will-element rests, if anywhere, with the agent, but is scarcely perceptible.

In final relative clauses Delbrück finds the same 'will of the subjunctive,' where it is surely questionable whether in, e. g. 'bring

<sup>1</sup> Of gnomic preterites I have noted: 1. 41. 5; 2. 23. 4–5; 2. 24. 5; 3. 56. 2; 7. 82. 6; 8. 5. 39; 8. 7. 1, and others. In 1. 84. 16, *yá eṣāṁ bhṛtyāni ṛṇādhat id jivāt, jivāt* is certainly future or gnomic in sense, not volitive or jussive.



wealth through which we (subj. shall, may) conquer,' we have not, as often in Greek, a future rather than a potential sense. 'Give us a ship which will help our people' (Delbrück, 'welches befördere'); 'I bring a weapon by means of which you (shall) will be victorious' (mögest, D.), is not only a possible translation, but the other, in that it cannot be maintained in all cases, seems more smooth than tenable. In 1. 113. 11 Delbrück (p. 318) translates *yé páçyān* 'who will see' (simple future). Moreover, there is no change of form when we come to relative sentences which are not final, and here Delbrück resigns the subjunctive entirely to the future idea, so that the distinction between final clauses and prior clauses seems rather a legitimate mental abstraction of what ought to be in the sentence rather than what is. But ancient grammatical forms are to thoughts what ancient alphabets are to sounds, clumsy machines often failing to make fine distinctions. Every verbal expression embraces a number of possible nuances to the modern mind which may or may not have been in the mind of the ancient speaker, and where the latter makes no distinction the modern interpreter is not entitled to do so. Thus the subjunctive is used alike for what one may consider to-day to be potential expressions and for simple future. It is quite possible that simple future lies in both. For the former (Synt., p. 319): *yó nahḥ pṛtanyāt*, 'wenn uns einer bekämpfen wird'; *yás túbhyam dāçān ná lám áñho açnavat*, 'wer dir dienen wird den wird keine noth erreichen'; *yád . . kariṣyá indra nákiṣṭád áminat*, '(was) du thun wirst . . wird dir (soll dir),' etc.; *yásmai lokán kṛṇāvas*, 'dem du verschaffen wirst.' In Homer we have the same vague future: *ὅς κε φάγησιν*, and (τιμῇ) *ἢ τε καὶ ἐσσομένοισι μετ' ἀνθρώποισι πέληται* (S. F. I. 131). Delbrück calls one of this pair the 'subjunctive of expectation,' while in the other the 'will of the speaker' is prominent. It would be hard to say which were which. There is besides a certain genial broadness of expression in early language which is best left untouched, and best translated by a careful lack of particularizing. Delbrück himself, where now he translates as future, formerly (S. F.) translated the clause above 'es soll uns einer bekämpfen,' and where now he sees 'who will seek to injure,' saw before 'schmähen sollte.' The dependent subjunctives introduced by conjunctions offer the same problem as that above. Delbrück translates *á ghā gamad yádi çrávat* in 1. 30. 8, 'let him come if he hear.' In connection with verse seven this clause means to me: 'we call the god, when (if) he hears (future) he will come,' as in *yadā*-clauses which answer to a

future perfect, *yadā yadāḥ bṛhātus*, 'when you shall have asked him.' *yadā* in 1. 151. 2. in one of the rare cases of that verb is construed with future indicative (*yadā bharṣvata* = *bharṣvata*). A pair of conjunctions is here important, *yadā* and *yāthā*. According to Delbrück, *yadā* is first temporal, then final, *as* and *that*; *yāthā*, *as* and *that*. With the first he regularly renders the subjunctive by the future: with the second he construes like a Greek *as* with subjunctive: *yadā yadāḥ*, when he will fly; *yadā bhavāsi*, when it will be (§180. 2). Final clauses are, of course, more naturally given by *as*-subj.; but it does not follow that they may not have been felt as futures. If *ēnos* and *ay* still take the future (*ēnos* regularly with the second person even in Attic) in Homer (*ēnos enlīpsetai, mī nos enlōwsetai*) the same freedom is quite conceivable in the Rig-Veda, only one must remember how undeveloped were the forms of the future indicative. *yadā* is correlative to *kathā* and *ātthā*, and no objection is made to rendering the verb here by future. In 1. 120. 1 *kathā vidhātṛ dpravetāḥ* asks the poet 'how is an ignorant person going to (will) worship?' In 10. 52. 5 Delbrück translates *ātthā jayāti* (after a clause involving a condition) 'denn soll er (wieder) siegen.' *kathā* means 'in what way'; *ātthā*, 'in that way,' and *yāthā* 'in which way,' and this with the future rather than 'damit' with subjunctive meaning is, to my mind, the right interpretation of all these relative clauses. The negative is never prohibitive. Thus 10. 85. 26 (although this is a very late passage), *yāthāsaḥ* is 'in which way,' 'whereby you will be'; 7. 26. 1: '(I sing) so that he will hear' (lit. whereby he is going to hear); Delbrück: damit er höre. In like manner the *yad*-clauses. Like *yadā bhavāti*, 'when it will be' (Delbrück, as future), so the qualitative *yadā*, 'this praise (shall) will be thine so that (how) you will show mercy,' 8. 45. 33. Meaning 'until' *yadā* is equated with the future by Delbrück (1. 113. 10).

Finally, the use of the negative. When, as said above, the will of the speaker appears in the injunctive, *mā*, the prohibitive particle is used. The earliest subjunctive knows nothing of *mā*. It uses *nā*, the unprohibitive negative employed with the indicative. Nor does Delbrück construe negative clauses as other than thus indicated: *nā mṛṣāt*, 'he will not be merciful' ('wird nicht'); *yadā nā marā iti mānyase*, 'when you think I am not going to die' ('werde'). Delbrück finds only one case in which he thinks may lie a prohibitive sense, 8. 81. 4: 'come, we are going to praise Indra, he will not neglect us' (Delbrück, 'er vernachlässige uns

nicht'). What will there is lies here in the agent. It is difficult to see how a simple negative can change a modal notion of will into futurity.<sup>1</sup>

While I do not deny that the Vedic subjunctive seems at times to have a modal sense, I claim that many of the cases interpreted as modal may well be future besides the many more acknowledged to be so, and that the modal sense developed in proportion as the will of the *sy*-future yielded to simple futurity, thus taking the original function of the subjunctive.<sup>2</sup> When one considers in connection with this review of the subjunctive in the comparatively late age of the Rig-Veda the fact that the archetypical subjunctives *ero* and *ἔδομαι* are simple futures; that, as the subjunctive is used devoid of all modal sense to express the future in many cases of the Veda, so it is used regularly in Avestan, in Armenian, in (Greek and) Latin, and that, when earlier and later Greek usage is compared, the purely temporal use is seen to be gradually restricted in application, the later subjunctive being more exclusively modal than the Homeric, it must, I think, be admitted that it is impossible to postulate for the primitive subjunctive a purely modal (will) function, and that for the pre-Aryan period the future may well have been the original force of the mood (tense).<sup>3</sup>

The question then presents itself whether the Hindus also, like other Aryans, did not, before the full development of their future indicative in *sy*, employ particularly the *s*-aorist subjunctive to denote the future, and whether the real equation of the Greek future (subjunctive) is not with the corresponding Vedic *s*-aorist form, that is, whether instead of  $\delta\acute{\omega}\sigma\epsilon\tau\epsilon = d\acute{\alpha}sy\acute{\alpha}l\theta\alpha$ , we should not equate  $\delta\acute{\omega}\sigma\epsilon\tau\epsilon = d\acute{\alpha}s\acute{a}t\theta\alpha$ ,  $\theta\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\tau\epsilon = d\theta\acute{\eta}s\acute{a}t\theta\alpha$ . This old view (cf. M. U. iii. 33) has always lacked the support given it by an understanding of the state of the case, as regards the *sy*-future in literature. What was a mere phonetic equation becomes a syn-

<sup>1</sup> Compare Syntax, pp. 311, 316. *Nd + ld (ndd)* may also introduce subjunctive. Delbrück as 'lest.' The use is spätvedisch, S. F. I. 122.

<sup>2</sup> It is not till the later prose period that the prohibitive *mā* is found with the subj. instead of *nd* (*uī* for *oi*). It is only with the first person that Delbrück deems the prose subj. the same with that of the Rig-Veda and here 'I will' or 'I shall' is exposed to the doubt already expressed. For the second person see above. For the third Delbrück says in general that it is not exhortative. The examples seem to me to indicate a slight modal increase. Compare Synt. p. 315. 316.

<sup>3</sup> I remind the classical reader again that the Latin subjunctive is phonetically united, and hence syntactically confused with the optative.

tactical probability when it becomes known that the Rig-Veda loses on analysis most of its *sy*-future verb-forms and employs the subjunctive as future.

There are so few roots in *siṣ*-, *sa*-aorists that their rare subjunctives are of no importance. But the *a*-aorist, *s*-aorist and *iṣ*-aorist embrace about one hundred roots apiece. Now for *a*- and *iṣ*-aorists there are scarcely any subjunctives with primary endings (the last has a number with secondary endings), but for the *s*-aorist there are more than thirty forms with primary endings alone (Grammar, 846, 849, 886, 893, 903, 906).

It was shown above that *sy*-futures in verbal form occur rarely in genuine parts of the older books, generally in late books and suspected passages. The *s*-future (i. e. subj. *s*-aor. with primary endings used as future), occurs, on the contrary, seldom in passages suspected of being late, for the most part in older books, and in large proportion in the eighth book which is (phonetically, treatment of vowels) reckoned the oldest. The accent of these forms is on the root-syllable.<sup>1</sup> I contend that they are futures.

*Trāsate* (cf. *trāsāthe*), 1. 128. 5, *nas duritāt*; 7, *dhūrtés*, 'his, are the offerings, he will save us.' (Accents as in text.)

*Darṣasi*, 8. 32. 5 (I call you the god) 'you will burst asunder

<sup>1</sup> Grassmann's rejection of certain passages is seldom without reason (based on form, metre, etc.), of simple but convincing force. In discussing the *sy*-future, as each rejection favored my theory, I gave his reasons in detail. Here I simply mark as 'rejected' such passages as G. deems late, very few. In regard to the appellation *s*-future, used above with some freedom as an equivalent of subj. aor. in future sense, since almost all the forms have the same endings as those of the future indicative, it remains an open question whether the desiderative *s* was not furnished with indicative and subjunctive endings both, and all later put under the rubric of subjunctive, as the *s* which changed the simple future (of the subjunctive) imparted desideration to the form and made it similar to the indicative furnished with the same sibilant. In connection with this must be noted the two forms in the list below with weak roots on a par with *kṛṣṣ*, *stuṣṣ*, viz. *dṛkṣase* and *pṛkṣase*. For the others, with *trās-ate*, cf. *idr-ati*; with *nāhsante*, *nāmantē*; with *né-ṣ-ati*, *nē(nay)ati*; with *māds-ati*, *mādati*, etc. (denominative future, *trāsyāte*, *namāsyāti*, *neṣyāti*, etc.). The *iṣ*-aorist forms with primary endings bear the same relation to these as does *manisyé* to *maṇsyé*. There are only three, one with imper.-subjunctive ending, two with equivalents of the future (indicative) endings, *yāciṣāmahe*, 8. 67. 1: 'we are going to worship' (opening of hymn); and *saniṣāmahe*, 3. 11. 9 (end of hymn), as a result of hymn 'we shall get possession of all we want' (because we praise Agni, cf. 7-8: 'It is through worship a mortal acquires what he wants, since we are your praisers we shall (or let us) get all we want'). I interpret as *saniṣāmahe* = *saniṣyāmahe*, implying the forms *saniṣé*, *saniṣāmi*.

the stronghold; if it will be a pleasure to you (lit. if you will be pleased) to hear a song, come.'

Md. *darṣate*, 10. 120. 6 (see *sākṣate* below).

*Dāsathah*, 8. 40. 1: 'O Indra-Agni, ye twain most mighty ones will give us wealth whereby we shall (let us) conquer' (Ludwig, ihr werdet geben).

*dhāsathah*, 1. 160. 5: 'being lauded ye will bestow great glory and power upon us, whereby we shall (let us) extend ourselves on all sides.'

*dhāsatha* (*ā*, *dhōere*), 1. 111. 2: 'fashion us productive strength so that we shall live in a family of heroes—that (is) the manly power you will bestow upon our band.'

*Nāṁsante*, 7. 58. 5 (compare 3. 33. 10: *nī te naṁsāi*): *vivāse*, *kuvīn nāṁsante* . . *pūnar naḥ*, 'will they return?'

*Nēṣati*, 5. 46. 1: 'I yoke myself (to metre, i. e. I begin my song), . . . he (god) will lead me aright.'

*neṣathā*, 5. 54. 6: 'your glory has shone forth, when you will have stolen (*mōṣatha*) the flood then you will lead us well (in song).' The storm gathers.

— 8. 47. 11: 'like steeds to a good watering-place you will lead us well.'

*Pārṣati*, 5. 25. 1: 'I extol Agni, he will give . . . he will save from enmity, for he is trusty.'

(*ati*) *pārṣathah*, 8. 26. 5: 'for you will save from enmity.'

— 5. 73. 8: 'when you (will have) come over' (i. e. future, *yāt samudrā 'ti pārṣathas*; Ludwig, wenn ihr durchschritten habt).

— 10. 143. 4: *citē tād vāṁ surādhasā rātiḥ sumatiḥ* . . *ā yān naḥ sādane pṛthau sāmāne pārṣatho ṇarā*, 'when you will save us.'

*pārṣatha*, 1. 86. 7: *subhāgaḥ sāḥ* . . *astu yāsya prāyāṁsi pārṣatha*, 'happy shall he be whose food ye will take (accept).'

— 8. 83. 3: *āti no viṣpitā purū* . . *pārṣatha* ('will save').

*pāri-Pāsati*, 10. 17. 4 (1-2 Grassmann rejects, 3 impv. and *pāri dadat*, 4, *pāsati*, *pātu*).

*pāri-pāsataḥ*, 7. 34. 23 (*ubhé rōdasī* . . *naḥ*; Gr. rejects because of metre; 22 impv.).

*Mātsati*, 8. 94. 6: 'The maruts drink and Indra will also drink' (*utó*, so Ludwig).

*mātsatha* (*ā*), 1. 186. 1: *devā etu, āpi yāthā mātsathā no viṣvaṁ jāgat* ('so that you also will').

*Mañsase*, 10. 27. 10: *átré 'd u me mañsase satyám uktám divi-pácca yác ca cátuṣpāt sañsrjāni, strībhir yó átra vṛṣaṇaṁ pṛtan-yád áyuddho asya vibhajāni védaḥ*. I will let Ludwig's translation show the future of the first; the following are imperatives: da wirst du für wahrhaft meine rede halten.

*mañsate*, 1. 84. 17-18: *kó mañsate sántam indram* (after *ká īṣate tujyáte kó bibhāya*); *kó mañsate vilīhotraḥ sudevāḥ* (after *kásmai devā ā vahān āçū hōma*).

*anu* — 8. 62. 11: 'Let us (or, we will) join hands for victory; then every one will approve'—*arātivā cit . . ānu nau mañsate*.

— 5. 46. 4: *rayé no vibhvā ānumañsate*, 'will be favorable' (cf. *neṣati* above).

*pari* — 7. 59. 3 (2, *prá sá kṣāyaṁ tirate . . yó vo dáçati*): *nahí vaç caramāncanā vásiṣṭhaḥ parimañsate . . pibata*. '(He who gives to you increases his wealth); for that reason V. will not neglect the least of you; drink ye.'

*māñsante*, 7. 34. 3 (cf. *pāsataḥ* above, in 23): *vṛtréṣu çūrā māñsanta ugrāḥ*. In this example it is impossible to find an expression of the speaker's will, 'they will be reckoned heroes among the Vritras' (compare *māñsāi*, 10. 113. 10: *ābhara . . yēbhīr māñsāi nivācanāni çāñsan*).

*Yakṣataḥ*, 2. 3. 7: *daivya hólārā . . ṛjū yakṣataḥ sám ṛcā* (with impv.). (Then) 'you will sacrifice,' compare 5, impv. 'let the doors open.'

*āyakṣate*, 8. 19. 4 (we choose thee): *só apām ā sumnām yakṣate divi*, 'will sacrifice.'

*Yamṣataḥ*, 7. 74. 5: 'they will confer glory' (Grassmann rejects without giving any reason; the metre is right).

*vi* — 10. 66. 7: *yāv ijiré . . tā naḥ çárma viyamṣataḥ*, 'I call them . . they will confer protection.'

*úd-yamṣate*, 1. 143. 7: *ṛñjate . . indhāno úd u no yamṣate dhiyam*, 'and he will bear up.'

*ní* — 1. 80. 3: *prēhy abhīhi dhṛṣṇuḥ ná te vājro níyamṣate, indra, nṛmṇām hi te çāvo hāno vṛtrān jāyā apāḥ* (see above). Delbrück, Syntax, p. 316, 'wird nicht versagen.'

*Yoṣati*, 8. 31. 17: *ná prá yoṣan ná yoṣati*, 'nor held him off nor will' (compare ib. 15, *abhí bhuvat*, 'will overcome,' and 3, *dyumān asad ráthah*, 'will be').

8. 33. 9: *yádi maghāvā çṛṇavat . . ná indro yoṣaty ā gamat*, 'he will not linger afar off' (hören wird, Ldw.).

*ā-Vaṅsate*, 8. 103. 9: *ā vaṅsate maghāvā virāvad yācaḥ sāmīd-dhaḥ*, 'will acquire.'

*āpa-Varṣataḥ*, 8. 5. 21 (19, *piḥatam*, 20, *tēna śām vāhatam*) *utā no divyā iṣa utā sindhūn . . āpa dvāreva varṣataḥ* (24, *āyātān yād huvé*), 'you will open like doors the streams.'

*Vakṣati*, 1. 1. 2: *sā devāñ ehā vakṣati* (1, *agnim iḥe*).

1. 14. 9: id. of priest (8, let gods drink, 9, the priests will bring them).

1. 129. 8 (variant metre, but not rejected by Grassmann): *nā vakṣati, nā vakṣati*, 'the weapon will not carry (to us).'

*Vakṣataḥ*, 8. 6. 45: *tvā hārī vakṣataḥ* (from 34 to 48 Grassmann considers late), 'will bring,' here and below.

8. 32. 30: id. vs. with 6. 45 (but not rejected).

8. 14. 12: *hārī somapēyāya*.

8. 34. 9: id. (8, *vakṣat*, 10, *āyāhi*).

8. 2. 27: id. (*gamat* . . *āyāhi*).

*ūpa* — 8. 4. 14: (*ūpa hārī, sāptayo vāhantu*).

1. 16. 2: (1, *vāhantu*): *hārī ihōpa vakṣataḥ* (4, *ūpa ā gahi*).

*Rāsate*, 1. 96. 8: *draviṇodāḥ prāyaṅsat . . rāsate (dirghām āyuh)*, 'will give,' here and below.

7. 45. 3: *martabhōjanam ādha rāsate nas* (preceded by *sāviṣat*).

8. 1. 22: *dādāti . . sā sunvaté ca stuvalé ca rāsate*.

4. 55. 8: *tāny asmābhyān rāsate (agnīḥ)*. Grassmann rejects.

10. 122. 1: *vāsūn nā ciirāmahasān grṇīṣe . . ātithim . . sā rāsate*.

*Sākṣate (darṣate)*, 10. 120. 6: *stuṣēyyam . . ādarṣate dānūn . . prā sākṣate pratimānāni* (5, *śācadmahe codāyāmi śiṣāmi*), 'will overcome.'

*Hāsate*, 9. 27. 5: *eṣā sūryeṇa hāsate pāvamāno ādhi dyāvi*.

With weak root: *sām-dṛkṣase*, 1. 6. 7, 'you will appear, going with Indra,' and *prkṣase*, 10. 22. 7: (*ā na indra prkṣase 'smākaṁ brāhma*).

I have incorporated into this list only forms with primary endings. Those with secondary endings (some are really indicative) appear more like the injunctive, perhaps by analogy with it obtaining their imperative character; yet this is rather more marked in the later books, and perhaps it is on this account that they seem to be used with predilection by the subsequent writers (of books one and ten) and are apt to appear in later and sus-

pected passages. This general observation will be fully corroborated by a comparison of the forms in the list above (in respect of place) with the preterital forms. For it will be noticed that the primary endings show chiefly in early and unsuspected passages, while (to cite a few instances from a list too long to discuss in detail) on examining the position of secondary endings we find: *chantsat*, twice, 1. 132. 6 rejected, 10. 32. 3 rejected; *darṣat*, twice, 9. 74. 7; 10. 27. 7 rejected; *āti dāsat*, 8. 1. 33 rejected (evidently here aorist indicative; this same hymn has also *yāsat*, 8, *yoṣat*, 27); *yāsat* again in 5. 40. 4 rejected where also *matsat*; *rāsan*, 7. 34. 22 rejected, etc. Or, to make direct comparison between the same verb with primary and secondary endings, compare *vakṣati*, *vakṣataḥ*, occurring 1. 1. 2, 1. 14. 9, 1. 16. 2, 1. 129. 8, 8. 2. 27, 8. 4. 14, 8. 6. 45, 8. 14. 12, 8. 32. 30, 8. 34. 9 (only 8. 6. 45 rejected) with *vakṣas*, *vakṣat*, *vakṣan*, 1. 104. 2, 1. 135. 4, 1. 157. 3, 3. 5. 9, 5. 33. 2, 6. 22. 7, 8. 34. 8, 8. 74. 14 rejected, 10. 20. 10 rejected, 10. 61. 23 rejected, 10. 176. 2.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The preterital subj. is old and loses the future sense first with its changed form. The endings are regarded as due to the abrasion of the primary, and Delbrück warns against drawing other conclusion from this fact (Verbum, p. 192) than that abrasion of endings is more rapid in forms increased by the additional element (*s* of the aorist, Verbum, p. 192). The abrasion seems to me to have been at first mechanical, and then aided by analogy with injunctives. In proportion as the subjunctive gained in modal power, expressing a likeness to imperative, its forms were more often assimilated to those of the indicative, which as unaugmented preterite was used as an imperative from the earliest times (*dhōs*, *dāts*), so that the modal effect of the subjunctive was by reflex action still further imperativized. This undoubted function of preterite indicatives has an important bearing on some subjunctive forms not touched upon above. I refer to *jeṣam*, *stoṣam* alongside of *stoṣāmi* and the like. If the subjunctive had originally future sense and primary endings the first persons would often be like the indicative (*vadāmi* in 10. 125. 4 has future sense, see above), while mechanical abrasion, by analogy with preterite *jaiṣam*, would give *jeṣam*, etc.; they must then be, when not indicative (*dāsat*), the result of contamination with preterite indicatives used as imperatives (injunctives) in ending like *regam*, etc. This function leads to the inquiry whether the *ā*-root examples 'of problematic character' with optative value (Grammar, 894c) *yeṣam*, *geṣam*, etc., do not give a key to the original force of that mood. The optative is a grammatical organ which was primarily preterital in form and future in meaning (whether optative or potential). A grammatical entity past in form and future in sense must be a sort of future perfect. Such a future perfect can easily develop into a potential ('will have been' = 'would be', 'might be'), but I have always been puzzled to account for the optative derivation (Delbrück now admits that the potential idea may be as old as the optative, Syntax, p. 302). By granting that the preterital form enabled the optative to be used in



On comparing the use of present subjunctive (without *s*) I find that of the 47 cases of *asas*, *asat* 28 are in books 1 and 10 alone. The only forms of *s*-aorist subjunctive with primary endings not coincident with indicative are in the Rig-Veda (recorded) *naṁsāi*, *maṁsāi*, *trāsāthe*, and 10. 88. 3 *stoṣāṇi*. In most of the forms of the list above I can find no more exhortation or 'speaker's will' than in a *sy*-future, only an actor's will, or, with the future's weakening of sense, futurity.

To summarize what seem to me to be reasonable deductions from the facts given above:

The present indicative modified by alteration of stem ('subjunctive') was used to connote the idea of futurity. From prehistoric times a desiderative *s*, when united with the present stem, the function of which had been to express time, imparted to that stem as it did to simple roots the force of volition, a force that soon affected unsigmatic forms as well, so that the whole tense or mood varied between *will* and *shall*, and thus produced the fluctuation of meaning seen in the subjunctive. The most primitive (non-sigmatic) futures of this sort (present subjunctive) have, therefore, no sense of will, *ero*, *ἔδομαι*.

The lengthened *ā* and the strengthened middle-endings are indeed pre-Aryan, but non-archetypical. The former arose from confusing thematic and athematic stems. The forms *hánati* and *ālerai* are the prototypes of the subjunctive (future). Whether, therefore, we call the *s*-aorist subjunctive a subjunctive or a future is a question of nomenclature alone.<sup>1</sup>

As *s* had intruded on the future (subjunctive), so before or in the period of Slavic-Indiranian unity (which is no figment; compare the gutturals) this *s* began to be used with the indicative

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an imperative sense, solely through the accident of form, one gets a legitimate optative development through the preterite form which in turn must have been potential by virtue of its tense-value. Since the imperative itself appears to have been originally a preterite with modified endings in part, and in part endings made from stereotyped adverbs (*dhi*, *hi*, *ni*, *tāt* adv., *tana* as in *nūtana*) the question arises whether the Aryans did not at first make these later modal expressions out of indicative tense-values, somewhat like Hebrew, where imperative, jussive and intentional (voluntative) moods are derived from the imperfect. The imperative and optative are, however, firmly established as such at the time of unity; only the subjunctive seems not yet to have been fully given over to modality, but was already inclining in that direction.

<sup>1</sup> Unmodified presents, *ἔιμι*, etc., are formally normal when used as futures. Their futurity lies in the mental attitude of the speaker.

present, parallel to its long established use in the indicative preterite. Prior to the expansion of the *sy*-future less durative forms had been attempted by attaching *s* directly to root or stem and fitting it out with present endings. The same reason as that which caused the creation of the Latin auxiliary future produced the Sanskrit (indicative) future in *sy*, the gradual acquisition of modal force and generalizing of future sense in the inherited future (subjunctive). Vestiges of the first formation may be seen perhaps in R. V. *stuṣṣé* and other antique formulae of religious service, and in A. V. *sākṣé*, *mekṣāmi*; of the root, in *hā-s-anti*; of the 'subj.' in *dāṣati*; *δῶσεται* = \**dāṣate*.

This future yielded to one which began as a denominative participial adjective,<sup>1</sup> was established as a verb when Eastern unity ceased, but still used sparingly as compared with 'participles' or with the subjunctive future in the earlier period of the Rig-Veda. It denoted will. This force gradually gave way as the subjunctive future and injunctive superseded it in this function (become modal to give will and command, and then united in this sense), and the *sy*-future became a simple tense of future time, which sense, conversely, for the most part passed from the subjunctive.

As an intermediate step between the *sy*-future of the later Rig-Vedic period and the general subjunctive future of the earliest time appears the special development of the subjunctive with primary endings (future) modified by *s*, which in most cases (even after the establishment of special subjunctive types) is still the formal equivalent of an indicative thematic stem,<sup>2</sup> and corresponds to the *sy*-future form. Since this is the form of (subjunctive) future employed by most Aryans it is probable that it is an inherited strong future of the Hindus, and may be equated directly with its Greek and Latin equivalent. The diminution of such *s*-future forms is in proportion to the increase of the *sy*-

<sup>1</sup> Wackernagel gives a curious parallel to this in K. Z. 28. 141. The Greek sigmatic desideratives, *ὀψείοντες*, *πολεμῆσειοντες*, etc., are all used as participles for some time before they assume verbal functions. In Hesiod *δρασειοντες*, in Soph. *δρασειεις*, etc. (no verbs in older poets and prose)—an interesting analogue, if nothing more, to R. V. *sariṣydn*, *haniṣydn*, A. V. *sariṣyḍtha*, *haniṣyḍi*. The ending *ni* (the only ending of the subjunctive which is not primitive) comes from the adverb (as in the case of other imperative endings) and is neither primitive nor even in the Rig-Veda a necessary addition. It was probably the result of injunctive, imperative, influence.

<sup>2</sup> Compare *hā-s-ante* and *hāṣati* in list above, *bhū*, *bhīṣati*, etc.

forms. An auxiliary future may possibly be assumed for the primitive period.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> I add this sentence with hesitation. The statement is, of course, based upon the fact that Latin and Keltic have a future in *b* which is supposed to be derived from *bhū* added to an original dative infinitive in *e*, *sadē-bhuo*. If the ending is really *bhū* the form cannot be reckoned as primitive, for such a formation is only paralleled by an *ām*- inf. with the (periphrastic perfect) form *babhūva* (also used with *ptc.*) which is later than *kr*, while the later periphrastic future (unknown to the Rig-Veda) takes *as*, and not *bhū*. There are, moreover, phonetic difficulties in the way of the equation, and so many theories affecting the preceding vowel that I scarcely venture to compare the following Vedic form (based also on a dative infinitive preceding the verb) except as an interesting parallel to the Latin form by a suggested equation  $b = dh$ . The form *bam*, like *eram*, must be a later growth, so that its vowel does not come in play (no such form exists in Keltic). The form *bo*, always after vowels, may represent *dh*, as in *uber*, *ov̄θap*, *ūdhar* (Umbrian *teist*, *l*-future = *d*?). Analogous to *gāni* may be assumed *dhā-ni* (the first person is not extant). *Dhāh* may be subjunctive (*dhāti*, indic.) or injunctive. Now this form is used in the sense of future (subjunctive as above) with the meaning of put to, i. e. make, with dative infinitive (or of noun, it amounts to the same thing) in *e* which regularly stands just before it. Compare I. 54. 11: *naḥ . . iṣé dhāh*; 7. 20. 10: *naḥ . . iṣé dhāh*; 3. 36. 10: *asmé çatdm çarddo jivdse dhāh*. In 5. 36. 5, *no bhāre dhās* (in spite of the accent) seems also to be used like the other infinitives in this formula. A corresponding infinitive to *av* would give *\*avē-dhā = avebo*. *Dhā* is used, like *kr*, in the sense of put, make. The identical position is kept when *dhāh* is injunctive: *mā naḥ . . riṣé dhāt*, 5. 41. 16; 7. 34. 17; 'he shall not make us to suffer.' In most cases the *make*-, *do*-idea is appended in the same place (compare for *dhā* as pendant *çradddhā*, *credo*, and old English *derringdo*), so that the formula seems periphrastic. Compare *jivdse dhāh* I. 72. 7, with *dadhāsi jivdse* I. 91. 7 (the pf. in 2. 23. 14, *yé tvā nidé dadhīrē*). There are doubtless a good many more cases. The Greek equivalent of *dhā*, *bo* would be  $\theta\omega$  (and here  $\theta\eta\nu = dhām$ ). Independently with preceding inf. and with somewhat of this sense in *τιν' ἐπαιρὼν εἶναι θῶ*; 'whom shall I make myself for to be?' De Cor. 180. If Vedic *tha* represents an earlier *dha* (compare *adha*, *atha*, *çrudhty*, *çrath*, *gūr-dhay*, *dh* and *th* sec. roots (cf. *ἐργάζειν*), *nādhāmāna* Veda, *nāthate* Brāhmaṇa) one might even hazard the query whether this form was not employed to make verbal endings in Sanskrit, of which *tha* (*tha*), *thas* survived in stereotyped form. This would bring one round about to Wackernagel, K. Z. 30. 302. But the preceding *e* in Latin is very likely not a dative at all. The most important point in regard to *bo*, however, is that, whether from *bhū* or *dhā*, if from either, it is a subjunctive used to designate simple future.

## II.—PROMETHEUS AND THE CAUCASUS.

It is a wide-spread belief among scholars that the scenes of the two plays 'Prometheus Bound' and 'Prometheus Loosed' were different, and that Aeschylus represented his hero as performing an underground journey of a thousand or two of miles between these two plays. It is supposed on the one hand, from testimony of Cicero and others (to be considered hereafter), that the scene of the Prometheus Loosed was certainly the Caucasus mountain range. And on the other hand it is thought to be equally clear, from internal evidence of the tragedy itself, that the scene of the Prometheus Bound is not the Caucasus, but the northern edge of Scythia near the ocean. Now Prometheus is swallowed up by the ground at the end of the first piece, and reappears, still bound to his rock, at the beginning of the second, and it certainly follows, granted the above premisses, that the poet intended the subterranean transit in question.

C. G. Schütz, the well-known editor of Aeschylus, was the first to assert distinctly that the two tragedies had different scenes.<sup>1</sup> This was in 1782. Bothe, Porson, Heyne, Hermann and others presently gave in their assent.<sup>2</sup> It must be observed that these earlier scholars did not conceive of the two plays as connected in a trilogy. When Welcker, in 1824, maintained the existence of a Prometheus-trilogy, he rejected the notion of a change of scene as incompatible with that theory. On the other hand, Hermann, holding to the difference in scene, made it a prime argument against Welcker's theory of a trilogy Prometheus. It was reserved for a later generation to believe at once in the trilogy and in the change of scene, and so to hold that Prometheus is somehow transferred from one place of punishment to the other. This has become, I may say, the received doctrine, set forth in most editions of the Prometheus.<sup>3</sup> And it has met with surpris-

<sup>1</sup>Although Stanley, a century earlier, had maintained that the Caucasus was not the scene of the Prometheus Bound.

<sup>2</sup>See citations Welcker, Aeschyl. Trilogie, p. 33.

<sup>3</sup>First, perhaps, G. C. W. Schneider in his edition (1834). Then Schömann, Woolsey, Paley, Weil, L. Schmidt and Wecklein. Also Bergk (Griech. Litera-

ingly little dissent, considering the difficulties with which it is beset.

For that it is a hard doctrine, few, I think, will deny. The trilogy theory will doubtless stand. No one—now that Wilhelm Dindorf has passed away—doubts that the Prometheus Bound and the Prometheus Unbound were acted together, and it is probably needless for me to rehearse the evidence for it. But how can the scene of these two plays have been different? The case is not that of a simple shifting of scene, as between the Choephoroi and the Eumenides. Prometheus cannot be understood to transfer himself by ordinary locomotion. He remains fixed to his cliff in the convulsion which ends the first play, and he is still fixed there at the opening of the other. That he has meanwhile passed, cliff and all, to another part of the world seems a singularly irrelevant and unnecessary conception. There is no indication of such a transfer in the text of the preserved play. Hermes foretells what is to happen, with considerable detail. The craggy gorge will be shattered by a bolt of lightning; Prometheus will be hidden from sight; he will lie in a *πετραία ἀγκάλη*, 'a crevice of rock'; after lapse of long time he will come to the light again (*ἄψορρον ἦξευς ἐς φάος*); then the eagle will come to devour his vitals.<sup>1</sup> There is nothing of a subterranean journey, nothing of a transfer to the summit of Caucasus. We cannot, of course, assert positively that this was not mentioned in the Prometheus Unbound. And yet it seems hardly possible that it was. The Prometheus *λυόμενος* began directly with the parodos of the chorus of Titans.<sup>2</sup> After this came a speech of Prometheus to the Titans. Here, if anywhere, was the natural place for this change of the place of punishment to be mentioned. Now we have from Cicero's hand a loose translation of the whole of this speech, but

turgeschichte) and (in substance) Bernhardt. The same conclusion is reached in the dissertation of Bernhard Foss *de loco in quo Prometheus apud Aeschylum vinctus sit*, Bonn, 1862. Schömann, if I understand him, fancies that Prometheus, after his underground confinement, was shot up like a rocket and fell on the top of Caucasus. Schneider supposes that the hero was understood, in the interval between the plays, to be dragged to the Caucasus and rebound there by Hephaestus. But the favorite view is that of an underground passage.

<sup>1</sup> Verses 1016-1025.

<sup>2</sup> "εἰθὺς ἀρχόμενος τῆς τραγωιδίας" in Procopius Hist. Goth. 4, 6. See the fragment-collections. Notwithstanding this, Schömann makes his "Gelöster Prometheus" begin with a soliloquy of the hero.

there is no allusion to any change of place, though the hero describes his past binding by the hand of Hephaestus and his present punishment through the eagle.

Finally, no adequate motive for the supposed change of locality can be assigned. Wecklein ascribes it to the desire for variety. But the variety could have consisted in nothing but the substitution of one painted scene for another very similar one. And since the publication of Wilamowitz's recent article in *Hermes* on the 'Bühne des Aischylos,' it will be doubted by many whether scenes or scenery were known to the Attic theatre at the time of the composition of this trilogy. Variety would be dearly bought at the price of so clumsy a device. And Aeschylus did not hesitate in the *Oresteia* to keep the same scene during two successive plays—*Agamemnon* and *Choephoroi*.<sup>1</sup>

It might occur to some one to suppose a change of place to be somehow bound up with the engulfment and the reappearance of Prometheus. This engulfment is, of course, a feature added by Aeschylus; it was no part of the former story. I dare say that some have thought that the swallowing-up was a device for bringing about a change of scene—that Prometheus is made to disappear in the bowels of the earth in order that he may reappear in a different place. A little consideration will show that this is not so. The upturning at the end of the *Προμηθεὺς δεσμώτης* is a device—and the only possible device—for getting Prometheus off the scene. The poet wished to exhibit the bound Prometheus in two successive plays, separated by a 'wait.' In the modern theatre this would be managed very simply. The curtain would descend on Prometheus at the end of one piece, and rise on him at the beginning of the other. But what was the primitive playwright to do? Prometheus could not be left hanging during the interval between the two plays.<sup>2</sup> He must absolutely be got off at the end of the *δεσμώτης*, and got on at the beginning of the *λυόμενος*—and got on in a bound condition, for the binding scene cannot be repeated. We see what an embarrassment the poet was in, and how ingeniously he met the difficulty; and we see that all this points to no change of locality whatsoever.

<sup>1</sup> Schneider assigns other and incredibly trivial reasons for the supposed transfer. As, for instance, that Zeus desired to remove Prometheus from the sympathetic companionship of Oceanus and his daughters!

<sup>2</sup> I do not urge the consideration that Prometheus was represented by a dummy in the first play and by a live man in the second, because there are still some who doubt the use of a lay-figure in the Prometheus Bound.

The makeshift is indeed more successful in the termination of the first piece than in the opening of the second. The catastrophe of the *δεσμώτης* is extremely effective, and no one suspects a device. Not so the commencement of the *λυόμενος*. This play must have been rather abruptly and awkwardly ushered in by the rising of the silent and still fettered figure of Prometheus from the hollow underneath the orchestra. Nothing else is possible. But this rising, observe, cannot be understood as his first emergence from underground imprisonment—the 'coming to light' promised in verse 1021 of the preceding play. For if so, where does the punishment by the eagle come in? This punishment had gone on for ages at the time when the action of the drama begins.<sup>1</sup> Clearly the emergence of Prometheus is no part of the play, but only, so to speak, a signal that the play is to begin. As soon as he is there, he is immediately supposed to have been hanging there for an immense period. And this explains why Prometheus says nothing at the outset of the piece, but waits to be addressed by the leader of the chorus. Were he supposed to be emerging for the first time after countless years spent in solitary darkness, this would be highly unnatural.

We see, then, that the swallowing-up of Prometheus and his reappearance are without significance for the question of locality, and are primarily a means of effecting an exit and a re-entrance of the hero.

Shall we then adopt Welcker's view, and say that Caucasus is the scene of *both* plays? The difficulties in the way of this are familiar. First, the opening lines of the Prometheus Bound say nothing about the Caucasus, but speak of a remote region of Scythia. It further appears that this is near the Ocean, for the Oceanids hear the blows of Hephaestus's hammer. Secondly, the directions given to Io show that the speakers are not stationed on the Caucasus. After leaving Prometheus, Io is to come to the Nomad Scythians, skirt the country of the Chalybes, reach and ascend the valley of a river Hybristes, and then she is to arrive *πρὸς αὐτὸν Καύκασον, ὅρων ὕψιστον* (verse 719) and cross its lofty summits. Obviously a long journey is here described, and the starting-point cannot be the Caucasus itself. Thirdly, the Caucasus is spoken of as peopled, or as having peoples living near it (422), while the scene of the play is an *ἄβροτος ἐρημία* (2), an *ἀπάνθρωπος*

<sup>1</sup> *Vetusta saeculis glomerata horridis luctifica clades*, Frag. III, verse 25.

πάγος (20). These arguments are cogent, and show that the Prometheus Bound is not enacted in the Caucasus. Welcker's attempts to weaken their force partake of the nature of quibbles. Caucasus, he said, was looked on as a Scythian mountain, and it might be that the poet meant that mountain to be understood, without naming it. He laid stress on the word *αὐτόν* in 719. It meant, he argued, the *summit* of Caucasus, in distinction from its lower regions.<sup>1</sup> This, even if true, does not fully meet the difficulty. But surely *αὐτός* is here simply the *αὐτός* of celebrity. Caucasus was to Aeschylus the type of a lofty and impassable mountain. 'Ascend the Arve,' we might say, 'and you will see Mont Blanc himself before you.'

Welcker's view has won but few adherents. One of these is P. J. Meyer, author of a dissertation published at Bonn in 1861.<sup>2</sup> Meyer endeavors to get relief by an extension of the term Caucasus. The scene of the play is in northern Scythia, but it is also in Caucasus. 'Caucasus' (he thinks) comprehends all the mountains of the northern world. The crucial verse 719 he understands as Welcker does, but he is better able to explain how Io makes so long a journey and yet is still in the Caucasus. But after all, this is only an alleviation of the difficulty. Granted that Aeschylus may have meant more by 'Caucasus' than we do, that he may have supposed it to extend to the Ocean and to be in Scythia.<sup>3</sup> The stubborn fact remains that he has *not* named Caucasus in defining the scene at the outset, and that in two places later on he *does* speak of Caucasus in terms which he could not have used if that were the scene of the play. In short, this whole theory runs counter to the natural interpretation of the text of the Prometheus Bound. 'Persuasum habeo,' says Meyer, 'spectatores primis sex versibus fabulae recitatis statim de Caucaso cogitasse.' We venture to affirm on the contrary that no spectator or reader,

<sup>1</sup> So before him a scholiast: *ἦτοι πρὸς τὸ ἕτερον μέρος τοῦ Καυκάσου· ὁ γὰρ Προμηθεὺς ἐν τινὶ μέρει καὶ ἀκρωρεῖται τοῦ Καυκάσου ἐσταυρώθη. ὁ δὲ Καίκασος ὄρος ἐπὶ πολλῷ διήκον.* Hermann declared this view unworthy of a sane man.

<sup>2</sup> *Aeschyli Prometheus vincetus quo in loco agi videatur.*

<sup>3</sup> The ancients often speak of the Caucasus as Scythian. There is some authority for extending the name to the Rhipaeae mountains (Dionys. Periegetes 663 and Eustathius *ad locum*). Probably Foss is right in the conclusion that Aeschylus's geography placed Caucasus and the Phasis to the north of the Maeotis instead of the east of the Euxine, and represented the Phasis as flowing into the Maeotis. Only in this way does Io's route become fully intelligible.



ancient or modern, unless his mind was prepossessed, ever gathered from the play itself that its action lay in the Caucasus.

Is there then no way out of these contradictions? We have found two roads no thoroughfare; one remains to be explored. Is it possible that the Caucasus was the scene of *neither* play?

Hitherto everybody has assumed, as the one fixed fact, that the scene of the Prometheus Loosed lay in the Caucasus. Let us examine the grounds of this conviction.

The chief proof lies in the third fragment of the play—the speech of Prometheus already alluded to. This speech has been transmitted to us by Cicero (Tusc. II 10) in a Latin version avowedly made by himself. It is introduced by the words ‘has igitur poenas pendens, *adfixus ad Caucasum*, dicit haec.’ In the text of the speech itself, at the end, the Caucasus is named as the scene of the action. The words are:

‘e quo liquatae solis ardore excidunt  
guttae, quae saxa assidue instillant *Caucasi*.’

Prometheus's gore is melted by the sun, and falls in drops upon the rocks.

This mention of Caucasus, imbedded in the text of the play, seemed final and decisive. It would be so if this were the text of Aeschylus himself. But herein lies, in my view, the gist of the whole matter. These verses are not Aeschylus, but *Cicero's version of Aeschylus*. Cicero supposed, as every one supposed in his day, that the Caucasus was the scene of Prometheus's punishment. What if the mention of Caucasus is due to him, and the *saxa Caucasi* were, in the original, simple nameless πέτραι?

Cicero as good as tells us (in the following chapter) that this translation was made by him, as an exercise in verse-composition, while he was a student in Athens. We do not know whether he translated the whole play, or only this passage. But there is nothing in the nature of the case to render such a freedom as I have supposed unlikely. It is only what the makers of poetical translations always do. Cicero's other translations from Greek poets afford many examples of analogous additions.<sup>1</sup> And, as it

<sup>1</sup>An insight into Cicero's usage is easily obtained by comparing his translations from Aratus and Homer (conveniently put together at the end of several of our editions) with the originals. Added epithets are common: *tempestas laeta*=ἡματι (Odys. ι 363), *duro saxo*=λαβρῶν (Il. B 319), *splendenti corpore virgo*=παρθένον (Arat. 97). This is the least of many sorts of padding which are

happens, we have an indication that this particular version was not an exact and literal rendering of the original text. The sixth verse of the passage, *Iovisque numen Mulciberi adscivit manus*, is obviously a translation of Prometheus's words to Io in the *Prometheus Bound* (619), βοίλειμα μὲν τὸ Δίον, Ἡφαίστου δὲ χεῖρ. We cannot suppose that Aeschylus used this phrase twice in the same trilogy; it is clear that Cicero embellished his translation from the *Prometheus Solutus* with an effective bit from the *Prometheus Vincetus*.

This passage set aside, nothing remains that can be said to prove that the scene of the *Prometheus Unbound* was the Caucasus. That Cicero says *adfixus ad Caucasum* in introducing his version, can count for nothing. Nor is it any more conclusive that Strabo (p. 183) in the words introducing the tenth fragment, says that it occurs in a passage in which Prometheus describes to Heracles the route from *Caucasus* to the Hesperides (καθηγούμενος Ἡρακλεῖ τῶν ὁδῶν τῶν ἀπὸ Καυκάσου πρὸς τὰς Ἑσπερίδας). These expressions may perfectly well reflect the ideas of Cicero and Strabo, not of Aeschylus. For by 'Caucasus' they mean simply 'the scene of the play.' It never occurred to them that this scene could be other than Caucasus. Still less can the mention of the Phasis in Fragment I be a proof. This and Fragment II are part of the parodos. Fragment II belongs in order between the parts of I. The chorus of Titans announce their presence to Prometheus, and describe their journey. Three places are named in the scraps we have: the Red Sea, the παντοτρόφος λίμνη (=the Fountain of Helios, where the sun rises), and the Phasis. But there is nothing to show that the Phasis was at or near the end of the route. A dozen other places, for aught we know, may have followed it

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freely employed. Thus, βοῶν ἀροτήρων (Arat. 132) becomes *manu vinctum domitumque iuvencum*, καλὰ φαίνει (Arat. 148) becomes *tremulum quatiens e corpore flammam*, πέλωρ (Arat. 205) becomes *iubam quatiens fulgore micanti*, κροῖο (Arat. 225) becomes *contortis aries cum cornibus*. Whole verses are thus put in bodily: thus at Arat. 27, 82, 277, 308, 339 (of the Greek text). Two whole verses, of which there is no trace in the original, are inserted after Arat. 360. An extreme case is Arat. 286, where one verse is padded into four. These additions sometimes include proper names: *poena satiabit Achivos* (Il. B 329), *Neptunia pistrinx* (=κῆτος, Arat. 647), *Arcturo . . . dedit Juppiter* (Arat. 406), *Aegaco defixa in gurgite Chius* (=Χίωι, Arat. 638); compare Arat. 134, 248, 343. The translation of Sophocles Trach. 1046 ff., in Tusc. II 8 keeps fairly near the original, but even here Ἐχιδνῆς θρίμμα becomes *Hydra generatum*, and ἀφράστωι πέδιλι πεste textili.

in the enumeration. The route, so far as it is indicated, corresponds roughly with Io's route from Prometheus's standpoint to Egypt, as described in the preserved play—except, of course, that it is in the opposite direction.

We see that there is no cogent evidence that the *Προμηθεὺς λυόμενος* was enacted in the Caucasus, unless we regard as such the belief of Cicero and Strabo, who had the play before them, and the consensus of antiquity generally that Caucasus was the place of Prometheus's punishment. The universality of this belief influenced Welcker strongly. But it proves too much. It pertains to the Prometheus Bound as well as the Prometheus Loosed—to the beginning as well as the end of the punishment. Lucian, for instance, in the dialogue 'Prometheus' travesties the opening scene of the *Προμηθεὺς δεσμώτης*, and designates the place as Caucasus. Were the *δεσμώτης* lost, we should accept this as evidence that its scene lay in the Caucasus; yet we know it did not. Other places where the *beginning* of the punishment is referred to the Caucasus are Cleanthes quoted in Plutarch de fluviiis 5, 3 (*προσέδησεν αὐτῷ τὸν Προμηθεῖα*), Arrian Peripl. Eux. II, 5 (*ὡς περὶ Προμηθεὺς κρεμασθῆναι ὑπὸ Ἡφαίστου κατὰ πρόσταξιν Διὸς μυθεύεται*), Schol. Prom. 347 (*τὸν Προμηθεῖα προσήλωσεν ὁ Ζεὺς εἰς τὸ Καυκάσιον ὄρος*). Even the Hypothesis of the Prometheus Bound places the action in the Caucasus: *ἡ μὲν σκηνὴ τοῦ δράματος ὑποκείται ἐν Σκυθίαι ἐπὶ τὸ Καυκάσιον ὄρος*. We see that the whole thing hangs together. Both plays were equally thought to have their scene in the Caucasus. In the case of the first play this belief was certainly wrong, and there is no reason to think it was right in the case of the second. Men read their Aeschylus by the light of the current form of the story, learned at school and propagated by many later poets, and they read into him what was not there.<sup>1</sup> The mistake was the easier, as the actual scene of the plays was somewhat vaguely indicated by the poet.

<sup>1</sup> There is a trace of the contrary (and correct) doctrine in antiquity. I mean the supplementary remark in the Mediceus (*ιστέον δὲ ὅτι*, etc.) printed in our editions after the Hypothesis. There were those, even among the ancients, who read the play attentively. It is just possible that a further trace of this right view may lurk in a fragment of Varro's satire 'Prometheus Liber' (n. 4 Riese):

mortalis nemo exaudit, sed late incolens  
Scytharum inhospitalis *campis* vastitas,

in which I would call attention to the word *campis* (not *montibus*). Ribbeck guesses that these lines may be taken from Accius's Prometheus.

Both plays, then, had the same scene, and that scene was *not* intended by the poet to be the Caucasus mountains, but a nameless part of Scythia. I hope I have succeeded in making this as clear to others as it is to me. I regard the conclusion as certain, because it is the only one which does not lead to absurdities. A further word may be allowed me about this belief, which possessed the later ancients, that Prometheus was chained in the Caucasus.

The oldest account, in Hesiod, mentions no particular place. Aeschylus fixed it vaguely in the distant north. It is in Alexandrine time that the earliest distinct mention of the Caucasus in connexion with Prometheus meets us. Apollonius of Rhodes makes the Argonauts, on approaching Colchis, hear the groans of Prometheus and see the eagle going to and returning from its meal.<sup>1</sup> Eratosthenes, as quoted by Arrian,<sup>2</sup> also put Prometheus in the Caucasus. Numberless writers then chime in.<sup>3</sup> But although, as I have said, the Caucasus theory is first found distinctly stated by Alexandrines, there is no doubt that it is older than these. This is shown as follows.

In later antiquity the name Caucasus, as is well known, was extended to far eastern mountain ranges, and included the mass now known as Hindu-Kush, the western outliers of the Himalayas, called also Paropamisos by the Greeks. Two rival 'prisons of Prometheus' were shown to travellers, one in the Colchian Caucasus, between the Black Sea and Caspian, and one in the Indian Caucasus—the Hindu-Kush. Now we are told by Eratosthenes, whom Arrian quotes in his *Anabasis* and *Indica*,<sup>4</sup> that this latter location of the Caucasus and of Prometheus dates from Alexander's campaign. The Macedonians in Alexander's suite, the story goes, called this Paropamisos mountain Caucasus, to flatter the

<sup>1</sup>Argonautica II 1247 ff.

<sup>2</sup>Citations given below. Cp. also Schol. Apoll. Rhod. II 1247.

<sup>3</sup>See Strabo 183, 505, 688; Plutarch de fluviis 5, 3; Pausan. V 11, 6; Lucian Dial. Deor. 1; Duris Sam. frag. 19 Müll.; Apollod. Bibl. II 5, 11, 10; Quint. Smyrn. VI 269; Nonnus Dion. II 297; Eustath. on Dionys. Perieg. 663; Schol. Apollon. Rhod. II 1248; Cicero Tusc. II 10, V 3; Vergil Ecl. VI 42; Propert. II 1, 69; Ovid Amor. II 16, 39; Hygin. Poet. Astron. II 15; Seneca Medea 712, Herc. Fur. 1213, Herc. Oet. 1380; Martial Spect. 7, 1, IX 45, 3, XI 84, 9. With special reference to the Colchian Caucasus, Lucian Prom. 1 and 4; Valer. Flacc. V 145. To the Indian Caucasus, Diodor. XVII 83, 1; Philostr. Vita Apoll. Tyan. II 2; Quint. Curt. VII 3, 22. *Scythici vertex*, Catull. 64, 294 are probably Caucasus.

<sup>4</sup>Anabasis V 3, 1; Indica 5.

monarch's vanity, and seeing a cave, they forthwith dubbed it 'Prometheus's prison,' and declared that this was where Hercules came and shot the eagle. Strabo is even more explicit,<sup>1</sup> though he does not name Eratosthenes. It appears that opinion was divided between the cavern and a beetling precipice crowned by two crags as the actual place of punishment. Anyhow it is evident that Prometheus and the Caucasus were connected in men's minds at the time of Alexander's campaign; else the discovery of this new 'Caucasus' would not have brought with it a new location of Prometheus's punishment. The old Caucasus also, as has been said, continued to be thought of as the place where Prometheus had suffered. The precise point was a peak called Στρόβιλος, visible from the sea-coast at points near the Greek settlements in Colchis.<sup>2</sup> This too was a show-place. Pompey, Appian tells us, visited the Colchian Caucasus in the Mithridatic war on purpose to see the spot where Prometheus had been chained.<sup>3</sup> Eratosthenes, whom Arrian and Strabo copy, evidently was clear that this location was the older of the two—that is, that the Colchian Caucasus was fixed on before the Indian Caucasus as the scene of Prometheus's sufferings. Indeed this would be probable, even without direct testimony.

We may then be certain that the notion that Prometheus was bound in the Caucasus antedated the eastern campaign of Alexander. There is reason to think it a good deal older than this. In Sophocles' play called Κολχίδες occurred the verse

ὕμεις μὲν οὐκ ἄρ' ἤιστε τὸν Προμηθεΐα;

The subject of the play was Jason and Medea, and Welcker surmised, with much probability, that this verse was part of a description of the magic salve (φάρμακον Προμηθεῖον) made of Prometheus's blood. This salve is mentioned by Apollonius in the Argonautica,<sup>4</sup> and by Plutarch de fluviis (5, 4) as compounded by Medea. If Sophocles represented the Colchian sorceress as collecting drops of Promethean blood, there can be little doubt that he thought of Prometheus as bound in the Caucasus.

It seems, therefore, that the location of Prometheus in the Caucasus took place, so to speak, between Aeschylus and Sophocles—

<sup>1</sup> P. 505.

<sup>2</sup> Arrian, Peripl. Eux. II, 5.

<sup>3</sup> Mithridat. 103.

<sup>4</sup> III 850. Add Propert. I 12, 9; Valer. Flacc. VII 356.

that is to say, about the middle of the fifth century. It is perhaps idle to speculate how it came about. We may, nevertheless, hazard a guess. Pherecydes of Leros produced his mythical history about the time in question. In the second book he treated the story of Prometheus. The one quotation we have from this narrative concerns itself with the parentage of the eagle which tortured Prometheus.<sup>1</sup> It was the offspring of Typhon and Echidna. We are not told that Pherecydes connected Prometheus with the Caucasus. But, oddly enough, we do know that he connected this same Typhon with the Caucasus in treating the Gigantomachia in his first book.<sup>2</sup> Then, too, it is known that Apollodorus's *Βιβλιοθήκη* follows Pherecydes pretty closely in this part, and Apollodorus puts Prometheus in the Caucasus. Putting all together, it seems not unlikely that it was Pherecydes who disseminated this form of the story. It probably came from the Milesian colonies Phasis and Dioscurias, which were close under the western end of the Caucasian range.

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<sup>1</sup> Frag. 21 Müller (=Schol. Apoll. Rhod. II 1252).

<sup>2</sup> Frag. 14 Müll. (=Schol. Apoll. Rhod. II 1214): ὅτι ἐπὶ τὸν Καύκασον κατέφυγεν ὁ Τυφῶς διωκόμενος . . . Φερεκίδης ἐν τῇ θεογονίᾳ ἱστορεῖ.

### III.—MODE AND TENSE IN THE SUBJUNCTIVE 'COMPARATIVE CLAUSE' IN LATIN.

In modern languages the clause of imaginative comparison ('as if') ordinarily takes the form of a condition contrary to fact. What is the history of the Latin idiom, by which a similar clause, introduced by *quasi*, *tamquam si*, *ut si* and the like took, except in connection with a past main verb, the present and perfect of the subjunctive?

The explanation generally given is that the Romans conceived the clause as a future condition. A clear statement of this view is to be seen in Allen and Greenough's Grammar, §312, rem.

"Thus the second example above" (viz. *tamquam si claudus sim*, Plaut. As. 419) "is translated *just as if I were lame*—as if it were a present condition contrary to fact; but it really means *just as [it would be] if I should at some future time be lame*, and so is a less vivid future condition requiring the present subjunctive. Similarly *quasi honeste vixerint*" (in *ita hos [honores] petunt, quasi honeste vixerint*), "*as if they had lived honorably*, is really as [they would do in the future] *if they should have lived honorably*, and so requires the perfect subjunctive."

Some countenance for such a view may perhaps be found in occasional sentences like the following: He doth nothing but frown, as one who should say "An you will not have me, choose." Shakespeare, Merchant of Venice, i. 2; Alius accepit fastidiose, tamquam qui dicat "non quidem mihi opus est, sed quia tam valde vis, faciam tibi mei potestatem." Sen. Ben. 2, 24, 3. Still it is difficult to believe that any language that began by conceiving the comparative clause as a true condition should have ended in any other way than by treating it, reasonable exceptions like the above of course apart, as a condition contrary to fact. The regular type in English is seen in the following: Seldom he smiles; and smiles in such a sort, As if he mocked himself, and scorned his spirit That could be moved to smile at anything. Shakespeare, Jul. Caes. i. 2. And in nearly every case that can be found, we are obliged to translate the Latin comparative clause by the same idiom. Even in default of any better explanation, then, the received one is unsatisfactory.

One necessary assumption that is involved in it is, however, of value. It is evident that, in many of the cases actually occurring, the Romans could not have had a true future condition in mind, *e.g.* in a passage in Plin. Ep. 4, 10, 2. Sabina has left an imperfect will. Pliny consults the lawyers, who agree that upon the point in question it is not binding; and then he writes as follows: "But this seems to me a clear oversight on Sabina's part, and I therefore think we ought to carry out what she believed she had written down, just as if she had written it." Now Sabina is dead, and therefore *quasi scripserit Sabina* cannot mean *just as if she should hereafter write it*. The usage, if beginning in the way suggested, must have lost its original meaning early, and become a stereotyped formula. I speak of this for the reason that my own suggestion will involve a similar conception of the stereotyping of a form that once had a full meaning, and I am glad to have warrant for the reasonableness of such a view in the generally received explanation of the construction under examination.

A conceivable second theory, which perhaps has not been suggested in print, is as follows:

The earliest forms for the conclusion contrary to fact may have been, indeed doubtless were, the present and perfect subjunctive. There are still abundant remains of the idiom in Plautus and Terence, and elsewhere. May not the comparative clause have been in the beginning a true condition contrary to fact?

I think not. For, if the Romans so conceived of it, then, when the use of the imperfect and pluperfect to express the idea of contrariety to fact came in, these conditions would have been sure to share the fate of other conditions of the same kind, and we should find the imperfect and pluperfect used in Ciceronian Latin to the exclusion of the present and perfect.

The true explanation, as one can see in advance, should satisfy two demands. The starting-point which it must find for the construction must not be far removed from the starting-point of the subjunctive condition; for a relationship *in some degree* between the clauses *tamquam si*, etc. and the clauses after the simple *si* seems highly probable. On the other hand, the beginnings of the two constructions must not be absolutely identical. *Some separative distinction of conception is indicated by the differing subsequent fates of the tenses*. What starting-point, that will satisfy both conditions, can be proposed for the comparative clause?

So far as I know, the Latin language itself affords no hint, except the probably illusory one already rejected. In such a



case there is but one possible resort, namely, to a comparison of the Latin with one or many of the closely related languages. Let us try Greek, if haply it may serve us.

Translated into Greek, *tamquam si* would be  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma \epsilon\iota$ . Now this is one of the phrases that introduce the Homeric simile. A certain resemblance is at once obvious. The Homeric simile, then, may be worth looking into.

For the complete and formal clause, the introductory phrases are  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ ,  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma \delta\tau\epsilon$  and  $\acute{\omicron}\pi\acute{\omicron}\tau\epsilon$ , and  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma \epsilon\iota$ ; but substantially similar forms of expression are to be seen in relative clauses after antecedents depending upon adjectives and verbs of likening. And with these various forms are also clearly to be reckoned the relative clause attached to a simile.

The mode, in all these clauses except such as are introduced by  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma \epsilon\iota$ , is sometimes the indicative, sometimes the subjunctive. With  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ , the indicative is a little more frequent than the subjunctive; with  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma \delta\tau\epsilon$  and  $\acute{\omicron}\pi\acute{\omicron}\tau\epsilon$  the subjunctive is much more frequent than the indicative, though there are many examples of both.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The figures that follow have been made up from the examples as given in Ebeling's Lexicon. But, unlike Ebeling, I have reckoned forms in  $-\epsilon\tau\omicron\nu$ ,  $-\acute{\omega}\nu\tau\alpha\iota$ ,  $-\acute{\alpha}\tau\alpha\iota$  and  $-\acute{\omega}\sigma\iota$  as indeterminate; and I have even been obliged to take the same view, except in one place, of forms in  $-\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ , in deference to  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\beta\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$  in O 381 (which, in the simile, must be aorist subjunctive, not future indicative) and  $\sigma\tau\acute{\rho}\epsilon\phi\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$  in M 42 (which, without the possibility of anacoluthon, follows  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma \delta' \acute{\upsilon}\tau' \acute{\alpha}\nu$ ). I further differ from Ebeling in regarding X 262 as of a different nature from the simile. (The formula for this example would be 'A is as true as B is true,' which is not the formula for a simile.)

I count, then, as follows:

After  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma \delta\acute{\epsilon}$ , indicatives 13, subjunctives 7 (all without  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$  or  $\kappa\epsilon$ ), indeterminate forms 4.

After  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma \tau\epsilon$ , indicatives 10 (reading  $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\kappa\alpha\sigma\iota\nu$  in  $\Delta$  433), subjunctives 11 (reading  $\acute{\upsilon}\rho\acute{\omega}\nu\eta$ , after Bekker, in II 633), and 1 indeterminate form.

After  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma \tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma \tau\epsilon$ , indicatives 2.

After  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma \acute{\upsilon}\tau\epsilon$ , indicatives 19, subjunctives (counting  $-\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$  in M 41 as subjunctive, on account of the presence of  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ ) 45 (of which 12 have  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$  or  $\kappa\epsilon$ ), indeterminate forms 10. To this count should be added 1 mysterious optative ( $\tau$  384), and 1 indicative with  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$  ( $\kappa$  410), generally explained by editors as due to anacoluthon.

After  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma \acute{\omicron}\pi\acute{\omicron}\tau\epsilon$ , indicative 1, subjunctives 4 (all without  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$  or  $\kappa\epsilon$ ).

The summary for determinate forms would be as follows: after  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  without temporal conjunction, 25 indicatives and 18 subjunctives; after  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  with temporal conjunctions, 20 indicatives and 49 subjunctives.

This indicative (except in one instance to be discussed later) is of course to be regarded as citing an often-recurring and familiar fact. How is the subjunctive to be regarded, and how the optative, which appears alongside of the subjunctive in the clauses with *ὥς εἰ*?

An exhibit of examples is necessary. In the case of the *ὥς εἰ* clause, I give all that occur in the Homeric poems (see Ebeling's Lexicon). In the case of the other clauses, one or two instances for each will suffice.

With *ὥς δέ, ὥς τε, ὥς δ' ὅτε*, etc.:

*ὥς δ' ἄνεμος ζαῆς ἡίων θημῶνα τινάξῃ*

. . . .

*ὥς τῆς δούρατα μακρὰ διεσκέδασ'.* ε 368.

*ὥς δὲ γυνὴ κλαίῃσι φίλον πόσιν ἀμφιπεσοῦσα,*

*ὅς τε εἴης πρόσθεν πόλιος λαῶν τε πέσῃσιν*

. . . .

*ὥς Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐλεεινὸν ὑπ' ὀφρύσι δάκρυον εἴβεν.* θ 523.

*ὁ δ' αὖτ' ἔπεσεν μελὶν ὥς,*

*ἦ τ' ὄρεος κορυφῇ ἔκαθεν περιφαινομένοιο*

*χαλκῷ ταμνομένη τέρενα χθονὶ φύλλα πελάσσει.* Ν 178.

*δαΐε οἱ ἐκ κόρυθός τε καὶ ἀσπίδος ἀκάματον πῦρ,*

*ἀστέρ' ὀπωρινῷ ἐναλίγκιον, ὅς τε μάλιστα*

*λαμπρὸν παμφαίῃσι λελουμένος Ὠκεανοῖο.* Ε 4.

*οὐ γάρ σ' οὐδὲ, ξεῖνε, δαήμονι φωτὶ εἴσκει*

*ἄθλων, οἷά τε πολλὰ μετ' ἀνθρώποισι πέλονται,*

*ἀλλὰ τῷ, ὅς θ' ἅμα νηὶ πολυκλήιδι θαμίζων,*

*ἄρχος ναυτῶν οἷ τε πρηκτῆρες ἔασιν,*

*φόρτου τε μνήμων καὶ ἐπίσκοπος ἦσιν ὁδαίων.* θ 159.

*ὥς δ' ὅτ' ὀπωρινὸς βορέης φορέῃσιν ἀκάνθας*

*ἄμ πεδίον, πυκιναὶ δὲ πρὸς ἀλλήλησιν ἔχονται,*

*ὥς τὴν ἄμ πέλαγος ἄνεμοι φέρον ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα.* ε 328.

With *ὥς εἰ*:

Subjunctive:

(1) *καὶ μ' ἐφίλῃσ' ὥς εἴτε πατὴρ ὃν παῖδα φιλήσῃ.* Ι 481.

Optative after secondary tenses:

(2) *οἱ δ' ἄρ' ἴσαν ὥς εἴτε πυρὶ χθῶν πᾶσα νέμοιτο.* Β 780.

- (3) Ἄϊαν διογενὲς Τελαμώνιε, κοίρανε λαῶν,  
ἀμφὶ μ' Ὀδυσσεύος τυλασίφρονος ἵκετ' ἀντή,  
τῷ ἱκέλη, ὥς εἴ ἐ βιάτο μούνον ἐόντα  
Τρῶες. Λ 465.
- (4) τῷ δὲ μάλιστ' ἄρ' ἔην ἐναλίγκιον, ὥς εἰ ἅπασα  
Ἴλιος ὀφρυνέσσα πυρὶ σμύχοιτο κατ' ἄκρης. Χ 410.
- (5) αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα  
ἄψ' ἐπέθηχ', ὥς εἴ τε φαρέτρῃ πῶμ' ἐπιθείη. ι 313.
- (6) δόκησε δ' ἄρα σφίσι θυμός  
ὥς ἔμεν, ὥς εἰ πατρίδ' ἰκοίαιτο. κ 415.
- (7) σοὶ μὲν νοστήσαντι, διοτρεφέες, ὥς ἐχάρημεν,  
ὥς εἴ τ' εἰς Ἰθάκην ἀφικοίμεθα. κ 419.
- (8) βῆ δ' ἔμεν αἰτήσων ἐνδέξια φῶτα ἔκαστον,  
πάντοσε χεῖρ' ὀρέγων, ὥς εἰ πτωχὸς πάλαι εἴη. ρ 365.
- (9) διέτριβε κέλευθα  
τοῖα πέλωρ' ὥς εἴ τις ἀραιῇσι δρυσι βαίνοι. H. Merc. 348.

## Optative after a primary tense:

- (10) εἰ μὲν δὴ ἀντίβιον σὺν τεύχεσι πειρηθείης,  
οὐκ ἄν τοι χραίσμῃσι βιὸς καὶ ταρφέες ἰοί·  
νῦν δέ μ' ἐπιγράψας ταρσὸν ποδὸς εὔχεται αὐτως.  
οὐκ ἀλέγω, ὥς εἴ με γυνὴ βύλοι ἢ πάϊς ἄφρων. Λ 389.  
(ap. Suid. βάλῃ)

## Indicative:

- (11) λαοὶ ἔπονθ', ὥς εἴ τε μετὰ κτίλον ἔσπετο μῆλα. Ν 492.

If, now, we were to study the *ὥς εἰ* constructions by themselves alone, we might, with no forcing, interpret number (10) as Professor Greenough's interpretation conceives the Latin comparative clauses, as follows: I care no more than (I should care) if a woman were to strike me, or a senseless boy. And this conception is made the more natural by the fact that fighting in abundance is yet to come.<sup>1</sup> Example (9) might be interpreted as a similar

<sup>1</sup> It is of course possible that in *οὐκ ἀλέγω*, directly after the statement "you boast that you have hit the sole of my foot," the real feeling is "it hurt me no more than if . . .," so that the case would only be one of an optative standing after a past tense as the representative of a subjunctive. But the other interpretation seems the more natural. As for a possible claim that all these optatives are in some way examples of the old construction in the condition and conclusion contrary to fact, it must at once be disallowed on the strength of the aorist in (5); for only the present is used in the optative condition contrary to fact in present time (see Goodwin, Moods and Tenses, §438).

conception transferred to a past point of view. But we could less easily, and hardly, as it seems to me, with satisfaction to our sense for probabilities, interpret the other optative clauses as future, as follows: (2) "and they marched as (they would march at some later time) if the whole earth should be consumed with fire,"—or, in easier phrase, "as if the whole earth were to be consumed with fire"; (3) "the shout of Odysseus came to me just now as if the Trojans were to overmaster him, alone among them"; (5) "and he put the huge door-stone back as if he were to put the lid upon a quiver"; (8) "and he set out to ask of each man, stretching out his hand on every side, as if he should sometime be a beggar of long standing." And even if these interpretations, so at variance with the Homeric directness and simplicity of conception, were to be accepted, it seems hopeless to attempt to understand (1) as meaning "he loved me as if a father shall love a son."

Apart from individual difficulties in this or that  $\omega\varsigma \epsilon\iota$  clause, however, it is clear that sound method requires that these clauses be studied in connection with the clauses with  $\omega\varsigma$ ,  $\omega\varsigma \delta\tau\epsilon$  and the like above. Number 1 is not to be severed from such clauses as the second with  $\omega\varsigma$ , and yet it evidently is not to be severed from its comrades with  $\omega\varsigma \epsilon\iota$ .

The true explanation seems to be that the subjunctive in this idiom is the expression of a postulate of the will. By an act of the commanding imagination a case is summoned, for the sake of a comparison to be made, before the fancy of the speaker and hearer (Delbrück, *Syntaktische Forschungen*, I, pp. 65 and 161). The feeling may be illustrated by an English paraphrase, *e. g.*, for the first case with  $\omega\varsigma$ :

Let a gust of wind toss a dry heap of corn: just in that way were the long timbers scattered.

For the second example with  $\omega\varsigma$ :

Let a man fall fighting for his city and people, and let his wife throw herself upon him and bewail him: so pitifully did Odysseus weep.

For the less formal example E 4:

Picture the star of summer glittering above all others after bathing in the ocean stream: flame like this did she kindle from his helmet and shield.

As for the optatives with  $\omega\varsigma \epsilon\iota$ , they seem to me, with the exception of (9) and (10) (which will be taken up later) to be **representatives** of the subjunctive after a secondary tense. This

view is made the more probable by the fact that 1 actually presents us with a case of a secondary tense with an original subjunctive retained after it.

Professor Goodwin, *Moods and Tenses*, §545, explains the matter somewhat differently, regarding subjunctive examples with *ὥς ὅτε* and *ὥς ὁπότε* as expressing a general condition, and the examples with *ὥς* as modelled upon these.<sup>1</sup> The difference between this view and Professor Delbrück's is much smaller than might at first thought appear. The general condition in Greek and Sanskrit is itself, in all probability, the expression of an imaginative postulate of the will. The feeling might be paraphrased by the English *let A happen, and B is always found to go with it*. By an act of the commanding imagination, a case is summoned before the fancy of the speaker and hearer. But this is precisely the description which I gave above of the office of the subjunctive in the simile. The difference, then, is not in the nature of the act of the imagination, but in the use made of the imagined case after it is brought upon the scene. In the simile, it is wanted for the sake of a comparison which is to be made; in the general condition, for the sake of a general statement. I should differ from Professor Goodwin, then, only in regarding the two constructions as proceeding from the same starting-point, rather than as starting one from the other. But I should at once (and this is an important part of my own view) concede that the identity in form between the *ὥς ὅτε* clause and the general condition must have led to more or less confusion<sup>2</sup> in the Greek feeling with regard to their relations.

In just the same way I believe that the superficial resemblance between the *ὥς εἰ* clause and the true condition led to an occasional treatment of the former as if it were the latter. This appears as early as Homer. In example (10) the mode probably expresses a less vivid future condition, as in the case of the sentences from Shakespeare and Seneca cited above, and in the following, from Xen. *Symp.* 4, 37: *ὁμοία γὰρ μοι δοκοῦσι πάσχειν*

<sup>1</sup> Monro's *Homeric Grammar*, §285, 3 (a) places the construction with *ὥς* under the head of an 'unconditional expression of will.' I should judge Mr. Monro's conception of the *ὥς ὅτε* construction to be the same, §289 (2) (a); but it should be added that he seems (see §318 of the new edition) to incline toward the view that the 'quasi-imperative' use of the subjunctive is younger than the 'quasi-future' use, and a derivative of it.

<sup>2</sup> But not to complete confusion; for the indicative after *ὥς ὅτε* and *ὁπότε* is much more frequent than in any sure form of the general condition.

ὥσπερ εἴ τις πολλὰ ἔχων καὶ πολλὰ ἐσθίων μηδέποτε ἐμπίπλαιο. Such a conception is especially reasonable where the indefinite pronoun is used, and in example (9), for this reason, the mode might well have been the same, even if the main verb had been in the present.

So much for the drift of the construction in the direction of a future condition. For the drift in the opposite direction, namely, that of the conception of the clause as a condition contrary to fact, an example is to be found as early as Homer, viz. in (11) above. The same thing appears in Aesch. Ag. 1201 (θανύμζω δέ σου, πόντου πέραν τραφεῖσαν ἀλλόθρου πόλιν κυρεῖν λέγουσαν ὥσπερ εἰ παρυστάεις), and in the very common clauses introduced by ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ.

On the Latin side, such a distinction as is made in Greek by using the optative in place of the subjunctive cannot, of course, be detected in the form of the verb, but may occasionally be surmised from the general nature of the thought, as in Quintil. 12, 5, 2 (where the second person expresses the same idea as the indefinite pronoun in the sentence cited above from Xenophon): nam ut abominanda sunt contraria his vitia confidentiae, temeritatis, improbitatis, arrogantiae, ita citra constantiam, fiduciam, fortitudinem nihil ars, nihil studium, nihil profectus ipse profuerit: ut si des arma timidis et imbellibus. The treatment of the clause as a condition contrary to fact, on the other hand, appears in many passages, e. g. Ter. Phorm. 382 (proinde expiscare quasi non nosses); Cic. Sull. 18, 51; Mur. 4, 10; Fin. 4, 12, 31; Fam. 2, 14, 1; 3, 5, 4; 13, 43, 2; Att. 3, 13, 1; Liv. 42, 13, 1; Tac. Ann. 3, 50; Gellius in the old formula for the adrogatio, 5, 19, 9; Servius ad Verg. Ecl. 8, 10; Pompeius, p. 251, 15 Keil (cf. the present in the same phrase in p. 255, 12).

It still remains to point out a certain variation of meaning in the Greek similes, and the position of the Latin comparative clause on this point. The clause with ὥς or ὥς ὄντε brings before the imagination a picture corresponding to an often observed fact. The clause with ὥς εἰ either does this, as in the case of example (1), or it brings before the imagination an act or state conceived only for the individual instance, as in the case of the remaining examples, (2) to (10). With this latter function of the ὥς εἰ clause the function of the Latin comparative clause is absolutely identical. In example (8), for instance, ὥς εἰ πτωχὸς πάλαι εἶη would correspond exactly, not only in meaning, but in grammatical expression, to a *tamquam si iam pridem mendicus esset*, after a past tense like βῆ.

I have now—to recapitulate—touched upon three points which seem to me significant: the exact parallelism in expression, so far as the introductory phrases are concerned, between the Latin comparative clause with *tamquam si* and the like and one form of the Homeric simile; the exact parallelism in meaning between the Latin comparative clause and this same form of the Homeric simile in nine out of the ten cases that occur; and, lastly, the exact parallelism of the two idioms in their abnormal variations. But this form of the Greek simile, when studied as a part of a group of clearly related constructions, appears to be the product of the exercise of the commanding imagination in setting up a picture before the mind. Under this light, I think it probable that we ought to regard the original Latin comparative clause, not as a future condition, nor as a condition contrary to fact, but as a postulate of the imagination not fixed anywhere in time. The original meaning would then have been “imagine things to be so and so: in just the same way . . .” The fact that things *are* not as imagined is of no consequence. The speaker’s conception no more concerns itself with that side of the matter than it does with the same side in the subjunctive concession. When a man says *ita sit: tamen . . .*, or *ita fuerit: tamen . . .*, the thing which he for the moment imaginatively posits is, as he believes, contrary to fact, but that does not hinder him from wholly neglecting this aspect of the matter. “Fancy it as you will,” says he, “yet, whether it is so or not . . .” In just the same way, the earliest meaning of such a sentence as *tamquam si claudus sim, cum fustist ambulandum* may perfectly well have been *fancy me a cripple: that’s the way I have to go around, always with a stick in my hand*.

Beginning thus, the idiom, according to my conception of its history, became stereotyped. Yet its outward identity with the conditional clause led to an occasional treatment of it as such; in which case it of course appeared in the form of a condition contrary to fact, according to the same logic that rules the corresponding idiom in modern languages.

WILLIAM GARDNER HALE.

#### IV.—ΣΚΗΝΑΩ, ΣΚΗΝΕΩ, ΣΚΗΝΟΩ.

##### A CONTRIBUTION TO LEXICOGRAPHY.

The verbs *σκηνάω*, *σκηνέω*, *σκηνώω* have never, to my knowledge, been fully examined. In this article it is proposed (1) to collect all the forms which occur, both of the simple verbs and of their compounds; (2) to assign each form to its proper present; (3) to discuss the meanings.

The collection of forms discloses an interesting fact. The words are confined to a few authors, and of 69 forms which occur in classical Greek, there are 59 in Xenophon. The other classical authors who use these words are Aeschylus (once), Aristophanes (once), Thucydides (three times in the MSS, but probably really twice), Demosthenes (once), Plato (four times). The words are not found in Homer, Hesiod, Sophocles, Euripides, Aristotle, or in the orators, except in the single passage of Demosthenes.<sup>1</sup> In late authors, lexicographers and grammarians I find 43 additional forms, as well as two others in inscriptions, a total of 114 forms in all.

The assignment of the different forms to their proper presents is no easy task. One difficulty arises from the uncertainty of origin attaching to the contracted forms. In fact, when they are considered as mere forms, the only one in the authors which necessarily presupposes a *σκηνάω* is *σκηνασθαι*; there is no form in itself calling for *σκηνέω*; from *σκηνώω*, however, are formed *σκηνοῦν*, *ἐσκήνου* (3d person impf. act.), *σκηνώσω*, *-εσκήνωσε*, *ἐσκήνωσαν*, *σκηνώσαι*, *σκηνώσας*, *-εσκηνώκατε*, *-εσκηνωκένοι*, *-εσκηνώκει*, *ἐσκηνωμένος*, *-εσκηνωθήναι*. But the following might be formed from either *-άω* or *-έω*: *σκηνήσουσι*, *σκηνήσειν*, *σκηνήσοιεν*, *ἐσκήνησαν*, *σκηνησάμενος*, *ἐσκήνηται*, etc.; the following from *-έω* or *-όω*: *σκηνοῦμεν*, *σκηνοῦσι*, *σκηνοῦντες*, *ἐσκήνουν*; and from either *-άω*, *έω* or *όω* the subjv. *-σκηνώσι*.

Observing that no form calls necessarily for *σκηνέω*, one might be inclined to say that there is no such word. Still, Thomas Magister recognizes it in the following passage (337, 18 Ritschl):

<sup>1</sup> These statements are based upon the special lexicons to Homer and the tragedians, Dunbar's Concordance to Aristophanes, Essen's Index to Thucydides, Paulsen's to Hesiod, the Index Graecitatis in Reiske's Orators, Ast's Lexicon Platonicum, the Index to the Berlin Aristotle, Keller's Index to the Hellenica, and on my own examination of the other works of Xenophon.



καὶ σκηνή καὶ σκήνωμα παρὰ τῇ θείᾳ γραφῇ· οἱ ῥήτορες δὲ σκηνήν μόνον γράφουσιν. καὶ σκηνώ σκηνῶ μόνον παρ' ἐκείνῃ· παρὰ δὲ τούτοις σκηνέω σκηνῶ ὡς ἐπιπολύ, ἀπαξ δὲ καὶ σκηνώ σκηνῶ. Ἀριστείδης ἐν Θεμιστοκλεῖ· παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν θάνατον ἐσκηνήσθαι· καὶ πάλιν· ὁμοῦ τοῖς ναύταις ἐσκηνωμένος.

And the Scholiast (Rav.) on Ar. Ach. 69 recognizes three verbs (see below, p. 76). Further, it would be extraordinary if there were formations in -άω and -όω, yet none in -έω, for verbs of this last form are, certainly so far as Xenophon is concerned, far more common than those of the first two. Thus, a count of these verbs in the Anabasis (including compounds) shows 87 in -άω, 26 in -όω, and 247 in -έω. Excluding compounds, the figures respectively are 41, 18, and 125.

That the difficulty of distinguishing the forms was recognized early, Eustathius indirectly testifies (Il. α, p. 70): καὶ τὸ σκηνῶ δὲ σκηνώσω, ἐξ οὗ καὶ σκήνωμα, καὶ τὸ σκηνῶ σκηνήσω, ἀφ' οὗ οἱ σκηνήται, διαφορὰν ἔχουσιν φανεράν. It is evident that we must inquire into the distinction of meaning among the different presents before attempting to assign the doubtful forms to their proper verbs.

As the verbs are denominatives, a consideration of the substantives formed from the same root may be useful. The chief is σκηνή. This word means literally no more than 'a shelter.' It denotes in usage something temporary, as a hut, booth, or tent, but these not necessarily intended for soldiers. The same may be said of σκήνος, σκήνωμα, cf. κατασκήνωσις, etc. Of course the words are common enough in the sense of a soldier's tent. But we find them also applied to shops and public inns (Becker-Güll, Charikles, II 196), to temporary dwellings for new settlers provided by the old inhabitants of a town (C. I. G. 3137, B. 57=Ditt. Syll. 171, 57), to the theatre building (Ar. Pac. 731, Xen. Cyr. 6, 1, 54). But above all other civil uses the σκηνή, σκήνος, or σκήνωμα was most frequently employed at religious festivals and general assemblies, including the great games, in fact at every πανήγυρις. The case is stated in a nutshell by Foucart (sur Lebas, *Voyage Archéol.* I, p. 170):

'Les lois religieuses des Grecs ne permettaient pas d'élever des habitations permanentes dans les enceintes sacrées. Du reste elles auraient été insuffisantes pour la foule que les solennités attiraient. *Tout le monde campaient.*'

This is not the moment to enlarge upon the ancient 'camp-

meeting.' It is enough for the present purpose to say that it was a familiar idea to the Greeks.<sup>1</sup>

One more substantive formed from the root *σκα* must be considered, because in Xenophon it has a peculiar meaning. This is *συσκηνία*. Its proper meaning is of course *a dwelling in the same tent*, and the corresponding word *σύσκηνος* would mean *tent-companion* (Thuc. VII 75, 4). But in Xenophon *συσκηνία* frequently means *a feeding together*. Trieber, in his *Forschungen zur spartanischen Verfassungsgeschichte*, p. 21 ff., has shown how this came about. The words *συσσίτιον* and *σύσσιτος* are ordinarily employed in this second sense. But Trieber points out (p. 15) that *συσσίτιον* in Sparta was the name of a small division of the troops, and that hence Xenophon, in his Lacedaemonian State, cannot use it to signify *feeding together*, and substitutes for it *συσκηνία*, and for *σύσσιτος* uses *σύσκηνος*. Trieber adds that Hippodamus (ap. Stob. Flor. XLIII 93) used *συσκαρίας* in the same Xenophontic sense.

Now of the different uses of the substantives formed from the root *σκα*, three will be found of value in establishing the meanings of the verbs—(1) the military; (2) the religious; (3) the feeding sense, as found in Xenophon. These differences have been ignored by lexicographers. Of the verbs themselves Curtius (*Das Verbum*, I<sup>2</sup>, p. 358) says only this: '*alle drei gut attisch, ohne bestimmte Gebrauchsverschiedenheit*.' In Liddell and Scott's lexicon we find: 'the proper difference of *σκηνέω* (or *-άω*) and *σκηνώω* is, that the former signifies *to be in tents, be encamped*; the latter, *to set up tents, encamp*; though this is not strictly observed.' This is the ordinary distinction found in the older general and in the special lexicons. But in practice the makers of the dictionary seem to have abandoned the distinction altogether, and the result is chaotic, especially in the treatment of the compounds. Vaniček (p. 1055) says: '*σκηνή . . . σκηνάω*,

<sup>1</sup> The following list of citations proves this clearly. It is given here as a contribution to the subject, in the belief that the passages have not before been so fully collected:

Ar. Thesm. 624 and schol.; 658; Pac. 879 and schol.; [Andoc. 33, 9] Xen. Hellen. 5, 3, 19; 7, 4, 32 (cf. 28); Paus. 10, 32, 9; Plut. Alc. 12; Luc. Amor. 12; C. I. G. 1625; 3069, 30; 3071; Ditt. Syll. 189, 11; 125, 25; 362, 2; 388, 34. See also Becker-Göll, Charicles, II, p. 196. For *σκηνοπηγία* applied to the Jewish Feast of Tabernacles, C. I. G. 5361. In this list references are given to substantives and adjectives and not to the verbs *σκηνάω*, etc., as they will be treated below.

*in einem Zelt u. s. w. wohnen, sich aufhalten, niederlassen; (\*σκῆνος) σκηνάω, ein Zelt u. s. w. errichten, = σκηνάω; σκηνέ[σ]ω, = σκηνάω.* These are all the general remarks upon the verbs which I have seen.

What Curtius says (*ibid.*, p. 355) about the interchange and the meaning of verbs in -άω, -έω, and -ώω shows how difficult and how often impossible it is to learn the meanings of the different kinds by having recourse to etymological formulae. But in speaking of verbs in -άω he says that they come from noun-stems in α, and get their meanings from these nouns, generally denoting the exercise of some activity or the existence of some state. Taking σκηναῖσθαι, the only form which necessarily presupposes a verb in -άω, we might say that it comes from σκηνάω, meaning *to tent, to encamp* (cf. σφενδονάω, *to sling*, ὀριστάω, *to breakfast*, τελευτάω, *to end*). If we found no active form we might say that in this verb the active was never or only rarely used, and might compare μηχανάομαι, σταθμαίω, βιάω. If we found active forms we might say that both active and middle or passive were used in the same sense, and might compare πειράω. In this case we should have the right to say that the doubtful forms σκηνήσω, ἐσκήνησαν, etc., might be from σκηνάω as well as from σκηνέω. If, however, we examined the passages in which the doubtful middle or passive forms occurred and found that in all, or practically all, there was a peculiar meaning, and that this was not the military meaning found in the substantives, but the religious, and that the reverse was the case with the doubtful active forms, we might be inclined to say that we were dealing with two distinct verbs, one in -άω, the other in -έω, and that these verbs were carefully distinguished in usage. For instance, cf. Thuc. 1, 89, 3, ἐν αἷς αὐτοὶ ἐσκήνησαν (military), and 2, 52, 3, ἐν οἷς ἐσκήνηντο (religious), passages to be considered more fully below. Now it will appear that this difference actually did exist. Abandoning, therefore, the previous line, I approach σκηνάω from a different point. The active θοιναῖω is transitive, and means *to feast, to entertain*, the middle and passive intransitive, meaning *to feast, to banquet*; so εὐνάω, *to put to bed*, mid. and pass., *to lie abed*; cf. διατρίω, διατρίομαι (cf. Rutherford, Phrynichus, p. 188), κοιμῶ, κοιμῶμαι. So if we had a σκηνάω from σκηνή, *a shelter*, it might mean *to put in shelter*, mid. and pass., *put oneself or be put in shelter* *camp out, take up one's abode*. Now, these are the u *h we actually find* with all the middle or civil, and

practically to the 'camp-meeting' sense. The present of the verb, as found in the authors, never means *to be in camp*, or *to dwell*, as Liddell and Scott and Vaniček say. Turning to the authors, we find the compound κατασκηναῖσθαι in Plat. Rep. 614 E, τὰς ψυχὰς . . . ἀσμένας εἰς τὸν λειμῶνα ἀπιούσας ὅσον ἐν πανηγύρει κατασκηναῖσθαι, where the meaning is that Er saw the souls camp out as people do at a festival. Here we have the verb in what I have called the religious meaning. A little further along (621 A) we find Er saying of the souls in the plain of Lethe that he saw σκηναῖσθαι οὖν σφᾶς ἤδη ἐσπέρας γιγνομένης παρὰ τὸν Ἀμέλητα ποταμόν. The same idea is plainly to be understood. Now, there are seven other passages in the authors in which middle or passive forms are found, all of which may come from σκηναίωμαι. In the order of tenses first comes σκηνησάμενος, Pl. Legg. 866 D. Here the homicide, if cast ashore on the coast of the country from which he has been exiled, is directed to watch for a ship, σκηνησάμενος ἐν θαλάττῃ τέγγων τοὺς πόδας. This is generally rendered 'having taken up his abode on the shore,' etc. Evidently there is no military sense here; the thought is merely of a temporary shelter, and the word is as likely to be chosen from the use of the σκηνή at festivals as from its employment in military camps. The same participle occurs in the manuscripts of Thuc. 1, 133, 1, where the spy on Pausanias is spoken of as σκηνησαμένου διπλὴν διαφράγματι καλύβην; this is rendered 'having prepared for shelter a hut divided by a partition.' This passage has frequently been suspected on the ground that the verb (variously called by editors σκηνεῖσθαι or σκηναῖσθαι) is elsewhere intransitive. Even if it were transitive, we have seen that it would not be so in the sense required here, and some correction of the text, like Madvig's σκευασαμένου, must be adopted. In the Republic again (610 E) we find a form, the perfect, and in the neighborhood of the passages already quoted. Of injustice it is said, οὕτω πόρρω πον, ὥς ἔοικεν, ἐσκήνηται τοῦ θανάσιμος εἶναι. Here, too, there is no military reference any more than before; the word means *dwells*, as in Aristides below. We come next to two passages in a late author, Aristides. One of them is referred to by Thomas Magister in the place quoted above (p. 72); in the other the same form ἐσκηνήσθαι appears. In the first (II, p. 246 Dind.) a man is said παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν θάνατον ἐσκηνήσθαι: in the second (II, p. 581) the words are οὐδ' αὐτῷ Ὀμήρῳ ἤρκει παρὰ τὰς ὄχθας ἐσκηνήσθαι τοῦ πατρός. Neither of them necessarily supposes a military use of the word, although the first certainly looks in that direction. It will be remembered

that Thomas Magister (see above, p. 71) took this form from σκηνέω. It is perhaps rather hard on him to use his words towards proving the existence of a σκηνέω and then to suggest that he was wrong in taking this particular form from that verb. Still, we shall find that the real σκηνέω is active and intransitive, and is confined to the military sense. In Aristides the verbs, here *perfect*, not present, mean no more than 'to dwell' (cf. the perf. ἐσκηνωμένος, below, p. 79), the *present* meaning 'take up one's dwelling.'

Next is the form ἐσκηνημένοι in Aristophanes (Ach. 69). The scholiast here says: κέκλιται τὸ ῥῆμα ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης τῶν περισπωμένων. εἰ γὰρ ἦν ἀπὸ τῆς τρίτης, ἦν ἂν διὰ τοῦ ω, ὡς κεχρυσωμένοι.<sup>1</sup> That is, he appears to take the form to be from -άω. It is passive, and means *sheltered, screened*, the reference being to the covered carriages used in Persia. Blaydes compares σκηνή in Aesch. Pers. 1000; Plut. Them. 26.

The pluperfect occurs in Thuc. 2, 52, 3, τὰ τε ἱερὰ ἐν οἷς ἐσκήνηντο νεκρῶν πλέα ἦν. Here (and in 2, 17, 1<sup>2</sup>) the meaning is not that persons were quartered actually in the temple buildings, but ἱερὰ means the sacred precincts about the temples, in which people actually camped out at festivals, and ἐσκήνηντο is used in the religious sense (cf. 1, 89, 3, where ἐσκήνησαν is used in the military sense).

This completes my collection of middle and passive forms, and it appears that Liddell and Scott were right in referring them all to -άω, but not exact in the meaning assigned to the present. It will be observed that not one of them necessarily suggests the military meaning of σκηνή. In Hesychius, however, we find in Schmidt's editions σκηνώτες· σίσκηνοι. λέγονται δὲ καὶ σκηνωταί. We have seen that the active of σκηναίω might be transitive; here it appears to be intransitive. But the manuscript has σκηνότες, and Schmidt followed Musurus in reading σκηνώτες. Now, the form σκηνότες may be Doric for σκηνοῦντες (from -έω), cf. κρατόντες, κοσμώντες, Blass-Kühner, *Ausf. Gram.*, p. 202); or, if we read σκηνώντες, this also may be Doric for σκηνοῦντες, from -έω or -όω (*ibid.* p. 205). We are therefore dealing here with a dialectic form of -έω or -όω, and not with -άω at all.

It is worth noting that of the ten classical occurrences of the verbs outside of Xenophon, seven have already been treated. I

<sup>1</sup> The form in -όω was the commonest of the three in usage (see p. 83); hence this warning scholion.

<sup>2</sup> οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τὰ τε ἐρήμια τῆς πόλεως ψεκσαν καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τὰ ἡρώα πάντα πλὴν τῆς ἀκρόπολεως, κτλ.

shall next examine σκηνώ. Of verbs in -οω, Curtius (*ibid.*) says that in the majority of cases they are formed from adjectival ο-stems, and that they have a causative or factitative meaning, so that we can translate them '*to make something.*' With this class we are evidently not dealing now. He adds, 'along with these go others which come from substantives, and have a similar meaning, that of '*bring about something, provide with something,*' e. g. στεφανόω. On this principle σκηνώ should be formed from σκήνος and be transitive, meaning *provide with a shelter, make tent, put into camp.* I find only one trace of this causative sense, and that in Plutarch, μακρὰν ἀπεσκηνώκει τὰ ὄπλα τῶν μουσῶν, 2, p. 334 B. But in its ordinary usage the verb is not causative. Rutherford (Babrius, p. 25) speaks of this and compares ἰδρώ, ῥιγώ, and μεσώ. Even the causative ὑπνώ has sometimes an intr. meaning; cf. also ὁμοίω, προσομοίω, ἐξισώ, κατορθώω, χηρώ. Among other verbs in -οω, κυκλώ is not causative. Another, βιώω, is not causative, and it is very often found with the cognate acc. βίον. Somewhat like this is the well-known place in Aesch. Eum. 634, φάρυξ περσκήνωσεν (cod. M) or παρεσκήνωσεν (dett.). This is the only passage in classical Greek in which the verb in -οω has an accusative. In all the other passages it is intransitive, and we shall find that it properly means *to tent, camp, camp out, pitch one's tent, and encamp*, the general meaning ascribed to it by Liddell and Scott.

In the classic authors the only forms which necessarily imply a σκηνώ are σκηνοῦν and -σκηνοῦν, ἐσκήνου, -εσκήνωσεν, ἐσκήνωσαν, -εσκηνώκατε. These forms (omitting the Aeschylus passage) occur 16 times. In twelve of them the verb has the meaning *encamp* or *go into quarters*, in the military sense, as follows: σκηνοῦν and -σκηνοῦν, Xen. A. 4, 4, 10; 5, 23; 5, 7, 31; Cyr. 2, 1, 25; 8, 5, 3; Hellen. 7, 1, 38; ἐσκήνου, A. 7, 4, 11; Hellen. 5, 4, 56; -εσκήνωσεν, A. 2, 2, 16; Cyr. 4, 5, 39; ἐσκήνωσαν, Dem. 54, 3; -εσκηνώκατε, Cyr. 6, 2, 2. In one place it has primarily the same meaning, but Xenophon would probably not have used the word here were it not for the idea of *feeding* which we have seen that he attached to the substantive συσκηνία. This is in the Cyr. 6, 1, 49, καὶ νῦν μὲν σε ἀφήμι, ἔφη, σὺν τῇ γυναικὶ δειπνεῖν, αὐθις δὲ καὶ παρ' ἐμοὶ δεήσει σε σκηνοῦν σὺν τοῖς σοῖς καὶ ἐμοῖς φίλοις. Here δειπνεῖν and σκηνοῦν are practically synonyms. In the other three of the sixteen passages the verb has not what Liddell and Scott call its proper meaning. In these it denotes not an activity but a state of being. That is, it has a meaning which, on Curtius's principle, we might have expected to find with σκηνάω, but did not, and which is

actually and rightly attributed to σκηνέω by Liddell and Scott. Thus in Anab. 5, 5, 11, νῦν δὲ ἀκούομεν ὑμᾶς εἰς τε τὴν πόλιν βίᾳ παρελθούσας ἐνίοις σκηνοῦν ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις, means 'we hear that you have forced your way into the city and *are quartered* in the houses'; so also the same word in 5, 5, 20. In the third passage the word is used once more with reference to the *feeding* idea in συσκηνία, Cyr. 4, 5, 8, αὐτός τε ἐμεθύσκετο μεθ' ὧν περ ἐσκήνου ὥς ἐπ' εὐτυχία. Hence in thirteen of the sixteen classical passages σκηνώω has the primary idea 'to tent'; in three, 'to be in a tent'; (cf. in this sense μεσώω).

That the former is the proper meaning of the verb is made still more certain by its usage in late authors. In these the forms which must come from σκηνώω are σκηνοῦν, -σκηνοῦν, σκηνώσω, -εσκήνωσε, ἐσκήνωσαν, -εσκήνωσαν, σκηνώσαι, -σκηνώσαι, σκηνώσας, -σκηνώσαντες, -εσκηνώκεναι, -εσκηνώκει, ἐσκηνωμένος, -εσκηνωθῆναι. These forms occur 24 times. In nineteen of the passages the verb has its proper usage and meaning, in four it takes an accusative or is used in the passive with a subject accusative, and in one the form is ἐσκηνωμένος, which must be considered by itself. In not one is it used in the meaning 'to be in quarters, be in camp.' This meaning is assigned by Liddell and Scott to σκηνέω, and it begins to look as if Eustathius was right when he said καὶ τὸ σκηνώ δὲ σκηνώσω . . . καὶ τὸ σκηνώ σκηνήσω διαφορὰν ἔχουσιν φανεράν (see above, p. 72). In eleven of the nineteen passages the word means *to pitch one's tent, camp, encamp* in the military sense (with suitable variations for the compounds), viz. -σκηνοῦν, Polyb. 14, 2, 8; 35, 2, 4; Plut. Eum. 15; -εσκήνωσε, Plut. Demetr. 9; Polyb. 10, 31, 5; ἐσκήνωσαν, Poll. 1, 160; -εσκήνωσαν, Polyb. 21, 13, 7; Polyæn. 7, 21, 6; Poll. 1, 160; -σκηνώσαντες, Polyb. 4, 18, 8; 4, 72, 1. In one of the nineteen it means '*camp out*' in the religious sense, Ael. V. H. 4, 9, Πλάτων ὁ Ἀρίστωνος ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ συνεσκήνωσεν ἀγνώσιν ἀνθρώποις. The remaining seven of the nineteen form a class by themselves, for in them the verb has neither the military nor the religious sense, but means simply *fix one's dwelling, take up one's abode*.<sup>1</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> This is its only meaning in the New Testament and in the Greek version of the Old. I have not chosen to include its Scriptural occurrence in the body of my article, but insert here the following passages, on the authority of Professor Thayer's Lexicon, as the only ones in which the verb is found: Judges 5, 17; Ps. 16, 9; Sir. 24, 4, 8; Matth. 13, 32; Mk. 4, 32; Lk. 13, 19; Jn. 1, 14; Acts 2, 26; 2 Cor. 12, 9; Rev. 7, 15; 12, 2; 13, 6; 21, 3. Neither σκηναίω nor σκηνέω are found in the Scriptures; cf. Thom. σ quoted above, p. 71; so Thayer.

first is from an inscription (Ditt. Syll. 126, 3=Hicks 149, 3), σκηνοῦν δὲ τοῦτον καὶ πανηγυρ[ί]ζειν μετὰ τῶν παρ' [ὑμῶν ἀφικομέ]νων καὶ καλεῖσθαι τῆριον. The inscription concerns the incorporation of the people of Lebedos with the Teians, at the end of the fourth century B. C. Although this passage is very like Plato, Rep. 614 E, οἶον ἐν πανηγύρει κατασκηναῖσθαι, I do not think that the meaning of σκηνοῦν in the inscription is as limited as that of κατασκηναῖσθαι in the Republic. The inscription goes on to state how temporary dwellings are to be provided. The meaning *take up one's abode* is found also as follows: παρασκηνοῦν, Plut. 2, p. 51 E; κατεσκήνωσε, Josephus, A. 3, 8, 5; σκηνώσαι, κατασκηνώσαι, Poll. 1, 73; κατεσκηνωκέναι, Synesius, Migne LXVI, p. 1179; in Diod. Sic. 14, 32, μετασκηνοῦν means 'remove.'

I come next to the four cases in late authors in which σκηνώ takes an accusative. One has already been mentioned, the only passage in which the verb is causative (Plut. 2, p. 334 B, see above, p. 77). In Polyaeus, 7, 21, 6, we find προσποιήσατο στρατοπεδεῖν, τὰς μὲν μεγίστας καὶ ὑψηλότητας σκηνάς κατὰ πρόσωπον σκηνώσας, *he pretended to encamp, pitching the biggest and highest tents in front*. In classical authors the phrase would be σκηνάς πήξασθαι, so far as we can judge from Hdt. 6, 12 and [Andoc. 33, 9]<sup>1</sup> (cf. σκηνοπηγία, σκηνοπηγέω), or σκηνάς ἵστασθαι, cf. Xen. Cyr. 8, 5, 3. Polyaeus used the phrase on the principle of cognate accusatives. Perhaps he was influenced by the Latin use of *tendere*; though *tentoria tendere* does not occur in the authors, we have *iubet praetorium tendi*, Caes. B. C. 3, 82. Cf. also the cognate accusative in Aesch. Eum. 634 (above, p. 77). The next accusative is in Aelian (V. H. 3, 14), προσέταξε τὰ καπηλεία ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν διασκηνωθῆναι, *he ordered shops to be set up along the wall*, where the object has become subject of the infinitive. Last we have in Plutarch (Cam. 31), βιαζομένου σκηνοῦν ἐρείπια, *forcing them to inhabit ruins*. Here is the result of the post-classical use of σκηνώ in the sense of *take up one's abode*. It has become as transitive a verb as οἰκέω.

Out of the 24 passages to be examined there remains one in which occurs the form ἐσκηνωμένος, Aristid. II, p. 277 Dind., ὁμοῦ τοῖς αὐταῖς ἐσκηνωμένος. Here we might have expected ἐσκηνημένος (see p. 76). Thomas Magister quoted this passage for the very reason that we have in it an unusual form, one he says found

<sup>1</sup> In Plat. Legg. 817 C, σκηναὶς πήξαντες, the reference is to a tent or booth set up by actors in a tragedy.



nowhere else *παρὰ τοῖς ῥήτορσι*. The fact, which will become more evident as we go on, that *σκηνώ* was by far the commonest verb in late Greek, may account for its usage here. Or its existence may be due to the principle of analogy; the verb *σκηνώ* ought to be causative; it really is so used in one passage in Plutarch; hence the perf. pass. might be thought to mean *provided with a tent*, i. e. *tent* (cf. the passives of *γυμνῶ*, *χολδῶ*, *μονῶ*, *αἱματῶ*, and the form *δεδομάτωμαι*, Aesch. Suppl. 958).

I have now spoken of every form which necessarily comes from *-ῶ*, and it appears that in the very great majority of cases (32-3, omitting the five places where the verb takes an accusative and omitting also *ἐσκηνωμένος*), the verb *σκηνώ* has what I have spoken of as its proper meaning. It will also be observed that the military sense predominates with this word (26-15). This was far from being the case with the verb in *-άω*.

Examining next the forms which might come from either *-έω* or *-ῶ*, I find that they occur 33 times. In seven of these the primary meaning is *encamp*; five of the seven are military, and I do not hesitate to refer all seven to *σκηνώ*, viz. *ἐσκήνουν*, Xen. A. 3, 4, 35; Cyr. 2, 1, 25; Arrian, A. 1, 3, 6; 3, 29, 4; Josephus, B. J. 3, 7, 17. The sixth is in Plutarch (2, p. 627 A). The words here are: *μὴ μακροῦ οὕτως ἀποσκηνοῦ τῶν ἰδίων*, *don't settle so far afield from where you belong*. I should be inclined here to amend the accent and read the active *ἀποσκήνου*, were it not for two reasons; first, in Plut. 2, p. 334 B (see above, p. 77) the active of this very verb is used causatively; secondly, we had the form *ἐσκηνωμένος* in Aristides (see p. 79). The seventh form is *μετασκηνῶ τῆς πατρίδος*, Anon. ap. Walz, Rhett. 3, p. 583, 25; the meaning is *remove* (cf. Diod. Sic., above, p. 79).

In nine of the 33 passages the primary meaning is *be in camp*. It is true that I was obliged to admit (p. 77) that *σκηνώ* had this meaning in three cases. But these nine may be assigned to a different verb, *σκηνέω*, and under it I shall place them. All are military except the last. The first eight are: *σκηνοῦμεν*, Xen. A. 5, 5, 21; *σκηνοῖσι*, Xen. A. 5, 5, 20; *-σκηνοῖσι*, Arrian, Anab. 2, 12, 4; *σκηνοῖεν*, Xen. A. 7, 4, 12; *σκηνοῦντος*, Xen. Hellen. 4, 6, 7; *σκηνοῦντες*, Xen. Cyr. 4, 2, 11; *σκηνοῦντας*, Xen. A. 4, 5, 33; 6, 1, 1. The ninth is in Plutarch (2, p. 735 D): *οἱ δὲ φυλλοχόοι μῆνες ἤδη τῷ χειμῶνι παρασκηνοῦντες*, where the idea resembles *abiding*, not *taking up one's abode*.

Next there are five passages in which I cannot decide between

σκηρέω and σκηρύω. Four are military, and the meaning may be either *encamp* or *be in camp*, viz. ἐσκήνουν, Xen. A. 1, 4, 9; 4, 8, 25; 6, 4, 7; σκηνοῦντες, 4, 4, 14. The fifth is an instance of the 'camp-meeting' use. In the description of the festivities held in the τέμενος which Xenophon dedicated to Artemis (A. 5, 3, 9) occur the words παρείχε δὲ ἡ θεὸς τοῖς σκηνοῦσι ἰλφίτα κ. τ. λ. Here σκηνοῦσι may mean 'to those who were wont to camp out' or to those who were camping out.'

Finally, out of the thirty-three, there are twelve passages, all in Xenophon, in which the verb has the 'feeding' sense. I have already mentioned (p. 77) that this notion was attached to Xenophon's use of σκηρύω in two passages. Therefore, a form doubtful in itself, but which means 'to feed' should be ascribed to σκηρύω; one which means *be feeding* should be ascribed to σκηρέω. Out of the twelve I give to σκηρύω the forms συσκηνοῦσι, R. L. 13, 1; Hellen. 5, 3, 20; ἔξω σκηνοῖεν, R. L. 15, 4; οἴκοι σκηνοῦντας, R. L. 5, 2; and to σκηρέω the forms συσκηνοῦντων, R. L. 5, 4; C. 3, 2, 25; Hellen. 3, 2, 8; συσκηνοῖεν, C. 2, 2, 1; σκηνοῦντας,<sup>1</sup> Hellen. 7, 4, 36. Three forms remain, compounds of διά. The meaning of all is 'leave the table' (i. e. 'eat through to the end'), and all may be assigned to σκηρύω, viz. διασκηρῶσιν, R. L. 5, 3; διασκηρῶν, Hellen. 4, 8, 18;<sup>2</sup> διασκηροῦντων, C. 3, 1, 38.

This completes my examination of σκηρύω. The forms occur 59 times, of which 26 are Attic, 24 late, 8 in lexicographers and grammarians, and one in an inscription.

I come finally to the forms of σκηρέω. Of verbs in -έω Curtius points out that at a very early period they differed from forms in -άω by being intransitive. We saw that we might have expected σκηρύω to denote the exercise of some activity or the existence of some state; but we found no certain active form of σκηρύω in the authors. We did find σκηρᾶσθαι, etc., and, from the peculiarity of its usage, argued that σκηρᾶν, had it occurred, might have been found to have the transitive meaning of *shelter*. If we find, therefore, forms such as σκηρήσω and ἐσκήρησα, which might come equally well from -άω or -έω, and if these forms are intransitive, we might

<sup>1</sup> Here Treiber (p. 22, note 1) would read συσκηροῦντας, a probable improvement. We have seen that the 'feeding' sense may attach to the simple σκηρύω, but this was only when prepositions (σύν and μετά) and their cases, or adverbs (οἰκίᾳ, ἔξω) strengthened the verb.

<sup>2</sup> Here Keller accepts and prints the emendation διασκεῖων, which has much in its favor; still one might expect to find διασκηρῶν in his index of words.

refer them to *σκηνέω*. The following are all such forms that I have found: -*σκηνήσω*, -*σκηνήσετε*, *σκηνήσουσι*, *σκηνήσοιεν*, *σκηνήσειν*, *ἐσκήνησε*, *ἐσκήνησαν*, -*εσκήνησαν*, *σκηνήσαι*, -*σκηνήσαι*, -*σκηνήσαντες*. Now *σκηνέω* might mean *be in camp*; cf. *στοιχέω*, *be in line*, *ὀρμέω*, *be moored*, *οἰκέω*, *house*, i. e. *be in a house, dwell*. Or it might mean *encamp*, like *αὐλέω*, *flute, play the flute*, *δειπνέω*, *dine*. The future forms occur five times, the aorists sixteen times. Three of the futures have the meaning *will be in camp, will be quartered*, and are military, viz. Xen. A. 4, 7, 27; Hellen. 5, 1, 20 (bis). Another future, *σκηνήσω*, is mentioned by Eustathius with the remark that it clearly differs from *σκηνώσω* (see above, p. 72). The fifth has the 'feeding' sense, and means '*will be feeders together*,' *συσκηνήσετε*, Arrian, Epict. 2, 22, 37; cf. Trieber, p. 22. To *σκηνέω* I have already assigned nine contracted forms of the present tense (p. 80), meaning *be in quarters*, and all but one military, as well as five similar forms (p. 81) used in the sense '*be feeders together*.' I agree, therefore with Liddell and Scott in giving this verb the meaning *be in camp, be quartered*. But on coming to the forms of the aorist tense it appears that *ἐσκήνησαν*, for instance, does not mean '*they were*' or '*or had been in quarters*,' but '*they went into quarters*,' '*they encamped*.' Still, this might have been expected, and there is no confusion here between *σκηνέω* and *σκηνώω*. The fact is we are dealing with an ingressive aorist. 'The aorist of verbs which denote a state or condition generally expresses the entrance into that state or condition' (Goodwin, M. T. 55).

It is instructive on the difference in meaning between the presents in -έω and -ώω that Xenophon says in A. 4, 4, 8 *ἔδοξε διασκηνήσαι*, but in 4, 4, 10 *ἔδοκει οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι διασκηνοῦν*, not *διασκηνεῖν*. This difference has not been heretofore noted, so far as I am aware. There is no evidence at all that the meaning '*go into camp*' ever attached to the present tense of *σκηνέω*; hence the treatment of this verb, and especially of its compounds, in lexicons is erroneous. Returning to the sixteen forms of the aorist, it appears that all are used in the military sense, and all but two are in Xenophon, viz. *ἐσκήνησε*, Dio Cass. 51, 1; *ἐσκήνησαν*, Thuc. 1, 89, 3; Xen. A. 2, 4, 14; 4, 2, 22; 7, 3, 15; 7, 7, 1; Cyr. 8, 3, 34; -*εσκήνησαν*, A. 3, 1, 28; 3, 4, 33; 7, 4, 11; Hellen. 4, 2, 23; *σκηνήσαι*, A. 6, 5, 21; -*σκηνήσαι*, A. 3, 4, 32; 4, 4, 8; -*σκηνήσαντες*, A. 4, 5, 29; Hellen. 4, 5, 2.

Finally, there remains the only verbal which I have found, *διασκηνητέον*, Xen. A. 4, 4, 14. In spite of the lack of an aorist

passive or of any other passive form of σκηνέω, this verbal must be assigned to διασκηνέω on account of the use of this verb just above in the aorist active in the sense of 'encamp apart' (4. 4. 8). This completes my examination of the forms of σκηνέω. They occur 39 times, of which 31 are Attic, 4 in late authors, and 4 in grammarians (Eust. and Thom. Mag.).

I have been unable, in the case of five forms (p. 80), to decide between -έω and -όω. The Hesychian σκηνώντες was left doubtful also (p. 76). One other form, hitherto unmentioned, I must leave undecided. A Phocian inscription (Foucart, B. C. H. VIII, p. 215=Collitz, Sammlung: Die lokrischen und phokischen Inschr., 1531) runs as follows: εν τοι Φανακείοι θύοντα σκανεν [γ]υναικα [μ]η παριμε[ν]. The meaning is evidently 'a sacrificer may pitch his tent in the Anakeion; women not admitted.' Here the form σκανεν may represent either σκανεῖν, Att. σκηνεῖν (ε=ει), or σκανᾶν, Att. σκηᾶν (ε=η, then σκανῆν; cf. ἐπιτιμῆν, Wescher-Foucart, 304; ὀρῆν, Blass-Kühner, p. 205). If it represents σκηᾶν, it is the only active form of this verb; if it represents σκηνεῖν, it is the only place in which the present of this verb means 'pitch a tent, encamp.' I see no way of settling this question, but even if it could be settled it would throw no light on the usage of the forms in Attic Greek. In fact, G. Meyer, Gr. Gr.<sup>2</sup>, p. 51, says 'phokisch σκανῆν=Att. σκηνοῖν (cf. also Roberts, Grk. Epigr., p. 232).

In the following table the occurrence of the forms is summarized:

	Total.	Attic.	Late.	Lex. & Gram.	Inscr.
-άω	9	7	2	...	...
-έω	39	31	4	4	...
-όω	59	26	24	8	1
Doubtful	7	5	...	1	1
	<hr/> 114	<hr/> 69	<hr/> 30	<hr/> 13	<hr/> 2

In closing, something may be said on the general usage of σκηνέω and σκηνώ in the military sense. In this sense the verbs in the Classics are almost Xenophontic. It will not do to say that the rarity of occurrence in other authors is due to the unimportance of the camp in ordinary Greek campaigns, and that there is nothing surprising in finding the word so often in Xenophon, where camping is constantly mentioned in the long expeditions which he describes. The Greek camp was, to be sure, unimportant, compared to the Roman (Droysen, Kriegsalt., pp. 88, 139.

184); still, camping is spoken of not infrequently. But the regular word used is *στρατοπεδεύω* and its compounds. Thus, Thucydides uses this word (the simple verb) 27 times (Essen), Xenophon himself 29 times in the *Hellenica* (Keller), and 16 times in the *Anabasis*. As an example of late Greek I have noted 32 occurrences in Arrian's *Anabasis* (he used *σκηνώ* twice and *σκηνέω* once). Its compounds, especially of *κατά*, are very common. There is, of course, this difference of meaning, that *στρατοπεδεύω* cannot be used of one man while *σκηνέω* or *σκηνώ* may be used of one or of many. Thus, I have observed only two cases of *στρατοπεδεύω* in the singular in the *Anabasis* (2, 2, 15; 7, 2, 11), but these are no real exceptions, as the subject is a king or general and of course the troops are included (cf. Polyæn. 7, 21, 6). It might seem, however, that *στρατοπεδεύω* could denote an open-air encampment, but *σκηνέω* or *σκηνώ* an encampment only under shelter, in tents or in the houses of a village as quarters. This distinction appears in Xen. A. 4, 4, 7-14. But it is hardly ever preserved. Thus we find *ὑπαίθριοι δ' ἔξω ἐστρατοπεδεύετε*, A. 7, 6, 24, but *σκηνοῦμεν ὑπαίθριοι* in 5, 5, 21. Again, we have *κώμην δὲ δείξας αὐτοῖς οὐ σκηνήσουσι*, 4, 7, 27, but *ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο ἐν κώμῃ*, 3, 5, 1 (cf. 4, 5, 11; 4, 8, 19). In 2, 2, 16 and 17 *κατεσκήνησαν* and *ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο* are used of the same camp, and for still greater confusion see 6, 4, 1 and 7. We do not, however, find this loose usage in other authors, and it may well be supposed that, in *σκηνέω* and *σκηνώ* Xenophon, who was a real and not a 'play' soldier, was using words which were constantly in the mouths of the men. If we had a Doric literature we might find that these words were preferred by the Spartans.

M. H. MORGAN.

## NOTES.

### THE ETYMOLOGY OF 'FOUR.'

Pedersen, K. Z. 32, p. 272, suggests as the etymology of 'five' (cf. Sanskrit *pañca*, *πέντε*, etc.) *q'tvōres pen que*, i. e. 'four and one,' comparing 'eleven,' *έν-νεία* and other forms of similar origin. *Sa-hásra* in Sanskrit might be added; compare *que* in *uterque*. This *pen* may perhaps be seen in *\*pantvant*, *παντ*, if (instead of *pant*=*quant*) *pan*=*δλος solus unus*! The corresponding *qu*, Sk. *ca*, of *quattuor* had before this been equated by Bugge, B. B. 14, 75 sq., with *que*: *quattuor*=*\*duoqet duó-nres*=*duo que duo nares* (Sk. *náras*=men). This etymology makes it necessary to invent a *\*qet* in the sense of *que*, for which is no proof. Fick derives the word (Sk. *catvāras*=*quattuor*) from *cat*, to hide, apparently because when one finger is hidden four are visible—a very ingenious explanation. I think the second consonant was originally a vowel, *catu*—*terF*. The feminine is *cátasras* with the Rig-Veda form *cátasaras* (5. 35. 2: *cátasaraḥ* . . . *tisaráḥ*). The form found in composition in the Rig-Veda is *catur*, and in the Atharva Veda *catúr*=*quater*. If we compare the forms for 'three' in Sanskrit we have fem. *tisrás*; and in the genitive of each *tisṛṇām* and *catasṛṇām*. The form *catur* may be *ca-tur*, the *tur* (cf. acc. *catíras*) a variation of the stem *tri* or *ter*, 'three.' Compare Whitney, Gr. 482d. With labialization we find *πίσυρες*, *petur*, *fi-dvōr*, 'four.' One of the Vedic words for 'fourth' is *caturthá*, a form which is found first in the A. V. In the Rig-Veda the only word for 'fourth' is *turtya*. But this adjective did not mean exclusively 'fourth.' Among the Tāittirīyakas it is said to have had the meaning 'third,' and hence has to be defined; in the Brāhmaṇas expressly: "*turtyam* is the same as *caturthām*," unnecessary if generally admitted. It must have gone through the process indicated above; *\*ca-turtya*, *ca-túras* being parallel. *\*Túras*=*\*taras*=*τρεῖς* (compare *pítúr*). The vowel in *catvāras* is not older than the short form; it is hazardous to seek the dual in it. Compare *ketveres*, *τέρFapes*, Lucil. 97, 121 (Lach.). -*ör*, and Hor. 'quattuör ima,' etc. The word 'one' (for which there is no common Aryan sign) must have

been gradually dropped before the *ca*, which, as *cálasras* shows, is here not enclitic (*cá* = *καί*). *Tisrás* stands for *trisras*, according to the explanation held by Bugge (hence here *trasras*). The meaning ascribed by Bugge to the termination is not certain enough to warrant the assumption that the *-or* of *quattuor* stands for the dual plus *nares, nres*; nor is there much antecedent probability that 'four' was originally expressed by 'two and two men,' although, granted that fingers were called sisters, *\*trisras* might have meant 'three fingers.' Schmidt holds to an original long vowel in our word, but both stems may at least claim an equal age (see Schmidt, K. Z. 25, p. 43; Wackernagel, *ib.*, p. 283), or rather, the short stem seems more primitive; the long, the result of formal declension. *Catúr* and *τέτταρες* are as old as *catvāras* and *fidvōr*. Ennius' *quattōr* is a contracted form.

BRYN MAWR, January, 1892.

E. WASHBURN HOPKINS.

#### NOTES ON THUCYDIDES, BOOK IV.

4, ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἐπειθεν οὔτε τοὺς στρατηγούς οὔτε τοὺς στρατιώτας, ὕστερον καὶ τοῖς ταξιάρχουσιν κοινώσας, ἡσύχαζον ὑπὸ ἀπλοίας, μέχρι αὐτοῖς τοῖς στρατιώταις σχολάζουσιν ὁρμὴ ἐνέπεσε περιστάσιν ἐκτειχίσαι τὸ χωρίον.

Grote says: "Finding himself thus unsuccessful [with the generals], Demosthenes presumed upon the undefined permission granted to him by the Athenian people to address himself first to the soldiers, last of all to the taxiarchs or inferior officers," etc. And Jowett translates: "As neither generals nor soldiers would listen to him, he at last communicated his idea to the officers of division; who would not listen to him either."

But why, one must ask, as has been asked before, should D. communicate with the taxiarchs after the soldiers? To get over this difficulty, it has been proposed to regard the clause ὕστερον . . . κοινώσας as explaining that he communicated with the soldiers indirectly only, through the taxiarchs. If this is the meaning, it is very awkwardly put; and would the taxiarchs be the persons to employ for the purpose, seeing that they were not 'inferior officers,' but ranked next to the generals themselves? Perhaps Thuc. wrote οὔτε τοὺς ταξιάρχους, ὕστερον καὶ τοῖς κοινώσας. I would explain the introduction of *στρατιώτας* into the text here as arising from the word *περιστάσιν* being (wrongly) understood to mean 'changing round.' With my reading *αὐτοῖς τοῖς στρατιώταις* comes

in, I think, much better; and Demosthenes is cleared from very questionable conduct and Thucydides from an obscure parenthesis.

32, 3 τῶν χωρίων τὰ μετεωρότατα λαβόντες. Cobet shows that καταλαβόντες is required by the sense, and the superlative μετεωρότατα does not occur anywhere else, and indeed is not wanted here. Read then τὰ μετέωρα καταλαβόντες.

36, 3 καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι βαλλόμενοι τε ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἤδη καὶ γιγνόμενοι ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ξυμπτώματι, ὥς μικρὸν μεγάλῳ εἰκάσαι, τῷ ἐν Θερμοπύλαις (ἐκεῖνοί τε γὰρ τῇ ἀτραπῇ περιελθόντων τῶν Περσῶν διεφθάρησαν, οὗτοί τε ἀμφίβολοι ἦδη ὄντες οὐκέτι ἀντεῖχον). Jowett translates: "For as they perished, when the Persians found a way round by the path, so now the besieged garrison were attacked on both sides and no longer resisted." And Rutherford praises the translator for having seen "the absurdity of the ordinary pointing of this sentence." To me the translation seems impossible. Clearly, the point of the comparison is that in both cases a way round by a path was found. The parenthesis, therefore, must end with οὗτοί τε. But would it perhaps be better, not to strike out τῶν Περσῶν altogether with Stahl, but to regard τ. Περσῶν as a gloss, which has taken the place of τῶν πολεμίων?

40, 2 ἀπιστοῦντές τε μὴ εἶναι τοὺς παραδόντας τοῖς τεθνεῶσιν ὁμοίους. Is it possible that Thuc. wrote ἀπιστοῦντας and not ἀπιστοῦντές τε, or Dobree and Madvig's ἡπίστουν τε? The Greeks generally did not think that in all circumstances the soldier who surrendered was inferior to the soldier who preferred to perish; and the heartless Athenian ally addressed to the prisoner a sort of argumentum ad hominem. The words should rather give the reason why the Lacedaemonians made a point of dying arms in hand.

A. M. Cook.

#### AD EURIPIDIS IPH. TAUR., VV. 1351-3.

De loco vexato necdum emendato Eurip. I. T. 1351-3 pauca quaedam habeo quae referam nova. Mihi enim versum 1352 data opera consideranti omnesque quae in manibus erant eruditorum coniecturas deliberanti ac versibus qui sequuntur diligenter animum advertenti remedium tandem sese obtulit illud, ut mutato versuum 1352-3 ordine lectionem sic constituerem:

οἱ δὲ κλίμακας  
πόντῳ διδόντες τῇ ξένη καθίεσαν  
σπουδῇ τ' ἐσῆγον διὰ χερῶν πρυμνήσια.



Nam versum 1352 haud temere textu qui dicitur movendum esse lucide docent mea quidem sententia verba εἰχόμεσθα τῆς ξένης πρυμνησίῳ τε (1355-6). Sed hanc sententiam ut integram explicem necesse totam scenam qualem auditori ob oculos ponere voluerit nuntius quoad possim enarrem. Vidit enim navem iam remis rite instructam remigesque ad laborem paratos (1346-8) ac iuvenes Orestem Pylademque ad puppim stantes (1348-9), dum nautae partim contis proram retinent, partim ancoram tollunt, partim scalam in usum Iphigeniae—nam quid adulescentibus agilibus cum tali ad navem praesertim πεντηκόντορον escendendam auxilio?—demittunt atque per festinationem πρυμνήσια iam iam soluturi sunt (1352-3). Quae conspicati Tauri statim decurrunt et non solum Iphigeniae sed etiam πρυμνησίῳ illis manus iniiciunt (1354-6). Tota iam pictura summatim enucleata restat ut de emendationibus singulis rationem quam brevissime reddam. Conieci igitur confuso ordine versuum 1352-3 verbum διδόντες (quam emendationem iam saepius temptatam omnibus notum) in formam δὲ δόντες mutatum esse et in versu 1352 participium σπεύδοντες coniunctione per ordinis mutationem otiosa facta ex terminationis similitudine illius διδόντες praveque intellectis litteris ΤΕΣ (σπουδῇ ΤΕΣ) ortum esse. Accedit quod hunc in modum constitutis versibus et collocationis verborum eius quae vulgo chiasmus appellatur pulcherrimum habemus exemplum, hoc est: (α) κόντοῖς—πρῶραν εἶχον, (β) οἱ δ' ἐπωτίδων ἀγκυραν ἐξανήπτον, (β) οἱ δὲ κλίμακας—καθίεσαν, (α) ἐσήγον—πρυμνήσια; et verba τῇ ξένη (qua de probabili emendatione codicum verborum τὴν ξένην iam obiter dixi neque est cur longius disseram) et πρυμνήσια in versibus qui sequuntur τῆς ξένης πρυμνησίῳ τε (1355-6) aptissime repetuntur.

MORTIMER LAMSON EARLE.

## REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

*Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica.* Essays chiefly in Biblical and Patristic Criticism by Members of the University of Oxford. Vols. II and III. Oxford, At the Clarendon Press, 1890 and 1891. 8vo, pp. viii, 324 and one facsimile; and pp. viii, 325 and five facsimiles.

The second and third series of essays published under the direction of Professors Driver, Cheyne and Sanday, of Oxford University, well maintain the high standard set by the first.<sup>1</sup> They appeal only to scholars. There are in English, besides the recent 'Texts and Studies,' edited by J. Rendel Harris and J. Armitage Robinson, so few publications of this kind, that every encouragement should be given to the editors and promoters of this valuable series. New Testament textual criticism receives the largest share of attention, five of the thirteen articles being concerned with it. Two papers treat patristic subjects; one the Synoptic Problem; two the Canons of the Old and New Testament, and two others the Old Testament.

The first paper is an inquiry, by Dr. Ad. Neubauer, into the Authorship and the Titles of the Psalms according to the early Jewish authorities. Beginning with the Septuagint translators and the Targums down to Immanuel ben Solomon of Rome (Manuelo, the friend of Dante), it brings out clearly the extreme conservatism of Jewish tradition as to the authorship and its entire ignorance of the meaning of the titles of the Psalms. "It is evident that the meaning of them was early lost. Our only remaining resource is the critical method, which, however, on the present subject has as yet made no considerable progress" (p. 57). As might have been expected from its authorship, it is a learned and interesting contribution to a subject which, in former times, has greatly exercised Biblical students. The Hebrew titles to the Psalms were considered as supplying a key not only to the age and authorship of those compositions, but also to the music to which they were chanted, and many a superstructure of ingenious guesswork has been erected on this basis. The Psalms discussed are Nos. 3-9, 16, 22, 32, 33, 38, 39, 42, 45, 46, 53, 56, 60, 69, 70, 75, 77, 80, 81, 87-90, 92, 103, 126, 127.

Mr. F. H. Woods discusses the Origin and Mutual Relation of the Synoptic Gospels (pp. 59-104), without, however, attempting to exhaust the subject in the brief space allotted to him. He tries to show that the original basis of the Synoptic Gospels coincided in its *range* and *order* almost exactly with our St. Mark, excluding, of course, Chapter XVI 9-20. For this he adduces six reasons of varying strength and inciseness, the accumulative force of which it is almost impossible to withstand. His method is cautious and his statements are guarded. He reaches conclusions which are practically identical with those of Heinrich Holtzmann in his 'Synoptische Evangelien' (Vol. I of 'Handcommentar zum Neuen Testament,' Freiburg, 1889). "There are a

<sup>1</sup> See A. J. P. VII 92-96.

few unimportant passages where it is not unlikely, and yet by no means certain, that St. Mark modified the earlier tradition; one only where it is almost certain that he did so, viz. in the omission of Matth. iii. 7-10, 12; and there are some grounds for thinking that the Marcian tradition (or perhaps we should say St. Mark) originally contained what corresponded to Matth. xxviii. 9, 10, 16-20. We conclude, therefore, that the common tradition upon which all the three Synoptics were based is substantially our St. Mark as far as *matter, general form* and *order* are concerned. Whether we can go further, and say that in point of language and the more minute details it is generally identical, is a further question which we have not attempted to settle." To add to the merits of his essay, Woods has appended an excellent synoptic table showing the relation between St. Mark and the other Synoptic Gospels. It is one of the best introductions to the comparative study of the Gospels, and throws no small light on the principles of selection which, it is obvious, governed their composition.

C. H. Turner's paper on the Day and Year of St. Polycarp's Martyrdom (pp. 105-55) is a subject which had been treated by Randell in the first volume of these studies and by the late Bishop Lightfoot in his great work on Ignatius and Polycarp. The paper is acute and ingenious, and offers an alternative to Lightfoot's 23d February, 155, in the 22d February, 156 A. D. The whole argument depends on the not improbable assumption that 'the great Sabbath' belongs to Purim, and the author's idea is that 156 was a leap-year, that the extra day was intercalated at the beginning of Xanthicus, giving it two seconds as well as its (normal) two firsts, so that in that year the (first) second of Xanthicus fell on February 22d. Turner also assumes an error in synchronism due either to the original writer or a later scribe from the use of a hemerology which did not indicate the leap-year; hence the textual 23d February. Two appendices treat (1) on a Paschal Homily printed in St. Chrysostom's Works, ascribed by Ussher to A. D. 672, but really belonging to A. D. 387, and (2) passages from ancient writers who employ calendars of the Asiatic type, giving side by side a Roman and a native dating.

The next contribution is an essay by Dr. Bigg on the Clementine Homilies (pp. 157-93). It is a most valuable paper, although the author does not discuss the relation between these and the Recognitions. The real aim is to show that the Homilies were made up of a recast by an Arian Christian of Syriac nationality, turned Ebionite, of an orthodox *Grundschrift*, which formed the original basis of all the Clementine writings (p. 175). The catholic original Bigg dates to about 200 A. D. (p. 183). The recasting was done at some early period in the fourth century. "If we suppose that we have in the present *Homilies* the production of an Arian Christian of Syriac nationality, who fancied that he found in Ebionitism a solution of the great problem—a historical and quasi-philosophical doctrine of the Arian Saviour—we should not perhaps go far wrong. And nowhere could such a man be looked for with more prospect of success than in Antioch" (p. 192).

An excellent article is that of J. M. Bebb on the Evidence of the early versions and Patristic quotations on the text of the books of the New Testament (pp. 195-240). It is less an account of results than of methods and principles, discussing, among others, (1) obvious scribes' errors in the language of

the versions, or misreading of the Greek; (2) corruptions to suit a familiar text, or adaptations to other authorities, and (3) formal changes in style and diction.

G. H. Gwilliam devotes his paper to an account of the Ammonian sections, Eusebian Canons, and Harmonizing Tables in the Syriac Tetraevangelium (pp. 241-72). It was generally known that also the Peshitto MSS exhibit these sections and canons; the printed editions, however, have thus far not indicated these accessories of the text, and very few had an accurate knowledge of them. The argument which the writer develops at the end of his paper (pp. 265-6) from the care the Syrians bestowed on these accessories to their text, to prove the relative originality of the text that underlies the Peshitto, is open to the destructive objections of Dr. Sanday on p. 272.

The closing essay of the second volume is a very acceptable account by Mr. H. J. White of the brilliant series of investigations and studies, carried on especially in the London Academy from 1887 to 1889, which have resulted in restoring to us the history of the great Codex Amiatinus of the Vulgate. Contrary to the view of Lagarde,<sup>1</sup> who dated the codex in the ninth century, White, following de Rossi and Hort, fixes the date to the middle or, at the latest, to the second half of the sixth century. The whole précis was worth giving, and few could have put it together better.

Of the greatest interest for the philologist is Dr. Sanday's note on the Italian origin of the Codex Amiatinus and the localizing of Italian MSS. He discusses with great acumen and thoroughness the list of peculiarities in Late Latinity put forward by Dr. Hamann<sup>2</sup> as marks of Italian origin. Such are  $s = x$ : *senes* for *senex*, *senia* for *xenia* (*ξένια*). Though there is sufficient evidence of the prevalence of this corruption in Italy, there is also reason to think that it existed in Africa, and there is satisfactory proof of its existence in Gaul. *N* inserted: *gigans*, *optimantium*. In Gregory of Tours we find *accensus* (= *accessus*), perhaps from confusion with *ascensus*. On the whole, the view that this inserted *n* favors an Italian origin seems, if not proved, yet perhaps rather more probable than not.  $Cx = x$ : *anxius*, *unxhit*, *sancxit* (Gregory of Tours). The wide diffusion of this usage will not be disputed. There is hardly one of the Latin-speaking provinces from which there is not an evidence for it. *Sub* assimilated before *s* and *ad* before *m*: *sursaltastis*, *ammirata*. Instances of the former assimilation are comparatively rare, and all of Italian origin. The assimilation both of *sub* and *ad* before *m* is more common; so also of *in* before *m*; only once do we find it in Gregory of Tours: *ammimiculo*. Taking all the evidence together, a better case appears to be made out than we have as yet had. There is a presumption that the less usual forms of assimilation are Italian.  $A = au$ : *agusto*, *atem*. The grammarian Caper lays down *ausculta non asculta* (ed. Keil, VII 108), which shows that both forms were current. And if, turning to modern usage, it is argued that the Italian form is 'Agostino,' it may be replied that the Spanish is also 'Agustin.'  $O = au$ : *clodus* is no doubt the vernacular spelling. Gregory of Tours certainly wrote so, as well as Venantius Fortunatus; it was current also in Africa.  $U = au$ : the forms *clusi* for *clausi*, *clusum* for *clausum* are also very widely diffused.  $A = e$ : cf. *adtractaverit* (Codex Amiatinus) and *contractans*

<sup>1</sup> London Academy, Sept. 2, 1882, and Mittheilungen, Vol. I, 191-2.

<sup>2</sup> London Academy, May 7, 1887

(Gregory of Tours). *E = i*: *redemet* (= redimet). Numbers of such cases might be quoted from the inscriptions or MSS of every region. *Vowel prefixed to s impure*: *histriatarum* (= striatarum). It is not rare in Romance countries. Gregory of Tours has several examples, and noteworthy is the *hispatii* of the Peregrinatio ad Loca Sancta. The converse case of *Spania* for *Hispania* is of frequent occurrence. *S = ex*: e. g. (*e*)*spendebat* and *scandesce*. Cod. Bezae (D Evv.) offers many analogies, as *sconspectu* = *ex conspectu*. The common view assigns this remarkable codex to the south of France. In favor of this would be the curious form *sonium* (= μέριμνα, Luke 21, 34), which is naturally compared with 'soin.' *Ph = p* and *di = z*: thus *tophadius* (= topazus). The dropping of *m* is too common to furnish any criterion. There are many examples in the Spanish and African inscriptions, besides those in Italy. The only books which deal directly with this subject are Sittl's *Lokale Verschiedenheiten der lateinischen Sprache* (Erlangen, 1882) and Max Bonnet, *Le Latin de Grégoire de Tours* (1890).<sup>1</sup>

The third volume followed rapidly upon the second. The contributors are mainly those whose names are associated with the previous volumes.

Dr. Neubauer again opens the series with a paper on the Introduction of the Square Characters in Biblical MSS and an Account of the Earliest MSS of the Old Testament. The Assyrians, we know, were well acquainted with the art of writing as early as the XVth century B. C. The El-Amarna inscriptions, dating about 1400 B. C., make reference to Palestinian cities. The Moabites knew that art in the ninth century B. C., and so the Israelites possessed books in the time of Samuel, and probably used writing with some freedom at a somewhat earlier date. רָעַן, the term for the Old Ibrī, is derived by Neubauer from a root *d'-g*, to fix in, to engrave, following Epiphanius, who says that the Pentateuch was written 'forma Hebraei *decession*, quod interpretatur: insculptum.' I am surprised to see no notice of de Lagarde's<sup>2</sup> view that כתב רָעַן is probably to be interpreted as 'the cuneiform writing,' and רָעַן the Hebrew transliteration of Assyrian *dis* (*dis*), the name of the single perpendicular wedge. This opinion of Lagarde is strengthened by the fact that the Babylonian Išidai calls the Old Ibrī לִיבֹנַי (Libonai), which means 'on brick,' perhaps because the Babylonian rabbi knew the Old Ibrī characters from inscriptions on bricks. The square characters are called 'Assyrian' because the Jews brought them from Assyria, i. e. Mesopotamia.

"The tradition is pretty well established that a new form of writing was introduced after the Exile for copying Scripture, and the early tradition attributed it to Ezra. Now, there is no reason why we should not agree with this tradition of the rabbis and the early Christian fathers. There is in fact nothing else possible but to admit that the Pentateuch (for this book was the first to be multiplied by copies) was simultaneously written in the Old Ibrī and in the Aramaic characters before either of them was declared sacred" (p. 13). But is there any positive value to be attributed to this so-called 'tradition'? Mr. Neubauer certainly does not convince us of it. As for the other Biblical books, he says (p. 14): "We believe that they were written in Aramaic characters solely from the beginning, since no early use was made of them in the service of the Temple, and they were not the object of exegesis in the schools

<sup>1</sup> See A. J. P. XII 221.

<sup>2</sup> Armenische Studien, p. 154, rem.

of the priests." Very interesting is the author's account of the earliest MSS of the Old Testament, illustrated, as it is, by four admirable photographic facsimiles, enabling those who are not skilled in palaeography to understand the grounds on which, for example, the date of the Codex Babylonicus of 916 is determined.<sup>1</sup>

Canon Gore's exposition of the argument of Romans IX-XI (pp. 37-46) is not satisfactory, owing to its aphoristic brevity. Although ingenious in its character and well written, it leaves the problem as dark as ever.

G. H. Gwilliam's *Materials for the Criticism of the Peshitto New Testament*, with specimens of the Syriac Massorah, are learned prolegomena for a future critical edition, and constitute a valuable addition to our means of ascertaining the relative importance of the Syriac versions. The Karkaphensian version is discussed and further reasons brought forward by the author for his opinion that the Peshitto, and not the Curetonian, represents the 'Old Syriac.' The paper is full of suggestions, and the point seems to be proved that the present Peshitto is not the gradually formed product of several successive revisions.

The next contribution, which is an *Examination of the New Testament Quotations of Ephrem Syrus*, by F. H. Woods (pp. 105-38), has as important a bearing on critical questions affecting the canon and text of the New Testament as Mr. Gwilliam's paper. Mr. Woods shows that while some of these quotations are in exact or practical agreement with the Peshitto, others indicate the existence and use of an extra-Peshitto Syriac text, while a third class point to a direct or indirect use of a Greek text (p. 116 foll.). Ephrem himself may have known Greek, and used a Greek text or a Syriac MS with variant Greek readings, or he may have availed himself of the assistance of a Graeco-Syriac scholar. It is amusing to notice that, following immediately upon Mr. Gwilliam's paper, our author writes: "The Curetonian version is now generally believed to be a fragment of the original Syriac version, and the Peshitto merely a later recension of the same, influenced by what are technically called Syriac readings."

The *Text of the Canons of Ancyra* is studied by Mr. R. B. Rackham (pp. 139-216). The writer shows that it is impossible at present to get at the original text and that there are great difficulties in coming to an approximate certainty. But he faces these difficulties with the greatest pains and diligence, for which he deserves hearty recognition. He gives a new critical edition of the Greek text of these canons (pp. 142-54), with numerous variant readings and a minute description of the MSS, prefaced by a list of them (pp. 139-42). Then follows an essay (pp. 143-94) containing critical and explanatory notes. Two appendices give the Latin translation of the Syriac and the Armenian versions, the latter kindly made for the author by Mr. Conybeare, of University College, from a MS in his own possession.

Dr. Sanday closes this series with a long study on the Cheltenham List of the Canonical Books of the Old and New Testament and of the writings of Cyprian (pp. 217-303). This list was discovered in the Phillipps Collection at Cheltenham by Professor Mommsen in 1885, and published by him in *Hermes*, XXI (1886), pp. 142-56. The MS itself is of the tenth century, but the list,

<sup>1</sup> Also see *Jewish Quarterly Review*, January, 1892, pp. 317, 318; and *London Academy*, April 9, 1892, p. 326 fol.

according to Mommsen, belongs to the year 359 A. D. Hence its importance. Sanday gives an exhaustive discussion of all the points affecting the canon of the Old and New Testament. He reprints the list from Mommsen's article, reproducing the Latinity and clerical errors of the MS. and then continues with some valuable contributions: (1) To the history of the canon and order of the Old Testament. "Speaking summarily, we may say that the conspicuous features in the Cheltenham List are its points of contact with St. Augustine and its marked coincidence with St. Jerome as to the number of the Books, which may, however, have had an earlier origin" (p. 243); (2) To the canon and order of the books of the New Testament. The salient points of the New Testament list are: (a) the omission of Hebrews and the inclusion of the Apocalypse, points marking this list at once as Western; (b) the abridged list of Catholic Epistles: omitting James and Jude; (c) the order of these Epistles: that (or rather those) of St. John being the first, immediately following the Apocalypse; (d) the order of the Gospels: Matth., John, Luke and Mark; (e) the order of the different parts of the collection: Evv., Epp. Paul., Act., Apoc., Cath. Epp.; (3) Notes on the Stichometries of the Biblical Books, with due reference to the articles of Professor Kendel Harris in A. J. P., 1883 ff., and (4) the list of the writings of Cyprian. It is needless to say that the author's characteristic learning and caution are illustrated on every page. Fresh light is thrown on the history of the Canon, and the five Comparative Tables (pp. 227-32, 254-57, 266-69, 283-87, 299 f.) will be found useful by all students. It is a pity that Sanday, at the time when he published this essay, had not yet seen Mommsen's recent note in *Hermes*, XXV (1890), pp. 636-38: Zur lateinischen Stichometrie, in which he discusses the MS of St. Gall, No. 133, also containing this same list of the Books of the Bible and the writings of Cyprian. A comparison of the two lists would have been very interesting and fruitful.

An appendix (pp. 304-23) contains remarks by C. H. Turner on the stichometry of the Cheltenham List and more particularly on that of Cyprian's works. These notes correct and modify somewhat several of Dr. Sanday's statements, and show good judgment and skill.

W. MUSS-ARNOLT.

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Historische Grammatik der Hellenischen Sprache oder Uebersicht des Entwicklungsganges der altgriechischen zu den neugriechischen Formen, nebst einer kurzen Geschichte der mittleren und neuesten Litteratur, mit Sprachproben und metrischen Uebersetzungen, von Dr. H. C. MÜLLER, Privatdozent a. d. Universität von Amsterdam. (Erster Band, Grammatik.) Leiden, 1891.

The title of this book promises more, much more, than could be fulfilled at present. But the book is welcome and suggestive. It is something to be able to register the continuous existence of 'Greek' from 1000 B. C. to the present day. The most obvious criticism is that the 'common' speech is throughout subordinated to the written language or 'Hochsprache,' and that the book partakes too largely of the nature of a special plea for substituting modern Greek, and the modern pronunciation with it, for the ancient Greek in elementary instruction. This special plea and the somewhat extravagant

advocacy of the merits of modern Greek style are a little disappointing in so far as they exclude a complete treatment of the actual ancient forms still extant among the various parts of Greece and Greek-speaking communities from Asia Minor to Southern Italy.

The 'Hochsprache' in modern Athens, with its rapid advance in classicizing itself, may well awaken the sympathy of the civilized world, but, with all due respect for those who use this artificial speech so fluently, it may be urged by conservative critics that it is not yet sufficiently advanced in this formative stage to be made the basis of a recasting of the methods of instruction in other countries.

The 225 pages of Dr. Muller's book contain the following chapters: I (pp. 3-14). Summary of the sources. II (pp. 17-21). The present instruction in Greek. III (pp. 22-25). A transformation of Greek instruction. IV (pp. 26-41). Pronunciation of Greek. V (pp. 42-62). A short summary of the mediaeval and most recent literature as a basis for a historical grammar. VI (pp. 63-74). Historical summary of the grammar. VII (pp. 75-106). Continuation: Inflections arranged in connection with the ancient Greek. VIII (pp. 107-171). The verb. IX (pp. 172-209). Continuation: On the syntax, prepositions, etc. Appendix (pp. 210-225). Corrections and additions.

It would be out of place to take up here the discussion of Parts II and III. In passing, one may object: first, that, for the pupil unacquainted with ancient Greek, modern Greek would be at least as hard to learn as French, German or Italian. Secondly, that when learned it would only be the modern language, with perfection in ancient Greek still in the dim uncertain background. If a thorough mastery of the speech were attained (which is rarely the case with any other modern language in our schools and colleges), the practical use to travelling merchants and archaeologists would be real; but as to the latter, few would be deterred by the pleasant trouble of learning a new idiom on its native soil, and it may be doubted whether many 'mute inglorious Schliemanns' are kept in obscurity by the tyranny of Attic syntax.

Leaving aside, therefore, Parts II and III, we will glance briefly at a few points in the remainder.

The summary of sources (Part I) will be of undoubted value to those interested in the subject. The stress laid upon Winer's Grammar of the New Testament and the citations from it are in accord with the writer's idea of leading up from the modern Greek through the *κοινή* to the ancient Greek. The list extends chronologically from Passart's *Neugriechische Grammatik*, 1834 (the year of the removal of the seat of government from Nauplia to Athens), to Krumbacher, *Geschichte der Byzantinischen Litteratur von Justinian bis zum Ende des Oströmischen Reiches* (München, 1891).

Dr. Muller mentions as one of the chief sources for his investigation, and as especially deserving of careful study: 'Die Hellenische Sprache der Gegenwart,' by Aug. Boltz (second edition, Darmstadt, 1892).

In discussing the modern pronunciation of Greek (Part IV) and advising its universal adoption, Dr. Muller admits that for reading Homer the so-called diphthongs *a-i*, *e-i*, etc., would require "eine getheilte Aussprache," both on account of the metre and as a concession to the ancient date. Homer at least still stands intact above the snow-line of Itacism.



The list of authors (Part V) is interesting both from its positive and its negative side. From the seventh to the eleventh century Dr. Muller contents himself with naming one, two, or at most three authors or works for each century. As he remarks, however, the inscriptions, which he has been compelled to leave out of account, should really be included in any complete history of the literature. For what he calls the fifth or 'Roman' period—from the beginning of the Christian era to 500 A. D.—the author calls attention to the necessity of Sophocles' division into 'profane' and 'sacred' literature, tracing the latter, indeed, from the Septuagint version, 283-135 B. C., through the New Testament Greek to Josephus and the late church writers.

The 'Byzantine' period, extending to 1453 A. D., gives, *circa* 1150, the author Theodorus Ptochoprodromos, formerly considered as the first modern Greek writer. Under this head Dr. Muller cites several passages from Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*. Thus (in cap. LXVI) Gibbon says: "In their lowest servitude and depression the subjects of the Byzantine throne were still possessed of a golden key that could unlock the treasures of antiquity; of a musical and prolific language that gives a soul to the objects of sense and a body to the abstractions of philosophy." Gibbon then quotes from a certain Philéphus<sup>1</sup> (Dr. Muller calls him 'Philadelphus') a flattering picture of the learned Greeks of his time (*circa* 1450): "The Greeks who have escaped the contagion are those whom *we* follow, and they alone are worthy of our imitation. In familiar discourse they still speak the tongue of Aristophanes and Euripides, of the historians and philosophers of Athens; and the style of their writings is still more elaborate and correct."

In the 'Turkish' period, from 1453-1821, the classical tradition is finally lost and the barbarized vernacular continues alone. But before the end of this time "the immortal Adamantios Korais" (or Coray, 1748-1833) elevates in every way the language. His work in fixing the character of modern Greek is compared by Dr. Muller to Luther's services to the German language.

The present period of the literature, beginning with 1821, is treated of under the heads of 'Lyrik,' 'Drama' and 'Prose Literature.' Much applause is bestowed upon the style of certain modern writers, but to the student of the genuine modern speech sentences like the following will perhaps be of more interest: "Die meisten dieser Dichter machen zur Zeit einen ausgiebigen Gebrauch von den Volksdialekten, oder von einer gemischten (Volks- und Hoch-) Sprache, welche leider nicht selten für einen Ausländer schwer verständlich ist. Ohne Zweifel wird aus dieser Sprachmischung in der Zukunft eine völlige Einigung entstehen, und die Kluft zwischen der Volks- und der Schriftsprache noch mehr als bisher überbrückt werden" (pp. 57, 58).

Whatever difference of opinion may exist as to the desirability, or even possibility, of "bridging over this chasm between the common and artificial modern Greek," the process is going steadily on. The result outsiders must await. Meanwhile it is of prime importance to collect the historic forms which are gradually vanishing in the face of newspapers, steamboats and railroads, but linger still in remote places on the mainland, the islands of the Aegean, or even, as is pointed out (p. 62), in Calabria and Terra d'Otranto.

<sup>1</sup> Francis Philéphus, a sophist, a learned Italian, who by a long residence and noble marriage was naturalized at Constantinople about 30 years before the Turkish conquest.

This process of the union between the common and the written speech is still further described in the Appendix to Part VI (p. 72): "Ueber 22000 Wörter, die seit einem Jahrhundert von den gelehrten Griechen gebildet worden sind, hat Stephanos Kumanúdis gesammelt! Dieser Prozess dauert noch fort, und die Sprache wird mit jedem Tage reicher."

Prof. Hatzidakis (Γ. Ν. Χατζιδάκις, of Athens), often referred to by Dr. Muller, calls this written modern Greek "bis auf einen gewissen Grad die Kultursprache des Orients, wie ja auch die Griechen von altersher das Kulturvolk des Orients sind."

The remainder of the book, Parts VII, VIII and IX (pp. 75-209), contains the formal part of the 'Historical Grammar.' It contains paradigms: for (1) the 'Hochsprache' of to-day; (2) 'Volkssprache' of to-day; (3) the Attic 'Schriftsprache'; and (4) 'Homerische Volkssprache' (*sic*).

Many peculiarities of the common speech are given both in the form and meaning of particular words. Observations are made throughout the work to show the change from a synthetic to an analytic character. In treating of the verb, for example, the author says (p. 108): "We can clearly see how the Greek language, formerly synthetic, has now become analytic"; but the germ of this he finds already in ancient Greek in such expressions as *ἀπαρνεόμενός ἐστι* (Hdt. 3, 99), *ἦν γὰρ Περικλέους γνώμη νενικηκνῖα* (Th. 2, 12), *οἳ μοι βεβουλευκῶς ἔχει* S. OR. 701 (cf. Kühner, Ausf. Gram. II, pp. 35 and 624), and sees in the modern use of the auxiliary verbs *ἔχω*, *θέλω* and *εἶμαι* (= *εἰμί*) the legitimate outcome of this use, quoting from Meisterhans, 'Gram. der Attischen Inschriften,' data concerning the use of the periphrastic forms of the third pers. pl. perf. and plup. in the inscriptions of the fourth century B. C. and earlier. In concluding these remarks he points out that the greatest changes have occurred in syntax, less in vocabulary and declension. The statement (p. 114, note), that "es eine einheitliche Volkssprache natürlich überhaupt in Griechenland nicht giebt," is of importance to foreigners, and while it may not convince conservative 'Atticists' of the desirability of adopting incontinently the 'Hochsprache' as a substitute for ancient Greek, it will at least justify the determination of the educated Athenians to develop and prune their language. Despite the artificiality of the process and the result, the success is already great, and if modern Athens could grow from a poor village of 300 houses in 1834 to a present population of some 90,000, another half-century may see still greater advance in the crystallization of modern Greek forms and syntax. For the present, as Dr. Muller states (p. 117, in treating of the verbs in *ω*), while *all* Attic forms are in use, especially by scholars, this usage is out of connection with the spoken language, "ist nur bei Wenigen beliebt, und artet nur allzu oft in pedantische Ziererei aus." Comparative lists of verbs are given showing the changes in meaning and form: e. g. the change of the *-μι* verbs to barytone *-ω* verbs, etc.

Then follow remarks on the cases and on prepositions. Here again, in connection with the use of the accusative for the genitive, the writer takes occasion to state (p. 190): "dass die Volkssprache jeden Tag mehr analytisch wird, während die Hochsprache durch den Gebrauch der Autoren, durch Kirche und Schule sowohl als durch die Grammatik, immer in ihrem analytischen Laufe gehemmt wird."

In the common speech the accusative is even used on occasion for the nominative.

The second volume of the work is to contain numerous selections of Greek authors. A prospectus of these is given, beginning with the Iliad and Odyssey, to be accompanied by modern Greek translations, and coming down through the classics, the New Testament, Lucian, etc., to the eighteenth century.

F. G. ALLINSON.

Das lateinische participium futuri passivi in seiner Bedeutung und syntaktischen Verwendung. Grammatische Studie von Dr. JOSEPH WEISWEILER. 146 pp. 8vo. Paderborn, 1890.

Dr. Weisweiler being a teacher in the gymnasias, and being dissatisfied with the treatment of the so-called gerunds and gerundives in the school grammars as well as elsewhere, has, in the book before us, set out to show the insufficiency and incorrectness of all previous theories on this subject, and to elaborate one of his own. He desires to prove that the verbal adjective in *-ndo* denotes primarily an action that is to be accomplished ("eine zu vollziehende Handlung"), and that this form is distinctly passive in its origin and meaning. In his opinion the fundamental error of all recent grammarians from Weissenborn down has lain in their attempt to proceed in the discussion of this form from a 'substantive gerund,' and to develop all actual usages from that beginning. He finds fault with the etymologists because etymology has led them to assign to this form an original active or neuter force, whereas, he asserts, no form of the Latin passive shows more distinctly its passive signification. He stoutly maintains that the way to arrive at the real signification of the verbal in *-ndo* is not to resort to comparative grammar, but to a careful study and comparison of the actual uses of the form in the literature of the language itself.

The first chapter is devoted to a consideration of the names applied to the participle in *-ndus* in its various uses. The term which had always been employed—*participium futuri passivi*—until recent scholars asserted its incorrectness, Weisweiler defends, not because it corresponds exactly to the genius of the Latin language, but because analogy and the system of the Latin conjugation demand a future passive participle, and because the term is just as appropriate to this form as present and future active participle to the forms in *-ns* and *-turus*, and perfect participle to that in *-tus*. In discussing the terms gerund and gerundive, our author combats the view advanced by Weissenborn that the former was only another expression for active, and to our mind successfully. His conclusion is that the term gerund, equivalent to *gerundi modus*, could have meant to the Latin grammarians nothing else than 'Verbalform der Ausführung,' and that they used *gerundia* and *gerundiva* as synonymous with the forms of *modus gerundi*. They had no singular *gerundivum* in the sense of *modus gerundi*, but considered the plurals *gerundia* and *gerundiva* as equivalents. Erroneous ideas concerning the relations of these two words, largely due to Pott, have distorted the real situation. These false ideas are based, apparently, on the supposed derivation of *gerundivum* from *gerundium*, which is impossible, as the proper derivative would be *gerundiale*, and this error has brought with it another, that the gerundive is really a further devel-

opment of the gerund, whereas this latter term designates only a special use of the participle in *-ndus*.

Another chapter has to do with the etymology of the suffix of this participle, and we are cautioned against sacrificing everything on the shrine of comparative grammar, for the meaning of the future passive participle and its syntax lie ready before us in the very earliest remains of the literature, and so clearly that they cannot be obscured by the allied forms of other languages. *Laudandus* has always had a sure and recognized meaning, and how can its syntax be helped by an etymology that either takes away its original meaning and puts in its place an unqualified neuter force; or asserts that the original meaning was exactly the opposite of that which we find it to be in actual use; or artificially separates the gerund and gerundive, caring nothing for the close union existing between them? And all this when the etymology is phonetically wholly uncertain! To-day it can be said, as Tobler said in 1867, in all these etymologies, the same syntactical difficulty remains, namely, the uniting of the active meaning of adjectives in *-undus* with the passive meaning of the gerundive-participle, and of this with the substantive neuter meaning of the proper infinitival gerund. Weisweiler examines the various etymologies at some length, and rejects them on one ground or another, and contents himself with Döhring's standpoint, assuming the suffix *-ndo* as a finished formation—'nec scire fas est omnia'—and finding this a sufficient basis for his syntactical investigations.

As regards the 'time-character' of participles in *-ndus* and *-bundus*, our author thinks that the gerundive suffix *-ndo* is to be considered, so far as form goes, a passive correlative of the act. part. suffix *-nt*, as is shown by the similar way in which both are applied to the stem. *Amans* corresponds to *amandus*, as *monens* to *monendus*. The correspondence between *amant* and the participial stem *amant-*, between *monent* and *monent-*, cannot be wholly accidental, and so in the passive *amandus*, *monendus* stand related to *amantur*, *monentur*. There are difficulties, however, connected with consonantal and *i*-stems which must be explained. While in the passive *leguntur*, *audiuntur* correspond exactly with *legundus*, *audiundus*, in the active we find beside *legunt* and *audiunt* not *legunt-*, *audiunt-*, but *legent-*, *audient-*, and in the passive another common form in *-iendus*, *-endus*. In the active Weisweiler regards *-ent* as the regular ending, and supposes that *-unt* was introduced through analogy with the 3d pers. plur. of verbs like *sunt* and *eunt* which had assumed the *u*-form for other reasons, and also because of the necessity that gradually arose of differentiating this ending from that of the optative-subjunctive and future. Thus *faciens* beside *faciunt* can be explained. For the existence of the double forms *capiendus*, *capiundus* beside *capiuntur*, no phonetic reason can be assigned, as a change from *u* to *e* in this place cannot be made. The occurrence of the two forms must be explained by the hypothesis that they come from different originals. *Legundus* stands in the same relation to *leguntur* as *legendus* to *legentur*. The former must have been originally a proper present participle, which character is still retained in some verbal forms like *oriundus*, *labundus*; the latter appears to have been a real future-participle, formed at a time when the old subjunctive began to assume the character of an independent future tense. Support for this view is drawn from the analogy of the participial forms

in *-bundus*. These belong, as regards form, immediately to the passive-middle future in *-bor*, which was originally only a strengthened present, and we can consider *legendus*, *audiendus* beside *legendur*, *audientur*, and *populabundus* beside *populabuntur*, as, morphologically, future participles, of which the latter belonged to a time before the present in *-bo*, *-bor*, had yet assumed a future meaning, and the latter to a time when the subjunctive in *em* (*am*) *es* had already begun to assume a peculiar future sense, as opposed to the later form *am as*.

The striking facts that the forms in *-undus* became coincident with those in *-endus*, and that the gerundive-participles in *-andus*, *-endus* of the *a*- and *e*-conjugations, though showing the same time-character as the active participles in *-ns*, still have the idea of necessity, can only be explained by the ever-increasing tendency to a sort of correlation in form and meaning, in the development of the Latin verb system. Hence it was natural that the two forms in *-undus* and *-endus* should come to represent the same idea, when their original meanings—both expressing *actio infecta*, one an action which is being accomplished and the other an action that is to be accomplished—were so closely allied. In this way we can explain the clearly recognizable future idea in the gerundive, as it is allied with or derived from the finite future form. But it must be remembered that the exact process of the combination and the relation between the two forms can only be decided when some agreement has been reached concerning the relation of the forms *legam*, *legas* and *leges*.

This discussion introduces the main question—What meaning and syntactic use has the future passive participle had in Latin? The answer must be sought for in the facts of actual usage, and in Weisweiler's opinion it is that the verbal adjective in *-ndus* is clearly a future pass. participle, that it is the adjectival expression of verbal action as an action related to an affected subject, and to be accomplished. The rest of the book is occupied in showing that the usages adduced as evidence against this statement of the passive meaning of the gerundive-participle do not in fact constitute such evidence; secondly, in explaining the character of the gerundive construction and its relations to the gerundial construction; and lastly, in showing that the idea of 'is to be' ('sollen') inheres in this form as well in its attributive as in its absolute uses. Space does not permit us to follow out all the argument on these points. In regard to the first, it seems that Weisweiler has made out a very strong case in showing that no verb form has preserved a passive meaning more distinctly than the gerundive-participle. Cases where an object is used with the impersonal periphrastic conjugation are ingeniously explained by the analogy of impersonal passives with an accusative and infinitive. The failure to understand that the gerund is the substantive impersonal absolute use of the future passive participle, and the gerundive the adjective personal passive use of the same, accounts, in Weisweiler's opinion, for all the inconsistencies and disagreements in the explanation of the relation of the two. One chapter is devoted to proving that the absolute gerund does not necessitate an original active meaning. It afforded the Romans a means of expressing the simple action of the verb as one to be accomplished. The use of the absolute gerund with an accusative object is explained partly by the nature of the object, which is so often a neuter pronoun, but principally by the close relationship between the gerund and infinitive. This is one of the most unsatisfactory parts of the

work. In his argument to show that there is always a difference between the absolute gerund and the present participle, Weisweiler is more successful. In the last chapter he tries to show that in all cases where this participle is used, there is a distinct reference to future time, more or less vivid, or more exactly to an action to be accomplished, whether this accomplishment actually occurs or not. In this we think he is quite successful, and we quote his last paragraph. "So liegt auch jenen Variationen des 'Sollens' in den verschiedenen Gebrauchsweisen des Verbaladjektivs auf *-ndus* im Lateinischen ein allgemeiner, 'noch unentfalteter Begriff des Müssens' zu Grunde, der Begriff der zu vollziehenden Thätigkeit. Nur die Anerkennung dieser Auffassung der Verbalhandlung ermöglicht zugleich die rechte Einsicht in die mannigfaltige syntaktische Verwendung jener Verbalform und in der Sinn der Bezeichnungen *gerundum* und *participium futuri passivi*." The book may be pronounced a most interesting and stimulating contribution to the literature of this participle, although we by no means believe that the last word has yet been said on this subject.

SAMUEL BALL PLATNER.

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Noctes Manilianae sive dissertationes in Astronomica Manilii. Accedunt, Coniecturae in Germanici Aratea. Scripsit R. ELLIS. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1891. 255 pp.

Robinson Ellis has a remarkable fondness for difficult and neglected authors. In calling attention to Manilius he has added one more to the many services already rendered by him to scholarship. One is almost tempted to paraphrase the title of his latest work by 'the dark passages of Manilius,' for doing which a certain justification might be found in the *Ibis*, v. 63:

Utque mei versus aliquantum noctis habebunt.

Occasional flashes of genius Manilius has, but they do not illumine his whole poem. His muse rarely leaves the earth to soar among the stars, although the stars form his subject. There are a few lines which haunt the memory and which claim a place for themselves beside Lucretius, to whom, however, Manilius is as inferior in poetic fire as he is in sustained enthusiasm. Recent criticism has shown that the last editor, Jacob (1846), erred in attaching supreme importance to Vossianus II, a Leyden MS of the year 1470. A Brussels MS, the Gemblacensis, of the end of the tenth or the beginning of the eleventh century, now claims the first rank, and Ellis, differing from Bechert, shows that the Vossianus II comes next, while the Lipsiensis, Cusanus, and other MSS must occasionally be appealed to, to establish the correct reading. Ellis himself adds many readings from a Bodleian and a Corpus Christi MS, and has collated anew both the Vossiani. In his attempts to restore the text he is for the most part conservative, and, in striking contrast to Bentley, aims to adhere to the ductus litterarum. It would be impossible within the limits of this notice even to glance at the scores of passages on which Ellis has thrown new light, either by a clear recognition of the difficulties in the existent text, a better interpretation, or an improved reading. Much obscurity, of course, remains and will remain, and not all of the arguments advanced carry conviction.

Perhaps Ellis would not have introduced *coniunctim* for *commentum* in Bk. I 84, nor *contextim* in I 756, if he had noticed that Manilius is not fond of adverbs in *-im*, only using, if my observation is correct, the common adverbs *passim*, *cursim* and *vicissim* with *paulatim* and *generatim*. In I 245 Ellis reads with Conington

nos in nocte sumus somnosque in membra *vocamus*.

for *locamus*. This line Bentley thought spurious. There is a great temptation to adopt *vocamus*, but Vergil, A. X 867, has *locare membra*, and Horace, S. II 2, 81, *sopori membra dare*. May we not then, assuming anastrophe, connect *in* with *somnos*? Compare 'Now I lay me down to sleep.' Cramer, 'de Manilii Elocutione,' p. 45, gives some examples of anastrophe after *que*. See Manilius, V 144, *perque dapēs mensasque super*, where the preposition, to be sure, is disyllabic. In I 751 I should prefer to keep *mollior* than to read *mollem de*, giving the line a spondaic beginning. In the first book over .61 of the lines begin with a dactyl. *Lotos ferit*, proposed for *motus serit* in II 41 f., is ingenious, but improbable. *Fervit opus* for *vertit opus* in II 775 seems very likely as an imitation of Vergil, G. IV 169. In II 784 Ellis proposes *captanti* for *cunctanti* (*tractanti*), and in IV 592 *peractum* for *profectum*. In both cases I prefer the MS reading. In IV 778 ff. he reads, with numerous changes from Jacob,

Inferius victae sidus Carthaginis arces  
Et Libyam Aegyptique latus donataque rura  
Cyrenes lacrimis radiato Scorpius arcu  
Exuit.

interpreting *exuit*, to use his own words, "de nimio calore regionum Carthaginis, etc., propter quem qui ibi vivunt radiis icti Scorpionis exuunt se vestibus, nudis corporibus incedentes." One may grant *exuit* the sense of *strip*, but is it not rather bold to use it thus with *arces*? *Erui*, the MS reading, has been defended by Breiter and may stand, although *irruit* would agree better with *tamen respectat*, which follows. Compare Avienus, II 546, where *urget* is followed by *respicit*. I cannot accept *pulpamenta* for *fundamenta* in V 133. I had thought of *fulcimenta*, comparing Phocas, Vita Vergilii, 27 (said of Terra):

Herbida supposuit puero fulmenta virescens—

but may not *fundamenta* be used in some such sense? Jacob writes *quondam alimenta*. *Quondam mella dedit* would give good sense and be in accordance with one form of the legend.

In V 245, where the Gemblacensis has

nec parce vina recepta  
hauriet emiseris,

Ellis proposes *invergens*. Ennius wrote, Annales 448 (Baehrens), *olli crateris ex auratis hauserunt*, and it seems natural to find in *emiseris* a similar expression. Why not *e mistris* in the sense of *e crateris*, *mistrum* being formed from *misceo*, as *haustrum* from *haurio*? Compare also *mistarius*

(*mixtarius*) used by Lucilius. I am aware that Bentley ridiculed Turnebus for reading *e mystris* (= *μυστρον*; see *mistra* : *odia*, *mensura*, quoted by De Vit from Gloss. Pap.), and boldly read himself *hauriet e cratere*. I should prefer not to depart so far from the MSS. On pp. 211-16, in an Epimetrum, Ellis gives some conjectures found in a Roman edition of Manilius of the year 1510, which had been added by a scholar of the sixteenth century. Then follow, pp. 218-33, an interesting essay on the name of Manilius and, pp. 234-48, proposed emendations to the Aratea of Germanicus. Into these we cannot enter. The book as a whole is most suggestive and stimulating, and, as one would expect, full of recondite learning.

MINTON WARREN.

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La Philologie Classique. Six conférences sur l'objet et la méthode des études supérieures relatives à l'antiquité grecque et romaine, par MAX BONNET, Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de Montpellier. Paris, C. Klincksieck, 1892. 224 pp.

The first of these 'Conférences' had already been published in the *Revue Internationale de l'Enseignement* for May, 1891. All of them were delivered by Professor Bonnet on assuming the duties of his new chair at Montpellier. Although intended for a special audience, they have an interest for all who have to do with either the secondary or higher education. No attempt is made at a display of great learning, but the illustrations brought in incidentally show that the writer is acquainted with all the phases of his subject. The demands of modern life upon a university are fully recognized, yet it is strongly urged that the classics still offer the best foundation for later study. But the ideal classical teacher must be thoroughly and broadly trained, and himself be able to contribute to science, a thing which amateurs rarely do. The love of truth for him must be the highest end. An aesthetic appreciation of beautiful passages is not enough. His attention must not be confined to a narrow range of writers: he must know Greek and Latin literature and find nothing uninteresting. His vision must also be broadened by a knowledge of kindred disciplines—archaeology and mythology; history, both literary and political; phonetics; grammar and semasiology; palaeography and epigraphy; nay, even numismatics and metrology. If he is interpreting a particular author, he must know all the literature bearing upon him, scattered though it be in journals, dissertations and reviews. This latter injunction may bring many teachers to the verge of despair, especially in this country, where it is so difficult to command all the previous literature. And in practice we fancy Prof. Bonnet would abate something from this demand. Whether independence of judgment is fostered by first reading all the previous literature may well be questioned. Some distinguished scholars seem to proceed on the very opposite principle. But that one ought to know where to look for things, and not repeat the discoveries and blunders of previous generations is self-evident. We have only glanced at this suggestive series of lectures. For the information of the reader, we subjoin their several headings:—I. Qu'est-ce que la



Philologie? II. Histoire de la Philologie. III. Grammaire, Rhétorique et Poétique. IV. Histoire et Antiquités. V. Histoire de l'Art et Histoire littéraire. VI. L'Étude des Textes. M. WARREN.

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Anecdota Oxoniensia. Classical Series. Part VII. Collations from the Harleian MS of Cicero 2682, by ALBERT C. CLARK, M. A., Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford. With a Facsimile. Oxford, At the Clarendon Press, 1892.

This latest issue in the Classical Series of the valuable Anecdota Oxoniensia opens with a very clear collotype facsimile of a page of the Harleian MS 2682, giving §72-77 of Cicero's pro Milone. In the introduction the age and form of the MS are treated, and an interesting account is given of its history and of the collations previously attempted, most of them lamentably insufficient and misleading. The collation of Gulielmuis is, however, defended against the unfavorable opinion of Halm. Graevius, who borrowed the MS in 1688 from the cathedral library at Cologne, and did not scruple to keep it until his death in 1703, styles it sometimes his *secundus*, and sometimes *Coloniensis*. The affinities of the MS are carefully examined, and it is shown to be especially valuable for the pro Milone and the de Imperio Cn. Pompei. E, an Erfurt MS of the XIIth century, is proved to be derived in part from the Harleian. Valuable readings from the latter are then cited and discussed for the following works: De Amic., De Senec., Cicero in Salustium, Sal. in Ciceronem, in Catilinam, pro Marcello, pro Ligario, pro rege Deiotaro, pro Milone—in which oration many glosses are shown to have crept into the text—and de Imperio, obviously copied from a very ancient original and containing many unique and important readings. Then follow collations of these works in the order above mentioned, and of in Verrem, Act. II, Lib. III, based on the text of Baiter and Halm's Orelli. No collation is given of the Epp. ad Fam., as the results of such a collation by Mr. Purser are printed in Prof. Tyrrell's edition of the Letters. If space permitted, interesting examples might be given of readings confirming or refuting the conjectures of scholars. The work certainly forms an important contribution to the critical apparatus of Cicero.

M. W.

## REPORTS.

ENGLISCHE STUDIEN. Herausgegeben von Dr. EUGEN KÖLBING, Heilbronn.  
XIII Band, 1889.

I.—George Lyman Kittredge, *Supposed Historical Allusions in the Squire's Tale*. Kittredge takes issue squarely with Brandl (*Am. J. Phil.* XII 118-20) in regard to the supposed historical allusions. The criticism is acute and sustained; its results are summarized by Kittredge himself: "It is impossible, then, to accept the theory of Professor Brandl, not merely because it is antecedently improbable, but because it is inconsistent with the language of Chaucer, and because it is inconsistent with itself. Further, this theory rests upon certain errors in matters of fact. And, finally, it involves a supposition contradicting the relation known to have existed between Chaucer and the Mortimer family. For all that appears to the contrary, the world has been right for the last five hundred years in regarding the Squire's Tale as nothing more or less than a romance."

To the article is appended an Additional Note on Chaucer's *Dreme*, in which Kittredge—and he is apparently right—accuses Brandl of confounding two of the *dramatis persone* of that poem.

Arthur Napier, *Old English Glosses on Isidore's Contra Judaeos*.

F. G. Fleay, *Annals of the Career of Nathaniel Field*. At the close of the article Fleay says: "No complete or correct account has hitherto been given of the known facts of the career of this graceful writer and great actor. Nearly every statement in Collier's life of him that concerns dramatic history is more or less erroneous."

B. Leonhardt, *Bonduca*. The History of Bonduca, by some ascribed to Beaumont and Fletcher, by others to Fletcher alone, is here considered mainly with reference to its sources, though the play is also analyzed in full. The story of Bonduca, the Boudicca of Tacitus, the Boadicea of Glover, Cowper, and Tennyson, is related by Tacitus and Dio Cassius. According to these authorities, she was queen of the Iceni, a British tribe, and, after making head for a time against Roman oppression, died in A. D. 61. The accounts of the ancients were transcribed by the chronicler Holinshed, and are also reproduced by Petruccio Ubaldino, whose book, entitled, *Le Vite delle Donne Illustri del Regno d'Inghilterra e del Regno di Scotia*, etc., was published at London in 1591. In the drama the story of Caractacus, separately related by Tacitus and Dio Cassius, is interwoven with that of Bonduca, on the strength of a doubtful identification by Hector Boece, according to which Caractacus was the brother-in-law of Bonduca. A play which preceded that of Bonduca, and to which the latter may have been indebted, is that entitled *The Valiant Welshman*, or the *True Chronicle History of the Life and Valiant Deedes of*

Caradoc the Great. The similarity resides in the characterization of the British hero, and in that of a subordinate personage, named Gald in *The Valiant Welshman*, and Hengo in *Bonduca*. Leonhardt's results are to the effect that "Beaumont and Fletcher derived the historic material of the drama from the chronicle of Holinshed, and employed *The Valiant Welshman* and *Antony and Cleopatra* for the further development and characterization of certain individuals."

F. Weinthaler, *Something from Educational Experience, a Contribution to the Question of Instruction in Modern Languages*.

The Book Notices include reviews of William Vollhardt's *Influence of Latin Theological Literature on some Minor Productions of the English Transition Period*, Heinrich Krautwald's *Layamon's Brut compared with Wace's Roman de Brut in Relation to the Portrayal of English Culture*, Thomas R. Price's *The Construction and Types of Shakespeare's Verse as seen in the Othello*, and Landmann's *The Times*, No. 31,725, edited as a Reading Book for Advanced Pupils. The review of Krautwald's dissertation, by Klinghardt, contains some interesting suggestions regarding subjects for the doctoral thesis. Thus he says: "The usual phonetic (for the most part rather graphic) and syntactical essays are commonly of little furtherance to either the science or the author; the latter is much more likely to derive fruitful stimulus from an aesthetico-literary investigation. . . . But especially suited to candidates for the doctor's degree appears to me the task of painting, by means of detailed researches, the actual (*realen*) background of the chief literary works in as glowing colors and with as much vividness as possible."

In the *Miscellanea* there is printed a Fragment of an Old English Legend, from the celebrated MS Cotton Vitellius A XV, by G. Herzfeld, and Four New Alexander Fragments, by Karl D. Bülbring.

II.—Max Kupferschmidt, *The Relations among the Manuscripts of the Winchester Annals*. The seven MSS of the O. E. Chronicle, denoted by the first seven letters of the alphabet, are described by Petrie in the first volume of the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, and by Thorpe and Earle in their editions of the Chronicle. Kupferschmidt's conclusions, after constructing a genealogical diagram of the MSS, are these:

- "1. A is not the original of the Winchester Annals.
2. A and G have each independently derived their contents from a common source *a*, since lost.
3. B and C have in like manner derived their material from a common original *γ*, since lost.
4. D and E have similarly drawn from a lost original *δ*.
5. The lost sources *γ* and *δ* did not come directly from the ultimate original O, but through an intermediate text *o*, in which the ultimate original had undergone some changes."

To the foregoing may be added that O, the ultimate original, is regarded as the direct source of *x* and *o*; A and G bei at a second remove from the original, and the other MSS, except F, at a remove. F is disregarded, as being a later and abridged compilation.

Leon Kellner, *Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamydes*, a Romantic Drama of the Sixteenth Century. Dyce ascribed the piece to Peele, on the strength of "a MS note in a very old hand." He is supported, according to Kellner, by Ward, Minto and Lämmerhirt, but opposed by Ulrici, Klein, Symonds and Bullen. Kellner examines the external indications of language, prosody and alliteration, and the internal of dramatic technic—plot and characterization—and style. Peele cannot have written *Clyomon and Clamydes* in sober earnest, but it may have been intended as a parody of the chivalrous drama, and in that case Kellner would have less hesitation in attributing it to him.

J. F. Jameson, *Historical Writing in the United States since 1861*. The last lecture in the series of four delivered at Baltimore in 1887 (see *Am. J. Phil.* XII 118). Extracts may give an idea of the author's acumen and breadth: "The tendencies of most of our numerous local historical societies form a counter-current, or rather let me say an eddy, in which ships of ancient timber float placidly round and round in the same little circle, quite unaffected by any general currents whatever. Dominated exclusively by their oldest and most obscurant members, inaccessible to suggestion, and wedded to tradition, the thought of touching anything that occurred since the Revolution, that is, of having anything to do with the most important part of our history, would be to most of them a profound shock. The suggestion to them that American historical work *needs* a change of base, a thorough reorganization, a direction toward a new range of subjects, would almost subject one to the suspicion of atheism." On the other hand, we have cautions like these: "I think it useful, in spite of present tendency, to point out the limitations which must to some extent beset all coöperative or monographic histories alike. Stretched on the Procrustean bed of uniform requirements in respect to extensiveness and general method of treatment, the authors can present only those things which they have in common—abundant and correct information, and acute historical criticism. Many of the finer qualities of the individual are likely to evaporate in the process; much of what is most valuable in individual views and conceptions of history will find no place for itself." And again: "Already increasing numbers of special students of history are frequenting those universities which afford graduate instruction. I do not wish to imitate the Ephesians in the Acts, and shout for about the space of two hours or even for a small fraction of the allotted fifty minutes, Great is Johns Hopkins of the Baltimoreans!, but the fact remains that here are annually gathered together a larger number of graduate students of history than anywhere else in the country."

The longest and most important article in the *Book Notices* is a review of ten Brink's *Beowulf* by Hermann Möller. It is scarcely too much to say that the review should be read by every student of the book on which it is based. In a notice of Schmedding's *The Residence of Modern Philologists and the Study of Modern Languages Abroad*, a quotation from the book is given: "We allow to antiquity its historical rights; but our real fountain of life and our real bread of life we look for in our own sphere. Yes, we feel wherein we have the superiority over our colleagues, the ancient philologists, in the whole field of our studies and labors being traversed and irrigated by the powerful and life-giving stream of the present."

III.—Julius Zupitza, *The Romance of Athelston*. The text is printed from MS 175 of Caius College, Cambridge, with the variants of the printed editions by Hartshorne and Wright. The poem consists of 812 lines, occupying nearly twelve pages. This is followed by explanatory notes, occupying a little over seventy-one pages. Seldom, if ever, has a greater or more valuable mass of comment for the illustration of Middle English authors been compressed into so small a space. Every student of Middle English poetry will derive instruction from an acquaintance with these pages.

P. Holzhausen, *Dryden's Heroic Drama*. After an introduction, in which the more recent Dryden literature in Germany is chronicled, the paper is occupied with the author's First or Historical Part, which he entitles *Definition of the Heroic Drama, Origin and Evolution of the Heroic Drama in England*, and particularly of John Dryden's Heroic Plays.

G. Wendt, *The English House of Commons*.

The Book Notices have reviews of the fifth edition of Heyne's *Beowulf*, in which E. Koeppl finds many errors; of Gregor Sarrazin's *Beowulf Studies*, which the same reviewer condemns; of the third edition of Zupitza's *Elene*, of Kölbing's *Ipomedon in Three English Forms*, and of Sweet's *History of English Sounds*. In the latter, written by F. Kluge, allusion is made to Sweet's prefatory grumble about the 'inevitable German,' upon which Kluge remarks: "We Germans are far from considering this as an indictment of ourselves, but regard it rather as an indictment of English scholarship. That the latter concedes no place and grants no adequate recognition to the history of the national language and literature is indeed shameful—but not for us."

In the *Miscellanea*, Max Kaluza, who has done so much for the *Romaunt of the Rose*, makes three emendations of passages in that poem.

#### XIV Band, 1890.

I.—L. Kellner, *On the Textual Criticism of Chaucer's Boethius*. In Morris' edition of Chaucer's *Boece* for the Chaucer Society, he had based his text on Add. MS 10,340 of the British Museum and MS II 3, 21 of Cambridge University Library. Kellner is convinced that the Caxton print of *Boece* is from an independent MS, more closely akin to the second above mentioned than to the first. He gives a long list of divergencies in Caxton from the other two MSS, and recommends a new edition of the *Boece*, using the Salisbury MS and the Caxton print, as well as the two which underlie the Morris text.

E. H. Oliphant, *The Works of Beaumont and Fletcher*. Fleay and Boyle, besides a Mr. Macaulay, have of late been trying to discriminate between the work of Beaumont and that of Fletcher. These two students have employed somewhat different tests. The present writer employs still others, coming to independent conclusions before consulting his predecessors, and then checking and correcting his results by theirs. After characterizing Fletcher, Beaumont and Massinger, and their writing, Oliphant proceeds to an examination of the following plays: *The Woman-Hater*, *Love's Cure*, *The Faithful Shepherdess*, *Cupid's Revenge*, *The Coxcomb*, *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, *Philaster*, *A King and No King*, *The Maid's Tragedy*, *The Captain*, *The Masque of the Inner Temple*.

H. Klinghardt, *The Genetic Explanation of the Expressional Forms (Ausdrucksformen) of Language in Teaching*. By 'expressional forms' the author understands the typical combination of two or more words. Of these he makes two classes: (a) general, constructional, or syntactical; and (b) individual or phraseological. The former head includes constructions which are amenable to the ordinary laws of grammar, the latter comprises what are commonly understood by 'idiomatic phrases.' Klinghardt's recommendation is that the latter should not be learned *en bloc*, as it were, in the acquisition of a foreign language, and conceived of merely as the equivalent of certain other phrases, idiomatic or otherwise, in the native tongue, but that, so far as practicable, the force of the various elements which compose the phrase shall be ascertained, and the idiom built up in the mind so as to be intelligible in all its parts as well as in its entirety. The same principle should also be observed, *mutatis mutandis*, in teaching the constructions which belong under the first head.

In the Book Notices, Lauchert's *Geschichte des Physiologus* is criticised by M. F. Mann, on the ground that it contains little that is new, that its author does not give due credit to his predecessors, that he has not consulted all the existing literature, that his knowledge of the manuscripts is superficial, that his book lacks a bibliography—in fine, that, with some merits, it does not deserve to rank as standard. To the foregoing Lauchert appends a note confessing some of his omissions. Emil Koeppel reviews Flügel's Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella* and *Defence of Poesie*, and, with comparatively slight reservations, praises it. Among other works noticed are Breymann and Wagner's edition of Marlowe, Sommer's *First Attempt at English Pastoral Poetry*, and Uhlemann's *The Author of the Commentary on Spenser's Shepherd's Calendar*.

II.—M. Kaluza, *Minor Publications from Middle English Manuscripts*. I. *The Eremyte and the Outlawe*. This is a ballad of 387 lines, published from Add. MS 22,577 of the British Museum, with introduction and notes. The original MS was in possession of William Fillingham, but has since disappeared. This poem was copied out by Fillingham, who in 1806 presented it to Philip Bliss, then of St. John's College, Oxford, and afterwards Principal of St. Mary's Hall. Kaluza gives an abstract of the contents, decides that the dialect is Midland, and dates it approximately in the first half of the fifteenth century. The poem is written in tail-rime strophes of twelve lines each, with the rime-arrangement *aab ccb ddb eeb*. Alliterative formulas are frequent; formulas consisting of synonyms or antonyms connected by a conjunction are less common; such, for example, as *dep and royde, thys myrthe and thys solemprnye*.

F. Lauchert, *The Influence of the Physiologus upon Euphuism*. Euphuism, as is well known, employed a vast number of similes, largely drawn from an imaginary natural history. Its founder, Guevara, has but few such similes in his works, but in Lyly they already abound. Pliny has been usually credited with the authorship of the statements on which these comparisons rest. Lauchert, admitting that this may in a measure be the correct view, asks whence the impulse came to compare the acts or qualities of human beings with those of animals, and finds an answer in the influence exerted by the *Physiologus*

throughout the Middle Ages and into the Elizabethan period. Thus Chaucer has (*Nonne Prestes Tale*, 448-51):

" And Chauntecleer so free  
Song merier than the mermayde in the see ;  
For Physiologus seith sikerly,  
How that they singen wel and merily."

Referring to the works of Lyly, Greene, Nash, Lodge and Gosson, the author then shows how they employ the traditional lore concerning the pelican, eagle, phoenix, viper (but this notion *does* come from Pliny; see my edition of Sidney's *Defense of Poesy*, 2. 26, note), basilisk, panther, unicorn, hyena, turtle-dove, stag, salamander, diamond or adamant, elephant, ichneumon, crocodile, ostrich and chameleon. But the euphuists did not confine themselves to extracting fabulous zoology from the Physiologi, but added similar matter from other sources, if not from their own invention. Illustrations are drawn, for example, from supposed facts concerning the lion, tigress, sow, tortoise, toad, gems like the aetites or draconites, the 'stone of Sicilia,' the 'fire stone of Liguria,' the 'pyrite stone,' and, to end this list, the 'roots of Anchusa. Shakespeare is also in some sense a euphuist, as Lauchert shows, using the similes of the pelican, eagle, phoenix, viper, unicorn, turtle-dove, adder, salamander, crocodile and chameleon.

W. Swoboda, *The Toussaint-Langenscheidt Method*. This is a successful mode of teaching modern languages by correspondence, of which we have heard much in America under other names. Swoboda's judgment is expressed in a single paragraph near the close of his article, which is here reproduced :

" If we are now to sum up the result and classify the Toussaint-Langenscheidt method, we must call it a methodical eclecticism, based, it is true, on the analytical-direct method of Hamilton and Jacotot, but strongly influenced by Robertson's bent toward the reflective method, and by the reflective method itself as applied by the Neohumanism of the 19th century first to the classical and then to the modern languages. The points of contact with the direct method of the present time, so far as they need to be considered, are the employment of coherent reading matter from the very outset, and the resulting drill with the help of questions asked in English [or whatever foreign language is to be learned]. This coincidence can, however, by no means be regarded as a proof that the direct method is a mere offshoot of the Toussaint-Langenscheidt, since there is a decided difference in aim and in the course pursued. With reference to what they possess in common, they should rather be considered as drawing independently from older sources. It may with more justice be assumed that the correspondence method, so far, in particular, as relates to the utilization of phonetics for purposes of language teaching, has profited by the direct method."

Those who are interested in the methodology of Modern Language teaching should consult the whole of Swoboda's paper.

The Book Notices have a review by A. Schröer of his own edition of the *Rule of St. Benet* and that by Logeman; by Schröer, of König's *Der Vers in Shakespeare's Dramen*; by Max Koch, of Raymond's *Poetry as a Representative Art*, and of a number of other books and dissertations by various hands.

The Miscellanea contains obituary notices of Delius and of Herrig, a wordy war between Lauchert and his reviewer, and an account by R. Ackermann of the Shelley Society and its publications.

III.—Julius Zupitza, *The Romance of Athelston*. III. *Epilegomena*. Zupitza concludes his edition of this romance with the same thoroughness already displayed. The poem is contained in but one MS, so far as is known, No. 175 of Caius College. There are 156 pages of double columns. The scribe is of the second half of the 14th century. Zupitza gives a summary of the contents of the MS, and also of the poem. The romance has almost nothing in common with authentic history. Alliteration is abundant, as Zupitza's table shows. Most of the strophes are of the kind known as twelve-line tail-rime strophes (59 out of 75), and the rime-scheme is generally *aab ccb ddb eeb*. The rime is almost always pure, so far as the vowels are concerned, but words in *m* sometimes rime with those in *n*, and other consonantal irregularities are found. The investigation of the dialect, first by Wilda (*Ueber die örtliche Verbreitung der zwölfzeiligen Schweifreimstrophe in England*), and afterwards by Zupitza, leads the former to the conclusion that it is Northern, while the latter pronounces it North Midland. The date may be ca. 1350. The paper closes with an index to the notes, occupying six pages of double columns.

Rudolf Fischer, *The Question Concerning the Authorship of Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamides*. The author undertakes an independent investigation, which leads him to a result opposed to Kellner's (*Engl. Stud.* 13, 187 ff.). He therefore vindicates Peele's authorship of the drama by the application of a variety of tests.

Horatio S. White, *Recent American Historical Publications*. White notices Tuttle's *History of Prussia* and Washburne's *Recollections of a Minister to France*.

The Book Notices are crowded out by the Miscellanea. The latter contains a long article by Emil Koepfel on the Textual Criticism of *Ipomedon*, and notes on *Ipomedon* A, B and C by George Lyman Kittredge. F. Holthausen has *Contributions to the Exegesis and Textual Criticism of Old and Middle English Monuments*, the latter including the *Blickling Homilies*, the first series of Old English Homilies, ed. Morris, and the *Legends of Mary from the Lambeth MS*, ed. Horstmann. Karl Breul contributes two Middle English Christmas Carols. Robert Boyle treats of *All's Well that Ends Well* and *Love's Labor's Won*. Sarrazin encounters Emil Koepfel's criticism in *Englische Studien*, Vol. XIII, with a rejoinder, and Koepfel replies. There is a second instalment of the study on Schaible's *History of the Germans in England* (see *Am. J. Phil.* XI 378), besides a number of minor articles.

ALBERT S. COOK.

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FLECKEISEN'S JAHRBÜCHER FÜR PHILOLOGIE UND PAEDAGOGIK. Jahrgang 1890. Fascicles 7-12.

#### Fascicle 7.

46. *Ueber datierung und veranlassung von Pindars zweiter Pythischer ode*: A. B. Drachmann, Kopenhagen. The poem is connected with the Olympian chariot-races of Ol. 78. The author's purpose is to heal the breach at that time existing between the poet and Hieron.



47. Bemerkungen zu Aristophanes: W. Pökel, Prenzlau. This is a continuation of similar notes published by P. in 1888 (Am. J. Phil. XXXVIII 250). The plays concerned in these notes are the Acharnians, Birds, Thesmophoriazusae. The great merit of the Ravenna MS, which is at the basis of many of these notes, is the excellence and correctness of accent.

48. Zu Xenophon: Critical notes made by O. May, Neisze, on Xenophon's Hell. III 2, 28 (read *περικλείσθη* for *περιπλήσθη*), on III 4, 5 (read *ἐλπίς γ' ἔστιν* for *ἀλλ' ἐξεστίν*), and on Cyr. II 1, 30 (transpose *ὥστε ἱκανήν*).

49. Zu Kleomedes ΚΥΚΛΙΚΗ ΘΕΩΡΙΑ ΜΕΤΕΩΡΩΝ: M. Lüdecke, Bremen. A very careful judgment of the relative value of the Cod. Lips. 361 of the library of the University at Leipsic.

50. Kleine beobachtungen zum lateinischen sprachgebrauch: M. C. P. Schmidt, Berlin. I. *Cernere* mit accusativus cum infinitivo; II. *Reperire* mit accusativus cum infinitivo. The citations are excellent, although no particular conclusions are reached.

51. Zu Ennius und Terentius: A. Fleckeisen, Dresden. A critical note on the Eunuchus of Terence, v. 590; for *sonitu concutit* Bentley conjectured *nutu concutit*. F. proposes *suo nutu concutit*. The line usually reads: *qui tēpla caeli sūmma sonitu concutit*.

52. Zu Vergilius: F. Weck, Metz. On Aen. II 57 ff. A critical study of the sense of the text from the line at which Sinon appears, through line 73.

(16). Frühlings Anfang: G. F. Unger, Würzburg. This is the conclusion of Unger's work which has appeared on this subject in two of the first six fascicles of this volume, and been noted in vol. XII of the Am. J. Philol., p. 249. This is an exhaustive collection of all the material which bears upon the Romans. The popular conception among them was that spring began at the equinox.

53. Zu Timaios: H. Kothe, Breslau. For *παρ' Ἀσσιρίων* read *παρὰ Τυρίων*, in the preface to the sixth book (Polyb. XII 28 a, 3 H).

Fascicles 8 and 9.

54. Die letzten aufführungen und das ende des alten Kratinos: H. Müller-Strübing, London. The traditional account of the death of Kratinos is at best unreliable; he was still living at the time of the presentation of the 'Peace' of Aristophanes; his ὤραι was brought out at the Lenaea 421; his last piece is the Σερμίσιοι, 410 B. C. The article covers over thirty pages; some part of it was written ten years ago, though presented now with some corrections and additions.

55. Zu Aristonikos: A. Ludwich, Königsberg. Aristarchus pronounced ἦρωι as a dissyllable.

56. Dieuchidas und Dikaiarchos: H. Düntzer, Köln. This is a vigorous assault upon Wilamowitz, who holds the view that Dieuchidas is the oldest witness to the interest of Pisistratus in Homeric research.

57. Heinrich Schliemann und Ernst Bötticher: P. Habel, Breslau. This is an interesting statement of the differences, and their causes, between these

two archaeologists. It comes from the side of a warm and enthusiastic believer in Schliemann.

58. Ad Sophoclis Aiacem: R. Peppmueller, Stralsund. In v. 477 for οὐδενός λόγου βροτόν read οὐδ' ἐνός λόγου βροτόν.

(12). Zur katastrophe in Sophocles Antigone. This article is in reply to and directed against the theory of F. Seiler stated on p. 104 ff. of this year's (1890) volume, and noted in vol. XII of the Am. J. Philol., p. 249. It is by B. Nake, Berlin.

(43). Zu den Homerscholien: C. de Boor, Bonn. On Schol. A to Σ 486.

59. Ad Xenophontis Hieronem: C. Häberlin, Halle. A critical note on 10. 4. proposing <πάντες> εἰδείμεν for εἰδεῖν.

(40). Zu Nonnos Dionysiaka: Otto Crusius, Tübingen. Critical notes on XLIII 212 and XLIII 196 ff.

60. Die kalenderdaten in Catos schrift *de agri cultura*: F. Olck, Königsberg. This paper is an attempt at a thorough investigation as to how far the calendar dates in the *de agri cultura* may be valuable in Roman chronology.

61. Ad Caesaris commentarios: J. S. Van Veen, Assen. Critical notes on *de bello civili*.

62. Zu Caesars zweitem zuge nach Britannien: K. Petsch, Kiel. This article comes as a defense of Caesar's narrative, in reply to Lange, in the Jbchr., 1889, p. 187 ff. See Am. J. Philol., vol. XI, p. 115.

63. Zu Caesar de bello civili: A. E. Schoene, Blasewitz. Critical notes on the second book.

64. Studien zur geschichte Diocletians und Constantins. III. Die entstehungszeit der *historia augusta*: O. Seeck, Greifswald. Seeck agrees in the main with Dessau and Klebs, who put the date of the Hist. Aug. in the fifth century.

65. Zu Plautus Truculentus. A critical note by E. Redslob, Weimar.

#### Fascicle 10.

66. Zur composition der Hesiodischen Werke und Tage: R. Peppmüller, Stralsund. The question of the origin of the 'Works and Days' has been answered by A. Kirchhoff ('Hesiodos Mahnlieder an Perses,' Berlin, 1889) by the 'kleinlieder-theorie.' Peppmüller aims to demonstrate that the separate portions or stanzas are the organic parts of one distinct composition.

67. Zur Pindarischen Theologie: A. Rieder, Gumbinnen. A very useful collection of the material for a study of the different deities, the study of Pindar's deviations from Homer in his conception of life after death, of μοῖρα, and the worship of heroes.

68. ΩΠΑ = Stunde bei Pytheas: G. Biefinger, Stuttgart. A reply to the objections made by M. C. P. Schmidt against this theory. Schmidt's objections are found in the Jbhr. 1889, p. 826 ff.; A. J. P., No. 44, p. 526.

69. ΑΙΣΧΙΝΗΣ Ο ΣΕΛΛΑΟΥ: R. Meister, Leipzig. Meister recognizes in this Aeschines, so frequently satirized by Aristophanes, the Socratic philosopher,

son of Lysanias. 'Ο Σελλοῦ has the same sense as the adjectival ὁ Σελλιος, one who has the nature of the σελλος.

(47). Zu Aristophanes: F. Blank, Wien. Critical note on the Knights.

70. Die handschriften der hymnen des Mesomedes: C. von Jan, Strassburg. Of Bellermann's three classes the second must be abandoned. The archetypus of the MSS of the second class is the Ven. VI 2.

71. Die römischen schaltjahre seit 190 vor Christ. A demonstration that of the years 190-165 before Christ the even years were the leap years, and the odd the common years. The argument is by W. Soltau, of Zabern, perhaps the best qualified man to speak with authority on this subject.

72. De grammaticorum principe: O. Immisch, Leipzig. Antidorus (not Antodorus) of Cumae was the first who named himself γραμματικός, in the title of his λέξεις.

73. Zum heerwesen der Römer: P. O. Schjött, Christiania. A discussion of Livy, VIII, §8, on the number of men in a legion. 15 maniples in the *hastati*, with two centurions and one *vexillarius* = 945 men; with the same in the *principes* = 1890. 15 maniples of *subsignani*, each 186 men, = 2790; this + 1890 = 4680 in the legion. The remaining 320 necessary to make up the 5000 mentioned in the chapter may have been in the general's staff, the *fabri* and the musicians.

74. Zu Sallustius: R. Lehmann, Neustettin. Critical notes on I, Cato, 20, §8, and II, Cato, 21, §1.

75. Zu Livius: K. Niemeyer, Kiel. Critical notes on II 65, 4 f.; III 41, 8; III 35, 3; V 11, 2; VII 30, 11; VII 39, 10; VII 40, 9; X 9, 6; XXXII 32, 6; and XXX 13, 1-12.

76. Zu Januarius Nepotianus: C. F. W. Müller, Breslau. A demonstration in a number of passages of Nepotianus, that his latinity has been overestimated by new critics, while that of the manuscripts has been underestimated.

77. Zu [Apulejus] Asclepius: J. Segebode, Oldenburg. On c. 21: insert <Venerem> (= semen) after *rapiat* as object.

#### Fascicle 11.

78. Die stadt Athen im altertum, von Curt Wachsmuth; zweiter band, erste abtheilung: Teubner, 1890. xvi + 527 pp., 8vo. Review by W. Judeich, Marburg. Sixteen years have passed since the appearance of the first volume, years so full of results that this new volume, which rests upon them, seems hardly to be a companion to the first. Though the work of Köhler, Lolling, von Wilamowitz, Milchhöfer, Curtius and others lies at hand for everybody, yet the work of Wachsmuth is not superfluous. It is a careful, painstaking production. The first division discusses 'die hafenstadt,' pp. 4-176; the second, 'die hafenstrasse,' pp. 177-96; the third, 'stadtmauern und stadtthore,' pp. 197-230; the fourth, 'städtische demen und quartiere,' pp. 231-78; the fifth, 'die strassen der stadt,' pp. 279-303; the sixth, 'die : ra,' pp. 305-527.

79. ΘΕΩΝ ΕΝ Γ' ΟΥΝΑΣΙ ΚΕΙΤΑΙ: F. Weck, Metz. The common reading γούνασι is untenable. For this W. proposes γ' ούνασι, and translates: "es kann so und so, es kann anders kommen, als nach menschlicher berechnung erwartet wird." ἐπιούσιος is also connected with ὄναρ, = der traumreiche, traumbringer. The function of Hermes as dream-god is signified in his epithet ἀκάκητα, = vorspiegler, gaukler (cf. ἀκκώ, ἀκκίζομαι).

(5). Zur Odyssee: A. Scotland, Strasburg. Read *a* 28 thus: ἀλλ' ὃ γ' ὀδύμετο πυκνὰ πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε. Cut out vv. 37-42, and in 43 read: οὐκ ὀπίδα φρονέων for πείθ' ἀγαθὰ φρονέων.

80. *E* und *ex* vor consonanten in den fragmenten der ältern römischen poesie: F. Harder, Berlin.

(32). *Ne . . . quidem*: P. Meyer and M. C. P. Schmidt. Meyer opposes the view set up by Schmidt, p. 299 of this volume, by a different interpretation of the six test-passages given by Schmidt. The latter offers additional passages. See Am. J. Philol. XII 251.

81. Zu Horatius: F. van Hoffs. This is *à propos* of what van Hoffs has already published on the third epode in the Treves gymnasial programme for 1887. Also an exegetical note by Th. Plüss on Od. II 20.

82. Zu Ausonius: M. Mertens, Köln. A study in the dates of the works of Ausonius.

83. Zu Julius Valerius: D. Volkmann. A series of critical notes.

(52). Zu Vergilius: Edward Goebel, Fulda. Critical note on Aen. I 194 ff.

#### Fascicle 12.

84. ΘΟΥΚΥΔΙΔΟΥ ΤΕΤΑΡΤΗ: W. G. Rutherford, London. Reviewed by K. Hude, Copenhagen. Hude finds fault with the reckless rejection of some passages and the too ready conjectures in other places. It is far too evident that not enough discernment and industry are exercised by Rutherford in the establishment of his text.

85. Zu den Orphischen Theogonien: F. Susemihl, Greifswald. A discussion of several points as to the Orphic Theogony, in which Gruppe, who usually agrees with Susemihl, differs from him. Interesting in this connection are O. Kern's 'De Orphei Epimenidis Pherecydis theogoniis quaess. critt.' (Berlin, 1888) and Susemihl's 'De theogoniae Orphicae forma antiquissima.'

86. Zu Nikandros: E. Goebel, Fulda. Critical notes.

87. Zu Kallimachos. Critical notes on the hymns of Kallimachos by E. Dittrich, Leipzig.

88. Beiträge zu Polybios: Th. Büttner-Wobst, Dresden. III. A continuation from 1884, pp. 111-22, and 1889, pp. 671-92. The author of this article points out that Polybios avoids any hiatus with *ἢ* (or, than). A number of passages are also critically handled.

(12). Die katastrophe in Sophokles Antigone. A continuation and conclusion of the discussion opened by F. Seiler in the Jahrbücher, 1890, p. 104 ff.,

and continued by B. Nake, p. 569 ff. The question is: According to the purpose of Sophocles, is the inverted order in Kreon's acts of repentance [the visit to Polyneikes and then to Antigone] of importance or not for the final entrance of the catastrophe? Both disputants substantially agree that it is not.

(61). Zu Caesar De bello Gallico: A. Kunze, Planen im Vogtland. On *despectus* (*deiectus*?) in II 29, 3.

50. Kleine beobachtungen zum lat. sprachgebrauch: M. C. P. Schmidt, Berlin (to be continued). This is a continuation from pp. 463-66 of this volume. 3, 4, 5 treat of *invenire*, *experire*, *perspicere*, with the infin. and subj. accus.; 6, *praestare* with the infin. and subj. accus., and with *ut* or *ne*; 7-8, *praescribere* and *urgere* with *ut*; 9, *pugnare* with *ut* or *ne*; 10, *indicare* with the infin. and subj. accus.

WILLIAM E. WATERS.

# REVUE DE PHILOGIE. Vol. XII.

## No. 1.

1. Pp. 1-12. J. B. Mispoulet discusses the process at law that plays so important a part in Hor. Sermon. I 9. Bolanus was the defendant, and he himself had given the *vadimonium*. In case of *vadimonium desertum*, the plaintiff could either take temporary possession of the property of the defendant, or apply the *in ius vocatio*. The latter course was adopted in this instance. Bolanus had neglected his *vadimonium* to remain with Horace. The hour for the court to take recess had arrived, and then came the *in ius vocatio*. These points are well established, not merely conjectured.

2. P. 12. E. Rabiet shows that in Plin. Nat. Hist. III 4, 34 we should read *Dexivatum*.

3. Pp. 13-18. Émile Chatelain gives the history, the rediscovery and a description of a long-lost MS of Horace, formerly kept at Autun, now No. 10,310 of the National Library of Paris.

4. Pp. 19-25. A. Baudouin examines and classifies five MSS of Cic. De Inventione, which form two families distinct from the two represented by P, H, and S, which are the only MSS as yet used to any considerable extent.

5. Pp. 26-29. George Doncieux critically discusses and emends [Tibul.] IV 8 and 9, poems of Sulpicia.

6. P. 29. In Arist. Phys. II 2, 194 b 13, Ruelle proposes  $\chi\rho\upsilon\sigma\acute{o}\varsigma < \chi\rho\upsilon\sigma\acute{o}\upsilon\rangle$  for  $\eta\lambda\iota\omicron\varsigma$ .

7. Pp. 30-37. Louis Duvau emends Lucr. De Rer. Nat. IV 792 ff., so as to read: Quia tempore in uno, | cum sentimus idem, cum vox emittitur una, | tempora multa latent, etc. He then shows that Lachmann erred in supposing that the original of the *Oblongus* was written in capitals.

8. Pp. 38-42. In Cic. Verr. II 4, 90 Paul Lejay proposes *religione tecti te vinctum adstrictumque*, and discusses the character of the MS from which R was copied.

9. P. 42. In Ter. Heaut. 530-32 L. Havet proposes: CHREMES: Hominem pistrino dignum. SYRUS: Quem istunc? CHREMES: Servolum | dico adulescentis. SYRUS: Syre, tibi timui male. | CHREMES: Qui passus est id fieri? SYRUS: Quid faceret?

10. Pp. 43-59. The construction of *POTIUS QUAM*, by O. Riemann. After remarking on the inadequate treatment of this subject in all grammars, including his own, Riemann enumerates and classifies all the examples known to him, regretting that the list is incomplete. (a) *Potius quam* with the subjunctive is employed when a person placed between two alternatives chooses one with the object of avoiding the other; as *perpessus est omnia potius quam conscios . . . indicaret*. (b) *Potius quam* with the dependent verb in the mood of the leading verb to indicate that the latter is more exact or in some way truer than the former; as *fecerat potius cur suspectus esset Romanis quam satis statuerat utram foveret partem*. But the distinction between these formulae is not invariably observed, and special cases arise.

I. 1. When the leading verb is a form of *sum* with *-ndus*, the two constructions would naturally be as in these examples: (a) *Moriendum nobis est potius quam hoc patiamur*. (b) *Vivendum nobis est potius quam moriendum*. But in fact before Livy construction (b) alone is used in both senses; as Cic. Verr. II 1, 81, ut Lampsaceni moriendum sibi potius quam *perpetiendum* putarent. Id. P. Dom., §100, demigrandum potius aliquo est quam *habitandum* in ea urbe, etc. In these and some other examples in Cicero, the sense is evidently that of construction (a). But cf. Liv. VII 40, 14, vel iniquis standum est potius quam impias inter nos *conseramus* manus. Of course, construction (b) in its proper sense is common, as Cic. Off. I 112, Catoni . . . moriendum potius quam tyranni vultus *aspiciendus* fuit.

2. Also when the leading verb is some form of *-urus sum*, Cicero once (Ad Fam. II 16, 3) and Caesar once (De Bel. Civ. III 49, 2), use construction (b) in the sense of (a). No other examples of either construction have been found in these authors. Construction (a), on the other hand, is found in Terence, Sallust, Cornelius Nepos, Livy, Tacitus (usually, of course, *-urum (esse)* potius quam with subjunc. pres. or imperf.; but *esse* is always omitted, while *fuisse* occurs Liv. IV 2, 9).

II. 1. When the leading verb is in the indicative (not periphrastic), construction (a) exhibits the pres. or impf. subjunc. after *potius quam*, according to the time of the leading verb, and construction (b) exhibits the indic. after *potius quam*; but in Cic. P. Dom. 56 (*cur me flentes potius persecuti sunt quam aut increpantes retinuerunt aut irati reliquerunt?*) and in Plaut. Cist. 358 (*perdam operam potius quam carebo filiam*) the sense seems to call for construction (a).

2. When the leading verb is imperative, all the examples exhibit construction (a) in both form and sense, the verb being in the pres. subjunc.

3. When *potius quam* is attached to a *pres.* or *imperf.* subjunc., the two constructions become identical in form, the verb introduced by *quam* being in the *pres.* or *imperf.* subjunc.

4. When, however, *potius quam* is attached to a *perf.* or a *pluperf.* subjunc., the two constructions are distinguished by their form, (a) having the *imperf. subjunc.*, (b) the *perf.* or *pluperf.* (same mood and tense as its leading verb).

But in Cic. Cat. II 3 (si quis est . . . qui . . . me vehementer accuset quod tam capitale hostem non comprehenderim potius quam *emiserim*), construction (b) seems to be used in the sense of (a): cur non comprehendit potius quam emisit?

III. 1. If the leading verb (indic.) has been converted into an *infin.* by indirect discourse, construction (a) probably retains the subjunc. unchanged after *potius quam*. Cf. Liv. II 15, 2. But as the *fut. indic.* assumes the form *-urum esse*, the peculiarity already mentioned (I 2) reappears. Construction (b) (*infin.* for *indic.*) seems to be used in the sense of (a) in Cic. P. Dei. 23, non quaero quam veri simile sit . . . , qui dicto audientes in tanta re non fuissent, eos victos potius quam *necatos* (direct, "cur eos vinxit potius quam *necaret*?" ). So in Cic. Ad Att. II 20, 2 (addit . . . se prius occisum iri ab eo quam me *violatum iri*, the only example of a future *pass.* in indirect discourse) construction (b) seems to have the sense of (a).

2. When *potius quam* is attached to an infinitive not in indirect discourse, the following formulae arise: Construction (a), "Abire decet potius quam haec *patiari*." "Expedi tibi abire potius quam haec *patiari*." "Abire cupimus potius quam haec *patiamur*." Construction (b), "Abire decet potius quam *manere*." "Abire expedit potius quam *manere*." "Abire cupimus potius quam *manere*." But sometimes construction (b) is used in the sense of (a). Cf. Cic. Verr. II 3, 99; De Fin. 4, 20, etc., where (a) is regularly employed. Cic. Verr. II 3, 191; Liv. VII 21, 1, etc., where (b) has the sense of (a). Some doubtful examples occur.

3. With *malo* (*praestat, satius est*) . . . *quam*, two infinitives are naturally used. When *potius* is pleonastically added to *malo*, etc., the construction seems regularly to remain the same; but sometimes *quam* is followed by the *subjunc.*, as Plaut. Capt. 681 f.; Ter. Hec. 532 ff. The *subjunc.* is sometimes used even when this *potius* is not added; that is, construction (a) is even in this case sometimes distinguished from (b). Cf. Plaut. Asin. 121 f., Aul. 653 f.; Caes. VII 17, 7, etc. The examples cited by C. F. W. Müller from Cicero (Verr. II 4, 39; 2, 91) seem doubtful; that is, the *infin.* should probably be read.

IV. One example is found of a *participle* connected by *potius quam* with the subjunc., the sense and construction being (a): Liv. XXXIII 13, 3.

V. 1. Instead of *potius quam*, sometimes the following are used in the same sense and with the same construction: *quam* alone, *prius quam*, *citius quam*, but probably never *ante quam*. All the examples of *citius quam* have the *fut.* in the leading clause.

2. The use of *potius* (*citius*, perhaps *prius*) *quam* with *ut* may have grown illogically out of such formulae as Cic. P. Planc. 8, tantum a futuram esse orationem meam a minima suspicione offensionis tuae, te *ut* potius obiurgem, quam *ut*, etc., where the second *ut* is a repetition of the first one. Very difficult to explain is Cic. Phil. 2, 25, citius dixerim iactasse se aliquos, ut fuisse in ea societate viderentur . . . quam *ut* quisquam celari vellet qui fuisset. Still, it furnishes a connecting link between the logical and the illogical *potius quam ut*.

[It will be observed that those examples in which the author considers the use of the indicative after *potius quam* illogical (see II above), do not belong exactly to either category; that is, they do not show that one expression is

more exact than another, nor do they imply conscious *avoidance* of an alternative on the part of the actor; but the *narrator* merely declares that one thing occurred instead of another's occurring, whereas, according to his view, the second would have been more appropriate or natural. (a) "The army fled rather than retreated" = "The withdrawal of the army was flight rather than a retreat," would *require* the indicative. (b) "The army allowed itself to be destroyed rather than retreat," would *require* the subjunctive. (c) "Why did he let Catiline go rather than arrest him" (= "instead of arresting him") differs from both the above; and the indicative does not seem illogical, although the subjunctive is the rule. So in the English we may doubt whether 'arrest' depends directly upon 'rather than' or is affected by 'did'; that is, we might either say "I wonder why he let C. escape rather than *arrested* him" (not usual, but intelligible), or "rather than *arrest* him": *cur emisit potius quam comprehenderit* or *comprehenderet*. The latter suggests a conscious choice of the actor between the two courses he might have pursued, and with *cur* this is more natural. But in (a) above we have exclusively the narrator's view, and in (b) exclusively the conscious choice of the actor between two alternatives. M. W. H.]

11. Pp. 60-73. Critical notes, by Paul Tannery, on the treatise of Joannes Alexandrinus (Philoponus) on the astrolabe. This interesting article contains a very important contribution to the history of astronomy (especially of astronomical instruments), besides many emendations of the text of Philoponus.

12. Pp. 73-80. E. Chatelain publishes numerous conjectures found written on the margin of a copy of Quintius Curtius by L. Quicherat.

13. P. 80. L. Havet emends Plaut. Aul. 250, Impero auctor <tibi> sum, etc.

14. Pp. 81-86. Biographical sketch of Louis-Eugène Benoist, by E. Chatelain. Benoist was born at Nangis (Seine-et-Marne) Nov. 28, 1831, and died at Paris May 22, 1887. After a short sojourn at the college of Fontainebleau, he studied at the *Institution Jauffret* and the *Collège Royal* (1842), entered the *École Normale* (1852), and was made professor (1855) at the *Lyce* of Marseilles. In 1862 he was made *Docteur ès Lettres*. His earlier studies were directed chiefly to historical subjects; but his habit of thoroughly studying the sources led him into philology, to which he finally devoted his labors. His edition of Vergil, of which the first volume appeared in 1867, created an epoch in the history of philology in France. He held positions successively at Nancy and Aix, and in the Sorbonne; and finally was elected a member of the Academy of Inscriptions. He published many works, chiefly editions of Latin authors, or critical articles on parts of Latin works. He was never willing to publish a work on any subject without first examining all that had been written on that subject; and he exercised a wholesome influence on students, by inspiring them with a spirit of thoroughness and method. A list of his works occupies three pages of the *Revue de Phil.* The most of them are on Plautus, Terence, Lucretius, Vergil, Horace, Catullus, Caesar, Livy; some are on educational subjects; and among them are a Latin-French and a French-Latin dictionary for students.

15. Pp. 87-96. Book Notices. (1). Virgilii Maronis grammatici Opera, edidit Johannes Huemer, 1886; M. Hertz, De Virgilii Maronis grammatici



epitomarum codice Ambianensi Disputatio, 1888; and E. Ernault, De Virgilio Marone grammatico Tolosano, 1886: all reviewed in a body by Paul Lejay, who gives a brief *préface* of each work. (2). Ch. S. notices favorably Lautensach, Verballflexion der attischen Inschriften, 1887, and gives a list of the most important facts presented in the work. (3). A. K. mentions favorably Ad. Bauer, Thukydides und H. Müller-Strübing, 1887. (4). E. C. highly commends C. Sallusti Crispi, Jugurtha, Historiarum reliquiae codicibus servatae: Henricus Jordan tertium recensuit. (5). Favorable mention, by E. C., of C. Sallusti Crispi Bellum Jugurthinum: Scholarum in usum recognovit Robertus Novak, 1888. (6). E. C. briefly describes P. Ovidii Nasonis Metamorphoseon XIII-XIV (edited by Charles Simmons). (7). E. C. commends Cornelii Taciti Opera (Dialogue des Orateurs), par Henri Goelzer. (8). E. C. briefly describes A. Ed. Chaignet, Essais de métrique grecque: Le vers iambique. (9). Contents of Paléographie des classiques latins, par E. Chatelain. 6e livraison: Horace, 1888.

#### No. 2.

1. Pp. 97-105. O. Riemann justifies the emendations (some thirty) that he introduced into the text of his edition of Livy, XXVII-XXX.

2. P. 105. Note by A. Gasc-Desfossés on the use of *quisque* in Cicero's Orations.

3. Pp. 106-112. Critical discussion of a few passages in Plaut. Aulularia, by Louis Havet.

4. P. 112. In Sal., Frag. Orléans, 9, 14, Max Bonnet proposes 'remissione.'

5. Pp. 113-117. Jules Nicole publishes a few small fragments of Hesiod, found among some Aegyptian papyri. They fall between 'Epoia 111 and 221, and are not without value.

6. P. 117. O. R. considers *esse* an *impf.* in Cic. Pro. Arch. 8.

7. Pp. 118-27. J. Loth describes a new MS of Seneca De Remediis Fortuitorum, which he discovered at Quimper, and publishes a complete text, with critical apparatus.

8. P. 127. O. R. calls attention to the use of a doubly subordinate clause with a seemingly dependent *final* or *consecutive* subjunctive, as if *ut* had been used; as Cic. De Orat. I 167, petebat . . . quod cum impetrasset causa *caderet*, where *caderet* is not grammatically connected with either the relative or the leading clause.

9. P. 128. Notes by O. R. on Plat. Phaed. 63 d and 118 a.

10. Pp. 129-34. George Doncieux discusses the question who the Lygdamus of [Tibullus] Book III was. He shows that it could not have been any of the persons heretofore proposed: Tibullus himself, Ovid, Cassius of Parma, Valgius Rufus, Lucius Messalinus; and argues ingeniously that it was Lucius, the brother of Ovid.

11. P. 134. In Senec. (ad Lucilium) 88, 17, Max Bonnet suggests *detraho* for *desperabo*.

12. P. 135. O. R. shows that the troublesome *first* entrance into the *φροντιστήριον* (Ar. Nub. 184) was merely into the yard. He seems not to have seen Zieliński's similar explanation.

13. P. 136. F. Strowski defends *sed = nunc vero* by referring to Cic. De Off. III 3, 12, and O. R. adds Ad Q. Fr. I 1, 44.

14. Pp. 136-37. O. R. shows that not only the abl. (as Madvig states), but also the locative, is used of the place from which a letter is written. If the noun is not the name of a town, we find *de*, *ex*, *ab*, and once *in* (Cic. Ad Att. 16, 10).

15. Pp. 137-38. Max Bonnet shows that in Senec. Phoen. 363 ff., *ultra* should not be changed to *ultrō*, as has been done by recent editors.

16. Pp. 138-44. Book Notices. (1). F. de S. finds great merits and a few small faults in the Principles of Sound and Inflection as illustrated in the Greek and Latin Languages, by J. E. King and C. Cookson, Oxford, 1888. (2). Albert Martin describes the third edition of Böckh's Staatshaushaltung der Athener. He commends the reviser for abstaining as much as possible from making alterations in the great original, but finds the plan adopted inconvenient, especially as the additions to both volumes are all printed in the second volume. (3). Albert Martin finds J. M. Hoogvliet's Studia Homerica (1885) an ingenious work in some respects, but lacking in critical method. (4). A. M. D. finds great faults and some merits in the first volume (Antigone) of Semitelos' edition of Sophocles (5). According to A. M. D., in the Oedipus Tyrannus of J. Holub, "l'ignorance le dispute au mauvais goût." (6). A. M. D. commends F. W. Schmidt's Kritische Studien zu den griechischen Dramatikern (1888), but points out slight faults. (7). Albert Martin describes and praises S. Lederer, Eine neue Handschrift von Arrian's Anabasis. (8). Albert Martin pronounces the dissertation of Wendland, De Musonio Stoico, interesting and instructive. (9). E. C. describes and commends L. Annaei Senecae dialogorum libros XII ad codicem praecipue Ambrosianum recensuit M. C. Gertz, 1886. (10). E. C. briefly describes Gundermann's Juli Frontini Strategematon libri quattuor, 1888. (11). A. M. D. praises La Bibliothèque de Fulvio, par Pierre de Nolhac, 1887.

#### No. 3.

1. Pp. 145-72. An interesting article by Louis Havet on the punishment of Phlegyas in Verg. Aen. VI, in which it is shown that vv. 616-20 belong between 601 and 602, and the latter should begin *Quo super*.

2. P. 172. Some examples of *et non = nec* cited by A. Meillet.

3. Pp. 173-75. An interesting note by Henri Weil on the fragments of Hesiod published by Nicole (No. 2, pp. 113-17).

4. P. 175. Note on Arist. Eth. Nicom. I 2 (p. 1365 A 33), by Ruelle.

5. Pp. 176-85. Remarks on some questions of Latin syntax, by O. Riemann.

I. *Unus* with the genitive in Cicero. The old rule was that *unus* is construed with the gen. only when it is contrasted with *alter* (*alius*), *tertius*, etc. Some grammarians have set up a new rule, that *unus* is construed with the gen. only

when the *sum total* of the objects has been indicated in what precedes. Riemann examines the usage of Cicero, and finds that both rules are at fault, and that *unus* is construed with the gen. of the rel. or demons. pron., representing a group of objects that have just been mentioned. The usage of other authors (Caesar, Livy, Vergil), however, differs from that of Cicero.

II. *Toto orbe terrarum* or *in toto orbe terrarum*. The author examines a distinction suggested by Émile Thomas—that *tota Sicilia* means *throughout all Sicily*, while *in tota Sicilia* means *within the limits of all Sicily*. He finds that the idea of *throughout* is nearly always expressed by the simple abl. in Cicero, and virtually always in Caesar, Nepos and Livy; while the idea of *within the limits* is expressed in either way in Cicero and Livy, no examples being found in Caesar or Nepos. In some instances the use of *in* with the abl. would be impossible, the sense being not *ubi*, but *qua*, as in 'sparserunt se toto passim campo' (= *per totum campum*). When *in* is not used, *totus* is almost always placed *before* its noun.

6. Pp. 185–86. F. Picavet explains an inscription that is important for the history of Pyrrhonism.

7. Pp. 187–89. Critical notes on Plaut. *Aul.* 720 ff., 808 ff., by Louis Havet.

8. Book Notices. (1). E. C. describes Vol. II of the *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum*. (2). A. J. describes Van Leeuwen and Da Costa's *Homeri Iliadis carmina cum apparatu critico*, 1887, and considers it indispensable for critics of Homer, though not free from faults. (3). A. J. describes von Essen's *Index Thucydideus*, 1887, and (4) Heikel's *De praeparationis Evangelicae Eusebii edendae ratione*, 1888, and (5) Niese's *Flavii Josephi opera*. (6). E. C. describes the third volume of *Die Handschriften der herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel*, by Otto von Heinemann.

No. 4.

This number merely finishes the *Revue des Revues*, partly published in previous numbers.

MILTON W. HUMPHREYS.

## BRIEF MENTION.

In an introduction to NEITZERT's *German Translation* (Leipzig, B. G. Teubner) of Professor HALE's well-known '*Cum-constructions*,' to which we owe the disappearance of the unsatisfactory phrase 'Absolute and Relative Time' from some of our 'epoch-making' Latin grammars, Professor B. DELBRÜCK has a word of praise for American work in grammar, and speaks of 'Arbeiten die als Muster historisch-statistischer Ausführung gelten können.' The only danger is that American scholars will be encouraged by such utterances to do statistical work without a clear conception of what they are looking for, and as one who has made experiments in this field, I desire to protest again, as I have often protested before, against mere statistic-mongery. To this end I allow myself to reproduce here the introduction to a little paper, which for good and sufficient reasons I brought out in another periodical.

"The statistical method has been so much misused since it became the fashion that even those who helped to make it fashionable are becoming weary of the mechanical sorting of inorganic and insignificant facts, which can have no claim either to aesthetic or to scientific importance. What points deserve statistical study is a matter that is to be determined by insight before investigation begins, and the preciousness of statistics consists in exhaustive verification of what was already divined. Whenever this line is transgressed one hears the mocking song of Friedrich Vischer :

Lass ersterben die Aesthetik,  
Lass erblühn die Arithmetik !  
Schüler, auf zum Heiligtume  
Der addierten Bröselkrume  
Walle feierlichen Schritts, u. s. w.

In every statistical research in which I have myself engaged or encouraged others to engage I have always discerned, or fancied I discerned, an organic principle, and no less in my first published paper than in my latest."

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The object of the paper to which I refer was to meet a charge of rash generalization brought against me by Professor EDWARD B. CLAPP in the *Transactions of the American Philological Association* for 1891. In an examination of the conditional sentences in the Greek tragic poets Professor Clapp undertook to show that the minatory and monitory force of the future with *ei* 'can at best be nothing but an ill-defined and unconscious tendency which is not followed with sufficient regularity either upon the positive or negative side, to amount to a rule or even a fixed habit.' Suffice it to say

that of the fifty-odd examples cited by Professor Clapp to prove that *ei* with the fut. ind. does not differ from the ordinary condition, the vast majority, not to say all, have been shown to fall under the regular categories of *ei* with the future ind., and that the principles laid down in my article of 1876 (see A. J. P. IX 491) remain, not only unshaken, but stronger than ever.

Of this rejoinder to Professor Clapp, which may be found in *The Johns Hopkins University Circulars* for June, 1892, I will not repeat what had to be said in vindication of the character of my work, but part of the new material introduced has a certain scientific interest, and is inserted here for the benefit of those who have not access to the Circulars.

"That *ei* with the future indicative is used by preference in a stern sense, in minatory and monitory connexions, is evident to any one who will study the monuments of the language. The phenomena in the tragic poets [are] not isolated. [Indeed,] the whole history of the language favors the theory of the stern character of *ei* with the future indicative. Homer does not make much use of the form, it is true, but see the examples in Ebeling's *Lexicon Homericum*. How many of them fall outside of the categories in controversy? Pindar has not a solitary clear *ei* with future indicative. Why should he? What had he to do with menace? How much with gloom? Not a solitary clear *ei* with future indicative, did I say? Yes, there is one in his famous fragment on the Eclipse of the Sun (107 Bgk.), and that *ei* with future is in line with the horror of the occasion. I have before me a complete collection of *ei* with the future indicative in Herodotos, made by my former pupil, Dr. Lodge.<sup>1</sup> Thirty-two out of the thirty-nine examples recorded are as gloomy as one can desire. To be sure one must not pop into the text, pick out a gloomy word here and a bright one there. The whole situation must be studied, and then Artabanos' *μαθηρέων*, Hdt. 7, 16, 3, will be dismal enough. Thukydides is true to the rule, truer even than I thought sixteen years ago, when I made a rough count of the conditionals in the speeches. Now I have before me a more exact list of all the *ei* with the future indicative conditionals, prepared by my friend Professor Hogue, some 103 in all.<sup>2</sup> They are not all conditionals. Some may be classed as interrogative, some are mere *pro forma* conditions, but of

<sup>1</sup> I 32, 13; 32, 37; 71, 14; 109, 7; 109, 12; 207, 14; 212, 12; II 11, 15; 13, 18; 14, 6; 17, 6; 99, 14; 121 γ 13; III 36, 25; 71, 17; 73, 2; IV 33, 20; 125, 16; 163, 11; VI 9, 20; 11, 10; VII 9, 7; 10 θ 9; 11, 11; 16 γ 10; 16 γ 13; 46, 9; 50, 8; 161, 17; 172, 13; 200, 16; 236, 8; 236, 15; VIII 3, 3; 62, 3; 108, 11; 112, 5; IX 2, 9; 21, 10. (To facilitate reference, the lines of the Teubner text have been added.)

<sup>2</sup> I 32, 1; 32, 5; 35, 3; 36, 3; 40, 3; 40, 6; 42, 1; 52, 1; 53, 4; 68, 3; 73, 2; 77, 6; 80, 4; 81, 3; 81, 4; 81, 5; 82, 1; 82, 5; 118, 3; 121, 5; 122, 2; 124, 1; 137, 2; 140, 5; 141, 1; 142, 4; II 20, 3; 53, 3; 64, 1; III 2, 3; 12, 2; 13, 6; 14, 1; 28, 1; 32, 2; 37, 3; 39, 7; 47, 3; 56, 3; 57, 1; 58, 5; 84, 3; IV 37, 1; 60, 1; 68, 6; 83, 5; 85, 5; 87, 2; 87, 3; 120, 3; V 14, 4; 26, 2; 30, 1; 46, 4; 56, 2; 57, 1; 64, 1; 104; 104 (elliptical); 111, 2; VI 6, 2; 18, 3; 18, 4; 30, 2 (fut. opt.); 33, 4 (elliptical, Classen supplies *δοξω λέγειν*); 34, 2; 34, 5 (fut. opt.); 38, 4; 40, 1; 60, 4; 62, 1; 69, 3; 80, 2; 80, 3; 80, 4 (bis); 86, 1; 86, 5; 87, 4; 91, 1; 91, 3; 91, 4; VII 5, 4; 8, 1; 13, 1; 14, 3; 42, 2; 60, 2; 64, 1; 73, 1; VIII 43, 3; 45, 5; 47, 1; 53, 2 (bis); 53, 3; 55, 2; 83, 3; 86, 7; 91, 2; 91, 3; 96, 3; 109, 1.

the ninety-odd that are clearly conditional, the vast majority, including μέλλω conditions and conditions with verbs of emotion, carry with them an unfavorable alternative, and not more than five or six per cent can be wrested from the sinister meaning that lies in the form, and which is so appropriate to the great tragedy of the Peloponnesian War."

"Xenophon is true to the rule. Plato is true to it. The orators are true to it. And the later Greek stylists, such men as Dio Chrysostomos and Lucian, observe it with remarkable fidelity, and I might fill pages with sporadic examples, if it were worth while. In fact it is only the divergencies from the rule that are interesting."

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This is not an educational journal, yet nearly all philologists are teachers, and no philologist, whether teacher or not, ought to shut his eyes to the signs of the times, and among the signs of the times is the success of certain school-book enterprises. True, the issue of some text-books is explicable on the simple theory that the manufacturer controls a certain market, but this does not seem to apply to a series that, for a wonder, has not been imitated in this country—the series published by Freytag in Leipzig, one of the latest specimens being the third edition of WOTKE's *Demosthenes, Ausgewählte Reden*. The plan is a large, fair type—too thin, yet large and fair—literary and historical introductions in German, historical notes, maps, illustrations, indexes of various matters, historical, geographical and the like, and not a solitary word of grammar, not a solitary interpretation of the text. There is, it seems, a decided place for such a series in an educational scheme, and that a surfeit of such grammatical notes and such bald translations as load down our text-books should have led to a total rejection of the perilous stuff is perfectly natural. The many commentators, who are not grammarians, serve, as I have shown and expect to show at length some day, to propagate all manner of errors, and a grammatically sterilized edition is a comfort.

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With the beginning of a new volume the management of the AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY deems it expedient to repeat the notice to authors and publishers that it does not guarantee reviews of books, no matter how important they may be, nor does it undertake to return books that are not reviewed. The review department is necessarily restricted in space, and quite unequal to the task of characterizing all current philological literature. That 'Brief Mention' has practically become a synonym for 'Editor's Table' is not wholly the editor's fault.

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# AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

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Owing to delay in the transmission of proof and the exigencies of the printing-office, Mr. Housman's article in this number of the Journal appears without the advantage of the author's revision. It was impossible for the Editor of the Journal to anticipate the searching character of that revision, and this must be his apology to Mr. Housman and to the readers of the Journal for the publication of the article in its uncorrected form.—B. L. G.

more sinned against than sinning': that the Greek words may yield it, either τὰ ἔργα μου must mean ἐγώ, or else πεπονθότα μᾶλλον ἢ δεδρακότα must mean ὑπενηνεγμένα μᾶλλον ἢ δεδραμένα or, as some prefer to put it, πεπονθότος μᾶλλον ἢ δεδρακότος. To state such propositions is to explode them, one would fancy; yet they are entertained, because critics will acquiesce in solecisms which they think they cannot emend: durum, sed leuius fit patientia quidquid corrigere est nefas. The correction here, though simple, is not obvious, so the editors, instead of resolving to find it, content themselves with collecting what they take for parallels; and a survey of the collection will suggest that their discriminating faculties have been a trifle numbed, as is not surprising, by the Gorgonian terrors of their text.

I have first to clear the air of matter so irrelevant that I cannot even guess by what confusion of thought it is brought into this connexion. A common method of forming abstract substantives in Greek is to prefix the article to the neuter of an adjective: ἀνδρείος *courageous*, τὸ ἀνδρεῖον *courage*. Participles are adjectives, and from them, as from other adjectives, abstract substantives are formed by this method: θαρσῶν *confident*, τὸ θαρσοῦν *confidence*. Thus Sophocles at Phil. 674 sq. has τὸ νοσοῦν *sickness*, Euripides or his interpolator at I. A. 1270 τὸ κείνου βουλόμενον *his wish*; in Thucydides examples are frequent, I 36 τὸ δεδιὸς αὐτοῦ and τὸ θαρσοῦν *apprehension* and *confidence*, 90 τὸ βουλόμενον καὶ ὑποπτον (the participle side by side with another adjective which is not a participle) τῆς γνώμης *wish* and *suspicion*, II 59 τὸ ὀργιζόμενον τῆς γνώμης *irritation*, III 10 ἐν τῇ διαλλάσσοντι τῆς γνώμης *change*, V 9 τοῦ μένοντος *stand*, VI 24 τὸ ἐπιθυμοῦν τοῦ πλοῦ *eagerness*, VII 68 τῆς γνώμης τὸ θυμούμενον *fury*. Accordingly, when the MSS of Sophocles give τὸ ποθοῦν at Trach. 196, that, though it makes no sense in its context, is Greek for *desire*; and if at O. C. 1604 they gave what they do not give, τοῦ δρῶντος, that would be Greek for *activity*. The reader will be asking me what all this has to do with the matter in hand; and truly I do not know. But Prof. Campbell, in the essay on the language of Sophocles prefixed to his edition, adduces several of these examples and then bewilders me by proceeding thus, 'In the following instances the action is similarly identified with the agent or subject, although a *state* is not described': here follows our passage. Similarly identified! τὸ μὲν ἐπιθυμοῦν τοῦ πλοῦ οὐκ ἐξηρίθησαν *they were not deprived of their eagerness for the voyage*: is the action (or the state) here identified with the agent or subject? does it mean *they were not deprived of themselves*? Yet Prof. Jebb says the same thing over again: 'The agent's activities (τὰ ἔργα μου) here stand for the agent himself. . . . So [my italics] a particular activity of a person's mind is sometimes expressed by the active participle (neut.) of a verb to which the person himself would properly be subject'; and he quotes Thuc. I 36, 90, II 59, given above. I cannot even conjecture where the analogy is imagined to lie. Is it meant that in Thuc. II 59, for instance, 'the agent's activities stand for the agent himself,' and that ἀπαγαγὼν τὸ ὀργιζόμενον τῆς γνώμης *having removed the irritation of their mind* stands for ἀπαγαγὼν αὐτοὺς ὀργιζομένους? I suppose not; and yet, if not, what are these quotations doing in a note which professes to show that τὰ ἔργα μου means ἐγώ?

A traditional parallel is O. t. 1214 sq. γάμον τεκνούντα καὶ τεκνούμενον; and though it is not really a parallel, it is nevertheless an analogous phenomenon. τεκνούντα καὶ τεκνούμενον *begetter and begotten in one* are words properly applicable to Oedipus himself, and not to his marriage, yet to his marriage they are applied; similarly, it may be said, πεπονθότα and δεδρακότα, though properly applicable only to Oedipus himself, can be applied to his deeds. But, in the first place, if you mean to match the absurdity of ἔργα δεδρακότα, γάμος τεκνούμενος will not serve: it asks nothing short of γάμος γεγαμηκώς. And, secondly, it is no private suspicion of mine, but the general opinion, that O. t. 1214 is corrupt. The whole passage runs thus: ἐφηῦρέ σ' ἄκονθ' ὁ πᾶνθ' ὁρῶν χρόνος. | δικάζει τὸν ἄγαμον γάμον πάλαι | τεκνούντα καὶ τεκνούμενον. This breakneck asyndeton is accepted, I think, by no modern editor but Prof. Jebb. The vulgate is Hermann's δικάζει τ' ἄγαμον, which rids us indeed of the asyndeton, but defaces the metre in the process. I have little doubt that the truth has been recovered by Prof. Campbell, δικάζει τ' ἐν ἀγάμῳ γάμῳ (perhaps -οις -οις) πάλαι κτλ. With τ' ἐν once altered to τὸν, the other change would follow easily; and now the anomalies of diction and connexion disappear together. But even in its corrupt form, as I said above, the phrase was not a parallel to ἔργα δεδρακότα.

Now turning from the attempts to make τὰ ἔργα μου mean ἐγώ, I approach the attempts to make πεπονθότα μᾶλλον ἢ δεδρακότα mean ὑπενηνεγμένα (or πεπονθότος) μᾶλλον ἢ δεδραμένα (or δεδρακότος); and here again there is confusion to be dispelled. There exists in Greek, as in other languages, a catachresis of the participle which is well illustrated by El. 1231 γεγηθὸς ἔρπει δάκρυον ὀμμάτων ἄπο. The tear does not rejoice: the participle means not *rejoicing* but *belookening joy*: we render in English *a tear of joy*. In this modified sense participles signifying any mental state are placed in agreement with substantives signifying any outward sign of that mental state, oftenest with substantives meaning *words*: Phil. 1045 sq. βαρεῖαν ὁ ξένος φάτιν | τήνδ' εἰπ', Ὀδυσσεῦ, κοῦχ' ὑπέικουσαν κακοῖς *showing a spirit that does not yield*, O. C. 74 ὅσ' ἂν λέγωμεν, πᾶνθ' ὁρῶντα λίσσομεν *words of a seeing soul*, 1281 sq. ῥήματ' ἢ τέρψαντά τι | ἢ δυσχεράναντ' ἢ κατοικτίσαντά πως *evincing anger or pity*;<sup>1</sup> and finite verbs are also thus employed, as at Aesch. sept. 425 ὁ κόμπος δ' οὐ κατ' ἄνθρωπον φρονεῖ, Eur. Cycl. 58 sq. ποθοῦσί σ'

<sup>1</sup> I assume for the nonce, with most editors, what I think very doubtful, that these two verbs are not transitive.

ἀμερόκοιτοι βλαχαὶ σμικρῶν τεκέων. On this analogy ἔργα μαινόμενα would be Greek for *acts of a madman, acts bewraying madness*: thus we find ὄρμη and ἔριδι and ἐλπίδι μαινομένη. Whether ἔργα πεπονθότα will thus have anything fit to be called a meaning I hardly feel sure and do not stay to consider, because about ἔργα δεδρακότα at least there can be no mistake. δεδρακώς and participles of that signification are never thus used, because the occasion for such use can never arise; and if they were thus used they still could not be joined to ἔργα or substantives of that signification except to raise a laugh. γεγηθός δάκρυον justifies ἔργα μαινόμενα: it will be time to think of ἔργα δεδρακότα when they find us γεγηθῦα γηθοσύνη.

Mr. Blaydes quotes μαινομένοις ἄχεσιν from Ajax 957 ἢ ῥι κελαιῶπαν θυμὸν ἐφυβρίζει | πολύτλας ἀνὴρ, | γελᾷ δὲ τοῖς μαινομένοις ἄχεσιν | πολὺν γέλωτα. If this phrase were sound it would be extraordinary, although no parallel to ἔργα δεδρακότα: that wants μαινομέναις μανίαις. But turn to Mr. Blaydes' own edition of the Ajax and we find him writing 'The expression μαινομένοις ἄχεσιν has always seemed to me open to suspicion': 'mit Grund' says Nauck. I conceive there is a sense in which the words are Greek: the imaginary woes of a madman who fancies that he has committed the Unpardonable Sin, or that he is an hourglass which wants inverting because its sand has run through, are μαινόμενα ἄχη *woes arguing madness*. But the participle cannot signify, as the scholiast would have it and as the context requires, διὰ τὴν μανίαν συμβεβηκόσιν, the dishonor and death of Ajax brought to pass by his frenzy. Now, no editor reads this verse as it runs in the MSS, for it fails to answer the strophic 911 ἐγὼ δ' ὁ πάντα κωφὸς ὁ πάντ' ἄιδρις: they alter τοῖς either to τοῖσι, with Triclinius, or better, with Elmsley, to τοῖσδε. When a verse presents false metre and anomalous phrase together it appears to crave an emendation emending both, such as γελᾷ δὲ τοῖσδ' ἰαινόμενός γ' ἄχεσιν | πολὺν γέλωτα: γε marks the ascent from less to greater, as in Ar. ran. 562 ἔβλεψεν ἔς με δριμύ κάμυνκάτό γε, Soph. Phil. 1296, etc.: δ is early confused with λ, and λι later with μ: observe that Tecmessa replies 961 οἱ δ' οὖν γελώντων κάπι-χαίρόντων κακοῖς | τοῖς τοῦδ'. But take this conjecture or leave it, μαινομένοις ἄχεσιν falls short of ἔργα δεδρακότα.

They quote O. C. 239 sq. ἔργων ἀκόντων and 977 ἄκων πρᾶγμα where ἄκων has the sense *unintentional* which is commonly expressed by ἀκούσιος. But how naturally ἄκων assumes this meaning, if indeed it does not rather possess it by nature, may be

seen from the identical use of the corresponding words in Latin and English: Ovid ex Pont. II 1, 16 writes 'inuita saepe iuuamur ope' *a boon not meant for me*, and we talk of an unwitting injury or an unwilling consent. And still more striking in this connexion is the fact that just as Sophocles uses ἄκων for ἀκούσιος, so does he use ἐκούσιος conversely for ἐκών: Phil. 617 sq. οἷοιτο μὲν μάλισθ' ἐκούσιον λαβών, | εἰ μὴ θέλοι δ', ἄκοντα and Trach. 1123 οἷς θ' ἤμαρτεν οὐχ ἐκουσία. If, then, ἔργων ἀκόντων justified ἔργα δεδρακότα = ἔργα δεδραμένα, ἤμαρτεν οὐχ ἐκουσία would equally justify ὁ δρασθεῖς = ὁ δράσας; but, since the copyists do not happen to have soiled our texts with this solecism, it will not find defenders.

Then they quote τὸν εὖ πράττοντα τοῖχον from Ar. ran. 536 sq. μετακλίνδην αὐτὸν δεῖ | πρὸς τὸν εὖ πράττοντα τοῖχον *the prosperous side of the ship*, i. e. the side where the sailors are prosperous. Why this is cited, and why, if cited, it is cited alone out of the scores and hundreds of passages where the character of a place's tenants is given to the place, I will not try to divine. If this is a parallel, the literature teems with parallels: Eur. Alc. 566 sq. τὰ μὰ δ' οὐκ ἐπίσταται | μέλαθρ' ἀπωθεῖν οὐδ' ἀτιμάζειν ξένους, etc., etc.: any one who cared could fill a book with them. Sophocles himself has a very curious instance which I benevolently proffer to the editors, not indeed as apposite, but as less strangely inapposite than most of their citations: frag. 176 εὐναῖος εἴη δραπετὶν στέγην ἔχων *a runaway abode*, i. e. a hare's form. And finally they quote a phrase occurring in Libanius' declamation Φιλάργγρος ἀποκηρύττει, vol. IV, p. 626, 22, ed. Reiske, λαμβίνων, αἰτῶν, εἰσπράττων, ἀγείρων, πάντα εἰς τὴν κερδαίνουσαν πῆραν ὥθειν ἀξιῶν and explained by the Phrynichus Bekkeri anecd. Gr., vol. I, p. 39, 27 εἰς τὴν κερδαίνουσαν πάντα ὥθειν πῆραν· τὸ ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου κερδαίνειν σημαίνει. Because the pouch into which gains are put is called *the gain-getting pouch*, therefore *my deeds have suffered rather than acted* means . . . I discern no end to the sentence.

Behold the evidence on which contemporary commentators take τὰ ἔργα μου for ἐγώ and active participles for passive! More will be forthcoming, never fear, when the conservatives find the text assailed and fly to arms in its defence; and, of course, I can no more foresee their next array of parallels than I could have foreseen the medley which I have here been trying to sort for them. But there occurs now and again, both in Greek and in Latin, an idiom which will hardly escape their notice in the general ransack; and on this I will put in a word beforehand. It



is not frequent, and some apparent instances are, in my judgment, corrupt, as O. C. 658 and Ant. 1135; but here are two clear examples: Aesch. sept. 348 sqq. βλαχαὶ δ' αἱματοέσσαι τῶν ἐπιμαστιδίων ἀρτιτρεφεῖς βρέμονται, and Enn. ann. ap. Varr. ling. Lat. VII 104 'clamor ad caelum uoluendu per aethera uagit.' The βρόμος is not made by the βληχαί but it *is* the βληχαί, the 'uagitus' is not made by the 'clamor' but it *is* the 'clamor'; and yet the poets have written as we see. What hinders, then, that another poet should write ἔργα δεδρακότα, though the δράμα is not done by the ἔργα but *is* the ἔργα? Well, an answer which satisfies me is that the one phenomenon is exemplified and the other is not. But if you will have a reason, I suppose it is that voices are far more readily separable in conception from the speaker than are acts from the doer. The uttered sound flies away like a thing possessing a life and an initiative of its own, and so in these phrases it comes to be conceived as a cause, when in truth it is only an effect. Any one, I think, may convince himself by trial that *voice* calls up in his mind a more vivid and definite notion than *deed*; and however it may be with us, it certainly was thus with the ancients. Words in Homer are fledged with wings and break loose from the fence of the teeth, they leap on high in Aesch. cho. 846, they hover in a living swarm round the murderer at Soph. O. t. 482. Deeds are not found exhibiting these signs of independent vitality; and similarly, while cries are said to wail and wails to cry, deeds are not said to act.

One real parallel to δεδρακότα = δεδραμένα I know: Musgrave long ago quoted Apoll. Rhod. IV 156 ἀρκεύβοιο νέον τετμηότι θαλλῶ, whence it clearly appears that τετμηότι means τετμημένῳ in Apollonian, a picturesque dialect but depraved. The editors of Sophocles quote this no longer, considering, I suppose, that the fact, though interesting, is unimportant. We have not the means of tracing how the Alexandrians fell into all their blunders, but here one might guess that Apollonius misconstrued some passage in the elder literature where τετμηότα or τετμηκότα governed θαλλόν.

It is duly noted by Hermann, though recent editors do not repeat it, that our text is at least as old as the second century after Christ: Aristid. ὑπὲρ τῶν τεττάρων, vol. II, p. 231 Jebb, vol. II, p. 304 Dindorf, ἐκείνων μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἡμῶν αἵτιοι τὸ μέρος, τούτων δὲ οὐδὲ μικρόν· ἀλλὰ ταῦθ', ὡς ἔφη Σοφοκλῆς, ὅτι ἐστὶ μᾶλλον ἢ δεδρακότα. This piece of evidence <sup>†</sup> warns the emender to presume such a <sup>•</sup> the date of

Aristides. It is nothing strange that the text should already be corrupt in the sixth century after Sophocles' death: Didymus a hundred and fifty years earlier found v. 4 of the Antigone in its present condition. And it is nothing strange that Aristides should accept the active participles for passive without demur: Didymus interpreted *ἄτης ἄτερ* to signify *ἀτηρόν*; and Aristides' contemporaries habitually said *ἀνέωγεν ἡ θύρα* when they meant *ἀνέωκται*.

Before correcting the error I have one more point to urge. To grasp the full perversity of the phrase imputed to Sophocles you must remember that he more than once repeats this same idea; that to convey it he employs these same verbs or others of the same meaning; and that he employs them not as here, but correctly. In the immediate context comes 271 *παθὼν μὲν ἀντίδρων*, 274 *ἴφ' ὧν δ' ἐπασχον, εἰδότεων ἀπωλύμην*: then 538 sq. XO. *ἐπαθες* OI. *ἐπαθον ὡλαστ' ἔχειν*. | XO. *ἔρεξας* OI. *οὐκ ἔρεξα*, 962 sqq. *φόνους . . . καὶ γάμους καὶ συμφυράς . . . ἄς ἐγὼ τάλας | ἤνεγκον ἄκων*, 1196 *πατρῶα καὶ μητρῶα πῆμαθ' ἀπαθες*. Nay, more: the phrase itself is not new, not Sophocles' own. His words are borrowed from Eur. frag. 711 *παθόντες οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἢ δεδρακότες*, a verse already familiar, already mimicked by Aristophanes thesm. 518 sq. *κἄτ' Εὐριπίδῃ θυμούμεθα, | οὐδὲν παθοῦσαι μείζον ἢ δεδράκαμεν*. Was such jargon as *ἔργα πεπονθότα μᾶλλον ἢ δεδρακότα* the likelier to please the Attic audience when they recognized in it the words of a well-known verse suddenly instinct with unknown meanings?

I suppose Sophocles to have written

*ἐπεὶ τά γ' ἔργα με  
πεπονθότ' ἴσθι μᾶλλον ἢ δεδρακότα.*

*πεπονθότα* and *δεδρακότα* are acc. sing. masc. *ἴσθι με πεπονθότα μᾶλλον ἢ δεδρακότα* is the well-known emphatic periphrasis for *πέπονθα μᾶλλον ἢ δίδρακα*: *I tell you that as for my deeds, I did them not, but suffered them*. Lest it be thought that *ἴσθι* creates any difficulty in view of *εἰ σοι . . . χρῆν λέγειν*, let me remind the reader that vv. 266 sq., alike in the old reading and in mine, are not the apodosis to that protasis: the apodosis is not expressed at all, but understood, '*quod intellegeres, si . . . tibi exponere mihi liceret*,' Wunder: vv. 266 sq. are an independent statement and no part of a conditional sentence. ICΘI in uncials is hard to tell from TCΘI, which four letters are those of ECTI with the first and third transposed. This is a type of error which I have often illustrated but need not illustrate here, because it suffices to cite an inter-

change of the same two words from Eur. Bacch. 808 καὶ μὴν ξυνεθέμην τοῦτό γ', ἴσθι, τῷ θεῷ: ἴσθι Musgrave, ἔστι MS. Since the σοι of 268 stands nearer than the δέισαντες of 265, I prefer ἴσθι to ἴσσε.

Whether the conclusion to which I have been led will seem probable or improbable to others I cannot foresee; but this long disputation will have achieved its main purpose if it induces the editors to think.

357-360.

νῦν δ' αὖ τίς ἦκεις μῦθον, Ἰσμήνη, πατρὶ  
φέρουσα; τίς σ' ἐξήρην οἴκοθεν στόλος;  
ἦκεις γὰρ οὐ κενή γε, τοῦτ' ἐγὼ σαφῶς  
ἔξοιδα, μὴ οὐχὶ δεῖμ' ἐμοὶ φέρουσά τι.

This, too, I fear must be a long discussion, and through no fault of mine. The scholars whose names follow have earned a title to respect which is not forfeited even by such notes as they have written on this passage. But of the notes themselves it would be hard to speak too severely. They are vicious to a degree which well-nigh protects them from refutation. So intricate is the tangle of error that I scarce know where to begin the task of unravelling it and half despair of making all its convolutions clear: the spectacle of such confusion almost dizzies the brain. If the argument proves tedious, I ask the reader to lay the blame on the right shoulders and remember that making mistakes is much quicker and easier work than showing that mistakes have been made. The comments to be considered can have given little trouble to those who wrote them, but for that very reason they impose the more labor on him whose duty it is to examine them.

'The somewhat vague οὐ κενή γε,' says Schneidewin, 'is more closely defined by μὴ οὐχὶ δεῖμ' ἐμοὶ φέρουσά τι.' Here is a promising commencement. οὐ κενή means *bringing something*, and if it is 'more closely defined,' the words which define it are δεῖμ' ἐμοὶ φέρουσά τι *bringing some terror for me*; therefore the explanation comes to this, that the words μὴ οὐχὶ mean exactly nothing. But let us give our editor another chance and suppose him to have meant that κενή, not οὐ κενή, was defined by this clause. Then the οὐ of v. 359 is to be understood before μὴ οὐχὶ κατλ., and the sentence is ἦκεις οὐ κενή, τουτέστιν ἦκεις οὐ μὴ οὐχὶ δεῖμ' ἐμοὶ φέρουσά τι. When we have sufficiently admired this row of negatives (οὐ μὴ οὐχὶ φέρουσα = φέρουσα) we shall desire to learn what function μὴ

performs in a clause which defines an adjective not hypothetical in sense, *κενή*. Vain to ask of Schneidewin, for it never occurs to him that *μή* requires explanation: quite otherwise, he sets about explaining *οὐχί*, and this is how he does it: '*μή οὐχί*, since the sense is *non ades quin feras*. Compare note on El. 107.' Mark first that this commentator, who undertakes to explain v. 360, does not know the contents of v. 359: he fancies it contains words meaning *non ades*, when in fact it contains nothing of the sort, but, on the contrary, *ἦκεις οὐ κενή ades non sine nuntio*. Secondly, if the sense is *non ades quin feras*, the sense is nonsense, for those words are not Latin. To express the invariable concomitant of a recurring event, *you never come without bringing*, the Romans employ *quin* with the subjunctive, *numquam uenis quin feras*. The particular accompaniment of a single event, *you are not come without bringing*, they do not express thus, but regularly by a participial construction such as *non ades nullum adferens metum*. Would you learn why Schneidewin imports the Latin *quin* into the matter? turn, as he bids you, to his note on El. 107. El. 107 exhibits the construction of *μή οὐ* with the *infinitive*, *οὐ λήξω θρήνων μή οὐκ ἤχω προφωνεῖν*: *this* construction has its counterpart in a Latin use of *quin* with the subjunctive which he there illustrates from Sall. Cat. 53, 6 '*quos silentio praeterire non fuit consilium, quin utriusque naturam et mores aperirem*.' Therefore, when we encounter *ἦκεις οὐ κενή μή οὐ δέϊμα φέρουσα*, we are expected, so lightly are our wits esteemed, to accept *quin* here also as equivalent to *μή οὐ* and never to notice that *φέρουσα* is not *φέρειν*!

Wunder, too, avails himself of this serviceable *quin*: '*neque enim uacua huc uenisti, certo scio, quin aliquid terroris mihi afferas, id est, neque enim ad me uenisti, quin aliquid afferas, quod quidem, ut fert fortuna mea, non potest non esse aliquid terribile*.' First he translates as if the Greek were *ἦκεις οὐ κενή μή οὐχί δέϊμ' ἐμοὶ φέρειν τι*. Then, *quin* having served its turn by lulling to sleep our suspicions of *μή οὐχί*, he proceeds with '*id est*' to offer us, as if identical, a paraphrase in which '*neque enim ad me uenisti, quin aliquid afferas*' translates (into ungrammatical Latin, but no matter) the Greek *ἦκεις οὐ κενή*, and not *μή οὐχί* at all. The note ends with a reference to O. t. 12 sq. *δυσάλγητος δὲν εἶην μή οὐ κατοικτίρων*, where *μή*, as usual, is conditional, and the only matter calling for any comment is the unnecessary *οὐ*: a reference, it will be observed, not only irrelevant to our text, but also incongruous with the pretence at explanation which we have just perused.

Prof. Jebb begins by saying that 'μή οὐχὶ . . . φέρουσα explains the special sense of κενή. You have not come empty-handed, i. e. *without bringing* some terror for me': it will be seen that this is what Schneidewin probably intended, ἤκεις οὐ κενή, τουτέστιν οὐ μὴ οὐχὶ φέρουσα. But Mr. Jebb goes on to do what Schneidewin left undone and to essay an explanation of μή. 'μή οὐ properly stands with a partic. in a negative statement only when μή could stand with it in the corresponding affirmative statement: thus (a) affirmative: βραδὺς ἔρχει μὴ φέρων, you (always) come slowly, *if* you are not bringing; (b) negative: οὐ βραδὺς ἔρχει, μὴ οὐ φέρων, you never come slowly, *unless* you are bringing. Here μὴ οὐ is irregular, because the affirmative form would be ἤκεις οὐ (not μὴ) φέρουσα, a simple statement of fact: and so the negative should be οὐχ ἤκεις οὐ φέρουσα.' Here is another editor who has forgotten v. 359 by the time he comes to v. 360. There is no οὐχ ἤκεις: the affirmative form would not be ἤκεις. What we have is ἤκεις οὐ κενή: the affirmative form would be ἤκεις κενή. But commentators engaged on v. 360 descry v. 359 half lost in the distance, indistinctly perceive an οὐ there, and imagine that it qualifies ἤκεις. If we correct this oversight, Mr. Jebb's remarks will look very strange, for they will run as follows: 'Here μὴ οὐ is irregular, because the affirmative form would be ἤκεις κενή, οὐ (not μὴ) φέρουσα, a simple statement of fact; and so the negative should be ἤκεις οὐ κενή, οὐ φέρουσα.' The negative, of course, should be ἤκεις οὐ κενή, φέρουσα. However, let us push forward: Mr. Jebb is about to account for μὴ. 'But *bringing bad news* is felt here as a *condition* of her coming. Hence μὴ οὐ is used as if the sentence were *formally* conditional: οὐκ ἂν ἦλθες μὴ οὐ φέρουσα.' I ask whether this statement of cause and effect really depicts any process which ever took place in the mind of man. I for my part have no experience of the perturbation of thought in which such things are possible, and I will not thus lightly impute it to my betters. You are come, and I feel *bringing bad news* to be a condition of your coming: well, I have no difficulty whatever in expressing that feeling: I can say 'you are come, so I know you bring bad news': nay, it would suffice to say 'you are come bringing bad news,' ἤκεις φέρουσα δεῖμα or ἤκεις οὐ κενή ἀλλὰ φέρουσα δεῖμα. It needs more proof, though no more is supplied, than the mere word of a modern editor, to assure us that Sophocles, because he felt bringing bad news as a condition of Ismene's coming, therefore employed language which conveys *with* perfect clearness not this sense but another.

For, to crown everything, the task before the editors is not merely to invest the sentence with meanings which it has not, but to divest it of a meaning which it has. *ἦκεις οὐ κενὴ μὴ οὐχὶ δεῖμ'* *ἐμοὶ φέρουσά τι* is Greek for 'you are not come empty-handed unless you bring some terror for me,' i. e. 'you bring some news unless you bring bad news, in which case you bring no news': utter nonsense, true, but that is what the words mean; and it is useless to yearn that they would mean something else or to make believe that they do.

I have endeavored to display the editorial comments in their true futility, and it now remains to try if the passage whose corruption provoked them can be amended. Grammarians will hardly smile on an attempt to rob them of a bone which they have long mumbled in the past and doubtless hope to mumble in the future; but this is what I propose:

*ἦκεις γὰρ οὐ κενὴ γε, τοῦτ' ἐγὼ σαφῶς  
ἔξοιδα· μὴ πού δεῖμ' ἐμοὶ φέρουσά τι;*

*num forte . . . ?* Η and Π are easily and early confused, and the absorption of this in that leaves οὐ for the next scribe to alter to οὐχί. The verb *ἦκεις* is mentally supplied from above as at Trach. 316 *μὴ τῶν τυράννων*;

478-481.

ΟΙ. *ἦ τοῖσδε κρωσσοῖς οἷς λέγεις χέω τάδε;*  
ΧΟ. *τρισσοῖς γε πηγῷ· τὸν τελευταῖον δ' ὄλον*  
ΟΙ. *τοῦ τόνδε πλήσας θῶ; δίδασκε καὶ τόδε.*  
ΧΟ. *ὑδατος, μελίσσης· μηδὲ προσφέρειν μέθυ.*

'θῶ,' writes Prof. Jebb on v. 480, 'has raised needless doubts. The operator is to fetch water from the spring in the grove (469), fill the bowls which he will find ready, and *place* them in a convenient position for the rite.' If the text of Sophocles really contained this direction to the operator, which Mr. Jebb emphasizes with italics, to place the bowls in a convenient position, or any direction to place them in any position, our doubts would indeed be needless. But our doubts spring from the fact that the text of Sophocles contains not a syllable of the sort. In the whole context the sole allusion to the placing of the bowls is this disputed *θῶ*, which, since it proceeds from the lips of the operator himself, cannot possibly form part of any directions as to what the operator is to do. We have been listeners to the entire colloquy between Oedipus and his instructors; nothing has reached his ears which

has escaped ours; and neither he nor we have heard a word about placing the bowls. Mr. Jebb, from information privately received, knows that 'the operator is to place them in a convenient position for the rite'; but Oedipus does not. Why, then, instead of inquiring 'wherewith shall I fill it,' does he say 'wherewith shall I fill it ere I set it down'? for the matter now in hand is not setting down but pouring out. This is the question we ask ourselves and cannot answer, and therefore resort to conjectural emendation, Meineke proposing πλήρη θῶ and Wecklein, less appropriately, πλήσας φθῶ. I prefer a slighter alteration than either, merely to cancel θ as a dittography of C:

τοῦ τόνδε πλήσας ὦ; δίδασκε καὶ τόδε.

See Ant. 1067 ἀντιδούς ἔσει, O. t. 90 προδείσας εἰμί, II46 σιωπήσας ἔσει.

I will seize this opportunity of restoring a similar periphrasis to the defective verse Aesch. cho. 124:

κῆρυξ μέγιστε τῶν ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω,  
 Ἑρμῇ χθόνιε, κηρύξας ἐμοί, 124  
 τοὺς γῆς ἔνερθε δαίμονας κλύειν ἐμὰς  
 εὐχάς.

The metre lacks a foot and a half, the sense requires an optative or imperative verb. Most editors place the gap at the beginning of the line, and prefix Klausen's ἄρηξον or the like. But the words Ἑρμῇ χθόνιε occur again in this play at v. 1, and they commence that verse; hence a slight presumption that they commence this verse too, and that Canter rightly marked the hiatus after χθόνιε. I propose to write

Ἑρμῇ χθόνιε, <γένοιο> κηρύξας ἐμοί.

The loss of γένοιο after χθόνιε, from which it hardly differs except in the position of ν, was very easy: for the locution compare Phryn. trag. frag. 20 μή μ' ἀτιμάσας γένη, Soph. O. t. 957 αὐτός μοι σὺ σημήνας γενοῦ, Ajax 588, Phil. 773. The conjecture is confirmed by the opening of the play, Ἑρμῇ χθόνιε . . . σωτήρ γενοῦ μοι: with κῆρυξ . . . γένοιο κηρύξας ἐμοί compare sept. 145 Λύκει' ἄναξ, Λύκειος γενοῦ στρατῶ δαίψ.

515, 516.

μὴ πρὸς ξενίας ἀνοιξῆς  
 τὰς σὰς πέπονθ' ἔργ' ἀναιδῆ.

Bothe's generally accepted restoration of the metre by altering πέπονθ' to the vocative πέπον is very properly scouted by Hermann

and Jebb: the latter excellently observes on this word, which never once occurs in tragedy, that it 'always marks familiarity: there is a touch of household intimacy in it, as when Polyphemus says to his ram, *κρί πέπον* (Od. 9. 447).' The rival amendment is Reisig's *ἀ πέπονθ' ἀναιδῇ*, and I do not doubt that his addition of *ἀ* is a true correction. But there are now two difficulties. The first, common to both readings but worse in this, is the word *ἀναιδῇ*, which Prof. Jebb quite mistranslates in 'bare not the *shame* that I have suffered.' *ἀναιδῆς* means not *shameful* but *shameless*, and the translation accordingly ought to be 'bare not the *shamelessness* that I have suffered.' *ἔργ' ἀναιδῇ* *shameless deeds* are words, as Nauck remarks, unsuitable to the ignorant acts of Oedipus, which were *ἀνόσια*, if you will, but not *ἀναιδῇ*. But when *ἔργα* disappears and leaves *ἀ πέπονθ' ἀναιδῇ*, this is too preposterous, that he should describe his parricide and incest as *shameless treatment* which he has received: who treated him shamelessly, and how? The second difficulty is peculiar to Reisig's reading: it is the difficulty, or rather impossibility, of explaining how *ἔργ'* found its way into the text. Mr. Jebb's account is not plausible: '*ἔργ'* was inserted in the MSS to explain that *ἀναιδῇ* referred to his own acts.' Scribes are not wont to be thus solicitous, and the insertion of *ἔργ'* does not effect its supposed purpose.

*ἔργ' ἀναιδῇ* comes from this:

ε ρ γ  
αναιδη

ε ρ γ are the letters required for correcting *ἀναιδῇ* to the word from which it was corrupted by the three errors α for ε, ι for ρ, and δ for γ, the first not uncommon and the other two very easy in uncials.

μὴ πρὸς ξενίας ἀνοιξῆς  
τὰς σᾶς, ἀ πέπονθ', ἐναργῇ.

The adjective is part of the predicate: *lay not bare to the light the things I have endured.*

527, 528.

ἢ μητρόθεν, ὡς ἀκούω,  
δυσώνυμα λέκτρ' ἐπλήσω;

I think *ἐπλήσω* grotesque and Nauck's *ἐπίσω* certain; but the two readings have the same general sense, and that sense I assert to be this: *didst thou, as I hear, marry thy sister?* Oedipus did not marry his sister, nor could any such report have reached



Colonus; the world rang with the true tale that he had married his mother. But to woo this meaning from the text the commentators exert themselves in vain. 'ματρόθεν is substituted for ματρός,' says Prof. Jebb, 'by a kind of euphemism: that was the quarter from which the bride was taken.' Renuit negitatque Sabellus. Iocasta, I submit, was not the quarter from which Iocasta was taken. Nor can I imagine with what aim Mr. Jebb proceeds 'cp. Aesch. *Theb.* 840 οὐδ' ἀπέειπεν | πατρόθεν εὐκταία φάτις (the curse of Oed. on his children).'

You may obtain the true sense by altering μητρόθεν to ματέρος with Nauck, or λέκτρ' to τέκν' with Gleditsch, or by writing with me

ἡ πατρόθεν, ὡς ἀκούω,  
δυσώνυμα λέκτρ' ἐπάσω;

i. e. didst thou wed thy father's widow? a euphemism which would be much praised if it stood in the MSS. This is the change of one letter, προθεν for μοθεν; and at Ant. 980 the Laurentian has πατρός for ματρός. There was here much temptation to the error, for the scribe's mind would be running on Oedipus' mother, and it might well escape him, as it has escaped a long series of editors, that by importing the name he expelled the person.

720, 721.

ὦ πλείστ' ἐπαίνους εὐλογούμενον πέδον,  
νῦν σοὶ τὰ λαμπρὰ ταῦτα δὴ φαίνειν ἔπη.

The above is the Laurentian text and cannot be construed: later MSS write δεῖ for δὴ and so obtain a construction of doubtful Atticism: the most of recent editors retain δὴ and change σοὶ to σὸν, which is Nauck's conjecture, or rather the half of Nauck's conjecture. Both alterations are ineffectual, because φαίνειν does not mean what it is wanted to mean. The real signification of φαίνειν ἔπη is easy to know, for the phrase is twice, if not thrice, elsewhere employed by Sophocles: Ant. 621 κλεινὸν ἔπος πέφαιται, O. t. 525 τοῦπος δ' (τοῦ πρόσδ' L) ἐφάνθη, 848 ὡς φανέν γε τοῦπος ὧδ' ἐπίστασο; it means to *utter* a saying. But the λαμπρὰ ἔπη, the praises of Athens, are already uttered: the question is, will they be made good. Accordingly, the editors for the most part explain φαίνειν as *rata facere*, and refer with Hermann to Trach. 239 εὐκταία φαίνων, where, however, φαίνων, as in Hom. ο 26, is simply πορσύνων and the phrase signifies *making votive oblation*.

Prof. Jebb, on the other hand, refusing to confer a new meaning on φαίνειν, bestows one instead on λαμπρὰ ἔπη: 'φαίνειν τὰ λαμπρὰ ἔπη = φαίνειν τὰς ἀρετὰς δι' ἃς ἐπαινεῖσθε': but in lieu of essaying to prove this equation, he quotes a parallel to the phrase φαίνειν ἀρετὰς, which is hardly what we ask for.

If we accept the whole of Nauck's conjecture, νῦν σὸν τὰ λαμπρὰ ταῦτα δὴ κραίνειν ἔπη, sense is restored; but the following comes a trifle nearer the text:

νῦν σ' ὀρθὰ λαμπρὰ ταῦτα δεῖ φαίνειν ἔπη.

*now it behooves thee to show that this praise is true.* For φαίνειν ὀρθὰ see O. t. 852 sq. οὔτοι ποτ', ὦναξ, τὸν γε Λαῖου φόνον | φανεί δικαίως ὀρθόν; for ὀρθὰ ἔπη, Ant. 1178 ὦ μάντι, τοῦπος ὡς ἄρ' ὀρθὸν ἤνυσας. Often in uncials the curved line of P bears much the same proportion to the upright stroke as the volute of an Ionic capital to the column which supports it, and it needs care to distinguish the letter from l: the change of θ to τ I should guess to be intentional, though it sometimes happens by accident.

755-760.

ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν τὰμφανῇ κρύπτειν, σύ νιν  
πρὸς θεῶν πατρώων, Οἰδίπους, πεισθεῖς ἐμοὶ  
κρύψον, θελήσας ἄστυ καὶ δόμους μολεῖν  
τοὺς σοὺς πατρώους, τήνδε τὴν πόλιν φίλως  
εἰπὼν· ἐπαξία γάρ· ἡ δ' οἴκοι πλέον.  
[δίκη σέβοιτ' ἄν, οὔσα σὴ πάλαι τροφός.]

755

760

Strike out v. 760. I do not insist on the fact that Corinth, and not Thebes, was properly the τροφός of Oedipus: it is enough to note the grammatical blunder of σέβοιτο in a passive sense and the obviousness of the interpolator's motive. The sentence ἡ δ' οἴκοι πλέον looked incomplete at a first glance, though the defect is apparent only: the sense is 'speak Athens fair, for she deserves it; but Thebes deserves it more.' φίλως εἰπὼν, like χαῖρε itself, is applicable equally to the courtesies of farewell and of greeting: Athens is worthy that Oedipus should speak her friendly at parting, Thebes still more worthy that he should greet her fair at his return. The meaning is not obscure, but it asked more thought than a scribe is commonly willing to expend. As for v. 759, it will be retained unaltered by those who can stomach the phrase ἡ οἴκοι πόλις; others may write ἐκεῖ with Wecklein; others

again may prefer a slighter change which the deletion of v. 760 renders possible, οἱ δ' οἴκοι πλείον.

## 811-815.

- ΟΙ. ἀπελθ', ἐρῶ γὰρ καὶ πρὸ τῶνδε, μηδέ με  
φύλασσε' ἐφορμῶν ἔνθα χρή ναίειν ἐμέ.  
ΚΡ. μαρτύρομαι τούσδ', οὐ σέ· πρὸς δὲ τοὺς φίλους  
οἷ' ἀνταμείβει ῥήματ', ἦν σ' ἔλω ποτέ,—  
ΟΙ. τίς δ' ἄν με τῶνδε συμμάχων ἔλοι βίη;

The traditional interpretation of 813 sq., which descends to us from Musgrave and Brunck, I present in Prof. Jebb's words: 'These men—not thee—call I to witness; but, as for the strain of thine answer to thy kindred, if ever I take thee——'. But hardly an editor outside England has let this go by without signifying incredulity. Whether such an aposiopesis be tolerable is a question rather for the taste than for the reason, so I set that aside. But, to begin with, I must ask what in the world it is that Creon calls the men of Colonus to witness, for not a suggestion does the context afford. 'Nempe iniuria se affici' interpolates Hermann: so be it; treat Sophocles like an infant learning to talk, and put into his mouth the words he cannot find for himself; but now δέ, as Nauck remarks, 'stört den Zusammenhang' by promising a transition to a fresh subject, instead of which we find only the same thing in another form, 'but as for your language to me.' But these are small matters beside the bewildering absurdity of μαρτύρομαι τούσδ', οὐ σέ. 'οὐ σέ ist sinnlos: denn unmöglich kann Oid. selbst zum Zeugen seiner Ungerechtigkeit genommen werden,' Nauck. Had Oedipus even hinted that Creon was calling him to witness anything at all? Is it in the category of imaginable things that when you are quarrelling with a man you should call that man himself to witness how he is behaving? Does there exist a notion to which such words correspond? my mind frames none.

I would emend the verses thus;

μαρτύρομαί σου τούσδε προσθέτους φίλους .  
οἷ' ἀνταμείβει ῥήματ', ἦν σ' ἔλω ποτέ.

*I take these new allies of yours to witness how you answer me, in case I ever lay hands on you: that my conduct may be justified. If the sentence were οἷδε μάρτυρες ἔστων οἷ' ἀνταμείβει ῥήματ', ἦν σ' ἔλω*

ποτέ it would be exactly parallel to Hom. A 338 sqq. τὰ δ' αὐτὰ μάρτυρες ἔστων | πρὸς τε θεῶν μακάρων πρὸς τε θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων | καὶ πρὸς τοῦ βασιλῆος ἀπηνέος, εἴ ποτε δὴ<sup>1</sup> αὐτε | χρεῖω ἐμείο γένηται δεικέα λοιγὸν ἀμύναι | τοῖς ἄλλοις. The difference is that in our passage the apodosis is not set out in words, but only suggests itself to the mind as a sequel of μαρτύρομαι, as thus: μαρτύρομαι τούσδε <ἵνα μάρτυρες ὦσιν> ἦν σ' ἔλω ποτέ. Such suppression of an apodosis is common enough: see, for instance, Thuc. III 21 εἶχε μὲν (τὸ τεῖχος) δύο τοὺς περιβόλους, πρὸς τε Πλαταιῶν καὶ εἴ τις ἔξωθεν ἀπ' Ἀθηνῶν ἐπίοι 'the circumvallation consisted of two lines, one towards the besieged, the other *for protection* in case of any attack on the outside from Athens.' The sense of the adjective in πρόσθετος φίλος answers to the verbal προστίθεμαι φίλον: Her. I 69 τὸν Ἑλλήνα φίλον προσθέσθαι, and compare too v. 1332 of this play, οἷς ἂν σὺ προσθῇ, τοῖσδ' ἔφασκ' εἶναι κράτος: there is allusion to the words of Oedipus just above, 811 ἐρῶ γὰρ καὶ πρὸ τῶνδε; and he has τῶνδε συμμάχων in his reply 815. I do not know that πρόσθετος is thus employed elsewhere, and Sophocles may have been the first or even the only writer to use it so; but the use itself is no less legitimate than his employment, perhaps also for the first time, of the cognate προσθήκη in the same sense at O. t. 38 προσθήκη θεοῦ, schol. συμβουλῇ, ἐπικουρίᾳ. δ for θ is not one of the commonest errors, but neither is it uncommon: for the rest, σου τούσδε and τούσδ' οὐ σέ are the same letters: I shall guess that their transposition arose from the false division σ' οὐ τούσδε.

## 887-890.

τίς ποθ' ἢ βοή; τί τοῦργον; ἐκ τίνος φόβου ποτὲ  
 βουθυτοῦντά μ' ἀμφὶ βωμόν ἔσχετ' ἐναλίῳ θεῷ  
 τοῦδ' ἐπιστάτῃ Κολωνοῦ; λέξαθ', ὡς εἰδῶ τὸ πᾶν  
 οὐ χάριν δεῦρ' ἦξα θᾶσσον ἢ καθ' ἡδονὴν ποδοῦς.

For the ποδοῦς of 890 Nauck would substitute ἐμοί or else expel the verse. The addition of a genitive to the adverbial phrases καθ' ἡδονήν and πρὸς ἡδονήν is, to say the least, not customary, and this particular genitive is altogether inappropriate. Running does not tire the foot: it tires first the lungs, then the thighs and the arms; but a man may run till he drops and never feel the least distress in his feet. Walking exerts the muscles of the feet

<sup>1</sup> ἐγὼ Bekker, La Roche, Ameis, Rzach, Monro, Leaf, δ' MSS.

more than running, and even in walking one must go many miles to be footsore; but Theseus has never been out of earshot. I think we have here an example of that confusion between *a* and *os* which Porson illustrates at Eur. Hec. 782, and I would alter *ποδός* to *πόδα*. For *ἄσσω* with an accusative see Porson on Eur. Or. 1427, where he quotes Soph. Ajax 40 *ἦξεν χέρα*, Eur. Hec. 1071 *πόδ' ἐπῆξας*, and the phrases *βαίνω*, *προβαίνω* and *ἐμβαίνω πόδα*, as well as the passive *ἄσσεται* in v. 1261 of this play. This reading, and not the vulgate, is correctly rendered by Prof. Jebb's translation 'since therefore have I sped hither with more than easeful speed of foot.'

978-981.

μητρὸς δὲ τλήμων οὐκ ἐπαισχύνει γάμους  
 οὔσης ὁμαίμου σῆς μ' ἀναγκάζων λέγειν  
 οἴους ἐρῶ τάχ'· οὐ γὰρ οὖν σιγήσομαι  
 σοῦ γ' εἰς τόδ' ἐξελθόντος ἀνόσιον στόμα.

'εἰς τόδ' ἐξελθ. ἀνόσιον στόμα, having gone to such lengths of impious speech . . . ἀνόσιον στόμα agrees with τόδ', depending on εἰς. Since στόμα was familiar to poetry in the sense of λόγος (cp. O. T. 426), this version is clearly preferable to taking εἰς τόδ' separately and ἀνόσιον as accus. of respect,' Jebb. Preferable, perhaps, but it is a choice of evils. I demur to the statement that στόμα was familiar to poetry in the sense of λόγος, and there is not the least excuse for interpreting it so in the passage to which Prof. Jebb refers, O. t. 426 sq. *πρὸς ταῦτα καὶ Κρέοντα καὶ τοῦμόν στόμα | προσηλάκιζε*: 'os suum uates contumeliae haberi indignatur,' says Ellendt. Liddell and Scott, to be sure, quote, after Stephanus, several examples, but they are all from Sophocles and all false: most of them are correctly explained by Ellendt, so I notice only one or two. In O. t. 671 sq. *τὸ γὰρ σὸν, οὐ τὸ τοῦδ', ἐποικτίρω στόμα | εἰλεόν* *thy lips are piteous and move compassion in me, not his*, of course *speech* would come to the same thing as *lips*, but Ellendt has no more cause for translating στόμα by *loquella* in that place than in O. t. 426, 706, O. C. 603, Ant. 997, where he rightly resists this rendering. The fragment 844, adduced as parallel also in the Schneidewin-Nauck edition, *κλείπτων δ' ὅταν τις ἐμφανῶς ἐφευρεθῇ | σιγᾶν ἀνάγκη, κἂν καλὸν φορῇ στόμα*, means 'even though he carry a specious tongue in his head.' In O. C. 131 sqq. *τὸ τᾶς εὐφάμου στόμα φροντίδος ἰέντες*, whatever view you take of it, the interpretation which I am combating is quite impossible.

'στόμα *ιέναι* pro *φωνήν ιέναι* dicitur,' says Wunder; and the required meaning is *οὐχ ιέντες φωνήν*! Mr. Jebb, with more regard for the sense but some violence to the Greek, renders 'moving the lips': I agree with Nauck that *ιέντες* is corrupt and a word of opposite meaning wanted in its place, say *πρίοντες*: frag. 811 *δάφνην φαγών ὀδόντι πρίε τὸ στόμα*. But to come back to v. 981: the interpretation *λόγον* is not more precarious than gratuitous.

*οὐ γὰρ οὖν σιγήσομαι  
σοῦ γ' εἰς τόδ' ἐξελθόντος, ἀνόσιον στόμα.*

*ἀνόσιον στόμα* is vocative, *O impius tongue*. *στόμα* is naturally preferred to *κάρα* or *λήμα* or the like, because it was in speech that the *ἀνοσιότης* of Creon displayed itself: just so at 794 we had *τὸ σὸν δ' ἀφίκεται δεῦρ' ὑπόβλητον στόμα*.

## 1016-1038.

- ΘΗ. *ἄλλis λόγων' ὥς οἱ μὲν ἐξεργασμένοι  
σπεύδουσιν, ἡμεῖς δ' οἱ παθόντες ἔσταμεν.*
- ΚΡ. *τί δῆτ' ἀμαυρῶ φωτὶ προστάσσεις ποεῖν;*
- ΘΗ. *ὁδοῦ κατάρχειν τῆς ἐκεῖ, πομπὴν δ' ἐμὲ  
χωρεῖν, ἵν', εἰ μὲν ἐν τόποισι τοῖσδ' ἔχεις 1020  
τὰς παῖδας ἡμῶν, αὐτὸς ἐκδείξῃς ἐμοί·  
εἰ δ' ἐγκρατεῖς φεύγουσιν, οὐδὲν δεῖ ποεῖν·  
ἄλλοι γὰρ οἱ σπεύδοντες, οὓς οὐ μὴ ποτε  
χώρας φυγόντες τῆσδ' ἐπέυξωνται θεοῖς.  
ἀλλ' ἐξυφηγοῦ· γινῶθι δ' ὥς ἔχων ἔχει 1025  
καί σ' εἴλε θηρῶνθ' ἡ τύχη· τὰ γὰρ δόλω  
τῷ μὴ δικαίῳ κτήματ' οὐχὶ σφύζεται.  
κοῦκ ἄλλον ἔξεις εἰς τόδ'· ὥς ἔξοιδά σε  
οὐ ψιλὸν οὐδ' ἄσκειον ἐς τοσὴνδ' ὕβριν  
ἦκοντα τόλμης τῆς παρεστῶσης τανῦν, 1030  
ἀλλ' ἔσθ' ὅτῳ σὺ πιστὸς ὢν ἔδρας τάδε.  
ἀ δεῖ μ' ἀθρῆσαι, μηδὲ τήνδε τὴν πόλιν  
ἐνὸς ποῆσαι φωτὸς ἀσθενεστέραν.  
νοεῖς τι τούτων, ἢ μάτην τὰ νῦν τέ σοι  
δοκεῖ λελέχθαι χῶτε ταῦτ' ἐμηχανῶ; 1035*
- ΚΡ. *οὐδὲν σὺν μεμπτὸν ἐνθάδ' ὢν ἐρεῖς ἐμοί·  
οἴκοι δὲ χῆμεις εἰσόμεσθ' ἃ χρὴ ποεῖν.*
- ΘΗ. *χωρῶν ἀπέλπει νυν.*

What meaning have the words in v. 1028, *κοῦκ ἄλλον ἔξεις εἰς τόδ' (al. rād')?* 'Recte Dindorfius,' says Wunder, 'neque quicquam

tibi proderunt, quos tecum adduxisti. Tum ἐς τὰδε ἐστὶ ἐς τὸ τὰ δόλω τῷ μὴ δικαίῳ κτήματα σφῆξασθαι.' These are two eminent scholars, but no number of scholars, whatever their eminence, can bring it to pass that *thou shalt have none other for this purpose* should mean the same thing as *those whom thou hast brought shall avail thee nothing*. Schneidewin and Jebb translate the Greek correctly, though they are obliged to eke it out with supplements of their own; '*auch wirst du nicht einen andern als Beistand haben für diesen Zweck* (das σφῆξαι κτήματα, die Behaltung der Mädchen in Gewalt),' Schneidewin; 'and you will not have another (to aid you) with a view to this (i. e. to the removal of the captives),' Jebb. But the words are false. Creon did have others to aid him. He had his guards, in whose custody the captives at that instant were, and who afterwards fought a pitched battle for him during the performance of the next stasimon. Now we see what forced Dindorf and Wunder to their mistranslation: the sentence gives no right sense unless it is mistranslated. Nor does Prof. Jebb render it any the more endurable by pointing out, what is indisputably true, that in the following verses down to 1033 Theseus declares his suspicion that Creon has an accomplice<sup>1</sup> at Athens. If the words 'you will not have another (to aid you) with a view to this' are to mean, as Mr. Jebb apparently desires, that Creon will not have the aid of this Athenian accomplice, they must be further eked out by a second parenthesis such as '(except your guards).' And, now that the sense has been thus augmented by the eleemosynary contributions of the charitable, what triviality is this, to tell Creon that in his attempt at 'the removal of the captives' or 'die Behaltung der Mädchen in Gewalt,' he will not have the aid of this one additional friend. He has his guards: one man more or less will not affect the issue. I do not wonder, then, that Nauck should say 'κούκ ἄλλον uerba corrupta,' though we shall presently find that the fault is not in κούκ ἄλλον.

Six lines more and I am arrested again. You have an abettor in Athens, says Theseus: this I must look to, and not let a single

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Jebb says *accomplices*; but though the singular number ἐσθ' ὅτι cannot be pressed, the ἐνὺς φωτός of 1033 shows that Theseus contemplates the existence of a single accomplice only. Let it be remarked that ἐνὺς φωτός must mean *one private Athenian citizen* and cannot signify Creon, or it constitutes no antithesis to πόλιν. The worsting of Athens by Creon (or of Thebes by Theseus) is not the worsting of a city by one man, but of one city by another city. Theseus says that he cannot suffer the public will to be thwarted by a private counterplot.

traitor defeat the common will: νοεῖς τι τούτων *do you recognize this?* Recognize it! what does it, what can it matter, whether Creon recognizes or fails to recognize that Theseus must take these steps? Mr. Jebb wrongly translates 'dost thou take my drift': the meaning of νοεῖς is fixed by the alternative ἢ μάτην . . . δοκεῖ λελέχθαι: it signifies *perceive, recognize as true*. And what is there is common between this alleged necessity for investigations at Athens and τὰ τότε λεχθέντα ὅτε ταῦτα ἐμνηχανῶ 'the remonstrances and menaces of the Chorus, 829 ff.' (Jebb), that Theseus proceeds 'or do you think my views on domestic polity as empty as you thought the remonstrances addressed to you when you were carrying off the girls?' No; the question νοεῖς τι τούτων can only follow on the utterance of some ethical proposition bearing on Creon's act; such, for instance, as τὰ δόλφ τῷ μὴ δικάϊφ κτήματ' οὐχὶ σφίζεται.

And so it did. Since neither νοεῖς τι τούτων nor κοῦκ ἄλλον ἔξεις εἰς τόδ' is permitted to yield sense by the context in which it stands, I propose to find a new context for each by transposing the six verses 1028–1033 from their present seat to another.

ΚΡ.	τί δῆτ' ἀμαυρῶ φωτὶ προστάσσεις ποεῖν;	
ΘΗ.	ὁδοῦ κατάρχειν τῆς ἐκεῖ. πομπὸν δ' ἐμέ	1019
	κοῦκ ἄλλον ἔξεις εἰς τόδ'· ὥς ἔξειδά σε	1028
	οὐ ψιλὸν οὐδ' ἄσκευον ἐς τοσσηνδ' ὕβριν	
	ἥκοντα τύλμης τῆς παρεστώσης τανῦν,	
	ἀλλ' ἔσθ' ὅτφ σὺ πιστὸς ὦν ἔδρας τάδε.	
	ἂ δεῖ μ' ἀθρῆσαι, μηδὲ τήνδε τὴν πόλιν	
	ἐνὸς ποῆσαι φωτὸς ἀσθνεστέραν.	1033
	χωρεῖν, ἴν', εἰ μὲν ἐν τόποισι τοῖσδ' ἔχεις	1020
	τὰς παῖδας ἡμῖν, αὐτὸς ἐκδείξης ἐμοί·	
	εἰ δ' ἐγκρατεῖς φεύγουσιν, οὐδὲν δεῖ πονεῖν·	
	ἄλλοι γὰρ οἱ σπεύδοντες, οὓς οὐ μὴ ποτε	
	χώρας φυγόντες τῆσδ' ἐπεύξωνται θεοῖς.	
	ἀλλ' ἐξυφηγοῦ· γνῶθι δ' ὥς ἔχων ἔχει	
	καί σ' εἴλε θηρῶνθ' ἡ τύχη· τὰ γὰρ δόλφ	
	τῷ μὴ δικάϊφ κτήματ' οὐχὶ σφίζεται.	1027
	νοεῖς τι τούτων, ἢ μάτην τὰ νῦν τέ σοι	1034
	δοκεῖ λελέχθαι χῶτε ταῦτ' ἐμνηχανῶ;	

'What do you bid a helpless man to do?' 'To lead the way yonder. And to escort you on your road you shall have me and no one else: no one else, I say, for sure I am that there was some



one here on whom you counted when you went to these lengths.' Instead of the Athenian accomplice whom Creon might expect to conduct him through Athenian territory, he shall have only Theseus for his escort. Then *χωρεῖν* in 1020 is infinitive for imperative; so 481 *προσφέρειν*, 484 *ἐπεύχεσθαι*, 490 *ἀφέρειν*, Ant. 151 *θίσθαι*, 1143 *μολεῖν*, O. t. 462 (El. 9, Phil. 1411) *φάσκειν*, 1466 *μέλεισθαι*, Phil. 57 *λέγειν*, 1080 *ὀρμάσθαι*. Lastly, at 1034 the words *νοεῖς τι τούτων* 'dost thou apprehend this truth?' come just where they should. I declare, when I look at the new face this speech has now put on, I can hardly refrain from unbecoming exclamations of delight. The transposition adopted is not the only way to achieve the prime end of bringing 1028 into juxtaposition with 1019, and 1034 with 1027: the verses might be arranged 1018, 1020-1024, 1019, 1028-1033, 1025-1027, 1034 sqq.; but the method I have chosen is simpler and seems generally preferable. In 1021 I have accepted Elmsley's slight but very uncertain alteration, *ἡμῖν* for *ἡμῶν*, though I think G. H. Mueller's *αὐτὸς ἡγεμῶν δείξης* really more probable, and I have also conjectured *τῷ παῖδι* 'Αθηνῶν, the genitive depending on *τόποισι*: see Ajax 437 sq., O. t. 1134 (where I would read *τοῖς κ. τόποις*, adopting Mr. Margoliouth's admirable correction of 1136), Aesch. Pers. 447. For *ἐγκρατεῖς* in 1022 I should much prefer *οὐγκρατεῖς*: I would make a similar change in Eur. frag. 166, reading *τὸ μῶρον αὐτῷ τοῦ πατρὸς νόσημ' ἐνι* | *φιλεῖ γὰρ οὕτως οὐκ κακῶν εἶναι κακός* (ἐκ . . . κακούς MSS, κακός Wagner).

In v. 1036 Prof. Jebb retains the MS reading which most critics now think corrupt; 'nam sensus non ὦν sed ὄντι flagitat,' says Wecklein. 'But,' says Mr. Jebb, 'the vulgate is right. "*While here*," said of Theseus, means "since this is your own realm, in which you have force at command."' This remark shows no apprehension of the difficulty. Creon says that he will not object to any words uttered in Attica by Theseus. A coherent sequel to this would be that, if Theseus utters such words outside Attica, Creon will object to them. But neither this nor any coherent sequel follows. There follows, with no sort of pertinence, the statement that Creon, when returned to Thebes, will know how to act. Perhaps; but what of that? His attitude towards the words uttered by Theseus will still remain unchanged; for he has made the general statement that he will object to none of them. What, then, is the meaning of *δέ*? What is the connexion, or what the opposition, between the two predications linked by this particle? It is such as we find in the verse of a modern poet:

'A fool is bent upon a twig, *but* wise men dread a bandit.' The statement that Creon, when returned to Thebes, will know how to act, would follow coherently upon the statement that his freedom of action is hampered while he, Creon, stands on Attic soil; and this is what Wecklein means by saying 'sensus non ὦν sed ὄντι flagitat.'

Therefore Blaydes conjectures ἐνθάδ' ὄντ' ἐρεῖς ἐμέ: Wecklein and Tyrrell, Pfluegl having already proposed μεμπτός ἐνθάδ' ὦν ἐρεῖς, confine themselves to a change of fascinating simplicity, ὦν for ὦν, i. e. οὐδέν ὦν σὺ ἐρεῖς μεμπτόν ἐμοὶ ἐνθάδε; and they well defend the hyperbaton. What discontents me with these emendations is the χῆμεις of 1037. 'Here I shall object to nothing you say, but at home I shall know how to act,' οἴκοι δ' εἰσόμεσθ' ἂ χρεὶ ποεῖν, is thoroughly satisfactory: the contrast is between Creon in Attica and the same Creon at Thebes. Introduce χῆμεις, 'but at home I too shall know how to act,' and you disturb this contrast. Or shift the point of view: suppose we had been shown the verse οἴκοι δὲ χῆμεις εἰσόμεσθ' ἂ χρεὶ ποεῖν and told to guess the sense of the verse above it, we should never have guessed ἐγὼ ἐνθάδε οὐδὲν μέμφομαι ὦν σὺ ἐρεῖς: we should have guessed something like σὺ μὲν ἐν τῇ σῇ χώρα δεινὸς εἶ. And I believe we should have been right.

For the wisest words on this passage which I have anywhere found are Nauck's: 'ἐνθάδ' ὦν ist in der jetzigen Form der Rede unpassend.' The question is whether the fault lies with ἐνθάδ' ὦν or with the context. Now, if one scans the words to consider which look sound and which corrupt, surely what first catches the eye is the exact correspondence between σὺ . . . ἐνθάδ' ὦν and οἴκοι . . . χῆμεις: here, I say to myself, is a relic of the sentence's pristine form showing the lines on which to reconstruct it: the comparison is between Theseus at his home and Creon at his. Looking round for the seat of corruption, one observes that what most obscures this comparison is the emphatic form of the pronoun ἐμοὶ distracting attention from σὺ: this, then, should be altered, and as little as possible beside. I write

οὐδέν σὺ μεμπτόν ἐνθάδ' ὦν αἵρεῖς μένος·  
οἴκοι δὲ χῆμεις εἰσόμεσθ' ἂ χρεὶ ποεῖν.

i. e. you are a terrible fighting-cock on your own dunghill; but I too, when my foot is on my native heath, shall know how to bear myself with proper spirit. I rely much on the closely parallel phrase of Ajax 1066 πρὸς ταῦτα μηδὲν δεινὸν ἐξάρης μένος: for

the adverbial οὐδὲν with μεμπτὸν see too Eur. Ion. 1519 καὶ τὸ γένος οὐδὲν μεμπτὸν ἐσθ' ἡμῖν τόδε. The words μένος οὐδὲν μεμπτὸν mean a rage nowise to be sneered at, that is, formidable. The use of the verb from which this use of the adjective springs is found in Aesch. frag. 199, 1 sqq. ἤξεις δὲ Λιγύων εἰς ἀτάρβητον στρατόν· |·ἐνθ' οὐ μάχης, σάφ' οἶδα, καὶ θουρός περ ὦν, | μέμψει, man of war though you are, you will find the fighting no laughing matter: the adjective itself is thus used at Plat. legg. 716 B in a context which explains the meaning clearly: the lawless man ὑποσχὼν τιμωρίαν οὐ μεμπτὴν τῇ Δίκῃ ἑαυτὸν τε καὶ οἶκον καὶ πόλιν ἄρδην ἀνάστατον ἐπόησε, a punishment not to be made light of. The Medea of Euripides plays on the two senses of the word when at v. 958 of the play she says concerning the envenomed gifts οὗτοι δῶρα μεμπτὰ δέξεται (ἡ νύμφη): the scholiast rightly observes τοῦτο διπλὴν ἔχει τὴν ἔννοιαν, μίαν μὲν, ἣν ὁ Ἰάσων ἐκδέχεται, ὅτι οὐκ ἀπόβλητα αὐτῇ τὰ δῶρα, ἀλλὰ θαυμαστά, ἐτέραν δὲ, ἣν αὐτὴ κρύπτει, ἀντὶ τοῦ οὐ γελάσει τὸ δῶρον ὡς ἀσθενές, ἀναιρήσει γὰρ αὐτήν. The corruption came to pass, I should suppose, through the loss of the final ς at the margin and the rearrangement of μένο as ἐμόν; though other ways are also conceivable.

## 1132-1136.

καίτοι τί φωνῶ; πῶς σ' ἂν ἄθλιος γεγώς  
 θιγείν θελήσαιμ' ἀνδρός, ᾧ τίς οὐκ ἐνι  
 κηλὶς κακῶν ξύνοικος; οὐκ ἔγωγέ σε,  
 οὐδ' οὖν ἑάσω· τοῖς γὰρ ἐμπίροις βροτῶν  
 μόνοις οἷόν τε συνταλαιπωρεῖν τάδε.

1135

Prof. Jebb writes 'βροτῶν' is changed by Nauck to κακῶν, and by Dindorf to ἐμῶν ('my affairs'), on the ground that ἐμπίροις needs definition. But if the preceding words leave any need for such definition, it is supplied in the next v. by συνταλαιπωρεῖν τάδε.' This understates the offence by one half. True it is that ἐμπίροις wants defining by an objective genitive, expressed or understood, because, in default of such a genitive, it means *skilful* and makes nonsense; and I with Nauck regard as impracticable the artifice of supplying τῶνδε from below, which commends itself to Mr. Jebb. The absence of an objective genitive is half the depravity of the vulgate: the other half is the presence of βροτῶν in that genitive's stead. βροτῶν, you will notice, is quite useless: take it away and the passage means what it meant before: no reason can be *invented* why Sophocles should add it except to complete the

trimeter. Imagine him now, when ἐμπίροις cried for a defining genitive, and the last foot of the senarius lay empty for the defining genitive's reception, imagine him not merely refusing it but proffering in its place a genitive which does not define nor perform any office whatsoever except to ensnare the reader in the momentary delusion that the phrase before him has its natural meaning, *those who know men*. Is such writing reconcilable with perfect soundness of intellect? Great wits to madness nearly are allied, but not to fatuity.

Instead of ἐμῶν or κακῶν I would put forward this conjecture:

τοῖς ταλαιπώροις βροτῶν  
μόνοις οἷόν τε συνταλαιπωρεῖν τάδε.

In the progress of error I should impute γαρπῶροις to accident and the rest to design.

1201-1205.

ἀλλ' ἡμῖν εἴκε' λιπαρεῖν γὰρ οὐ καλὸν  
δίκαια προσχρῆζουσιν, οὐδ' αὐτὸν μὲν εὖ  
πάσχειν, παθόντα δ' οὐκ ἐπίστασθαι τίνειν.  
ΟΙ. τέκνον, βαρείαν ἡδονὴν νικᾷτε με  
λέγοντες· ἔστω δ' οὖν ὅπως ὑμῖν φίλον.

'βαρείαν ἡδονὴν νικᾷτε με singulari breuitate dictum hoc sensu: νικᾷτε με νίκην βαρείαν ἐμοί, ἡδεῖαν δ' ὑμῖν': singular indeed. 'Grievous (for me) is the gratification (to yourselves) in regard to which ye prevail over me by your words . . . ἡδονήν is a bold acc. of respect with νικᾷτε, suggested by the constr. with a cognate acc., νίκην νικᾷτε, since the pleasure is secured by the victory': very bold. The plain meaning of the words is not this but 'ye conquer me by mentioning a calamitous self-gratification,' i. e. the indulgence of Oedipus' angry temper, to which Antigone attributes his misfortunes. But I have little doubt that what Sophocles wrote was the much simpler and apter βαρείαν πημονήν, in support of which I quote the words of Antigone to which reference is made, 1195 sqq. σὺ δ' εἰς ἐκεῖνα, μὴ τὰ νῦν, ἀποσκόπει | πατρῶα καὶ μητρῶα πῆμα θ' ἀπαθες· | κὰν κείνα λείσσης, οἶδ' ἐγὼ, γνώσει κακοῦ | θυμοῦ τελευτήν ὥς κακὴ προσγίγνεται. | ἔχεις γὰρ οὐχὶ βαιὰ τάνθυμῆματα | τῶν σῶν ἀδέρκτων ὀμμάτων τητῶμενος. Oedipus answers 'Child, ye vanquish me by the heavy affliction ye recall; so, then, have it as ye will.' 'δ' οὖν: cp. Ai. 115 σὺ δ' οὖν . . . | χρῶ χειρί. well, then (if thou must)': this is Prof. Jebb's reference, which I gratefully accept, though with some

perplexity as to his motive in giving it, since he himself translates δ' οὖν 'however.' The corruption may have arisen from the loss, here as at 360, of Π beside Η. I present the conservative garrison with the defensive argument that Antigone only, and not Theseus also, had in fact made mention of the *πημονή* or *πήματα*.

## 1249-1253.

- AN. καὶ μὴν ὅδ' ἡμῖν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὁ ξένος  
 ἀνδρῶν γε μούνος, ὦ πάτερ, δι' ὅμματος 1250  
 ἀστακτὶ λείβων δάκρυον ὧδ' ὁδοιπορεῖ.  
 OI. τίς οὗτος; AN. ὅνπερ καὶ πάλαι κατείχομεν  
 γνάμη, πάρεστι δεῦρο Πολυνείκης ὅδε.

'Genetivus ἀνδρῶν ab μούνος, quod pro *μονωθείς* dictum sit, pendere creditur. Quod Graecis lectoribus non facile erat in mentem uenturum,' Dindorf. The obvious sense of the words is 'he and none other,' but γε then means nothing. The sense 'having no man with him,' as Dindorf says, is not obvious; and γε, if it has a meaning, then means that he has women or children or some other escort with him, of which we hear nothing in the sequel. Hence scholars have conjectured ἀνδρῶν ἔρημος (*έρημος*) or *μονωθείς* or διχ' ἄλλων. I do but transpose a couplet and add one letter at the end of a line:

- AN. καὶ μὴν ὅδ' ἡμῖν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὁ ξένος— 1249  
 OI. τίς οὗτος; AN. ὅνπερ καὶ πάλαι κατείχομεν 1252  
 γνάμη, πάρεστι δεῦρο. OI. Πολυνείκης ὅδε; 1253  
 AN. ἀνδρῶν γε μούνος, ὦ πάτερ\* δι' ὅμματος δ' 1250  
 ἀστακτὶ λείβων δάκρυον ὧδ' ὁδοιπορεῖ. 1251

ἀνδρῶν γε μούνος *yes, he and none other*, the common use of γε in confirmatory answers. I am shy of praising my own handiwork, but if it were a scribe of the eleventh century, and not I, who had written the verses thus, I would point out, or rather the editors would have saved me the trouble by pointing out already, the dramatic merit of this broken dialogue.

## 1354-1359.

- ὅς γ', ὦ κάκιστε, σκῆπτρα καὶ θρόνους ἔχων,  
 ἃ νῦν ὁ σὸς ξύναιμος ἐν Θήβαις ἔχει, 1355  
 τὸν αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ πατέρα τὸνδ' ἀπήλασας  
 κῆθηκας ἄπολιν καὶ στολὰς ταύτας φορεῖν,  
 ἃς νῦν δακρύεις εἰσορῶν, ὅτ' ἐν πόνῳ  
 ταῦτ' ἄβηθ' ἐβηθ' ἐκ τῶν κακῶν ἐμοί.

Of *ἐν πόνῳ κακῶν* Prof. Jebb offers only a half-hearted defence which will not bear scrutiny. '*πόνῳ . . . κακῶν* = *πολυπόνους κακοῖς*, the gen. being added to define *πόνῳ* more closely. Since *πόνος* was a word of such general meaning, the phrase, though unusual, seems defensible. Cp. such phrases as *δυσοίστων πόνων* | *ἀθλ'* (Ph. 508), *πόνων* | *λατρεύματ'* (Tr. 356), *ἄεθλ' ἀγώνων* (ib. 506).' Well, to begin with, however general the meaning of *πόνος* may be, the meaning of *κακά* is more general still, and *κακῶν*, therefore, is a singularly useless word for defining *πόνῳ* more closely. Secondly, by way of defending a phrase in which the meaning of *πόνος* is said to be so general that it wants another word to define it more closely, it is rather injudicious to quote two phrases in which the meaning of *πόνος* is so little general that it is used to define more closely the meaning of another word.

Reiske would alter *πόνῳ* to *βυθῷ*, Martin to *κλόνῳ*, Bergk to *πότμῳ*: the first alone procures good sense, and it has no plausibility. Mr. Wecklein's conjecture *ὅτ' ἐν κακῶν* | *ταύτῳ βεβηκώς τυγχάνεις κλυδωνίῳ* exhibits vividly the distress, the *κλυδώνιον κακῶν*, in which that accomplished critic is plunged. Mr. Tournier proposes *ἄκων* for *κακῶν*: this is the easiest of changes, and if *ἄκων* stood in the MSS it would be zealously defended by those who now defend *κακῶν*. Critics who study to think as the ancients thought would object that *ἄκων* imports a notion irrelevant to the speaker's theme. That Polynices could not help his plight is true, but not to the purpose; and the classics, unlike the moderns, are careful to eschew such details as divert attention from the main concern. It would not be much use to urge these considerations if *ἄκων* were the MS reading, but since it is only a conjecture, they will probably be entertained. I believe the true text is this:

*ὅτ' ἐν πόνῳ  
ταύτῳ βεβηκώς τυγχάνεις ἴσων ἐμοί.*

*ἴσων* has nothing to do with *πόνῳ*, nor *τυγχάνεις* with *βεβηκώς*: the words *τυγχάνεις ἴσων ἐμοί* mean *eadem sortiris atque ego*: see El. 532 *οὐκ ἴσον καμὼν ἐμοί*. ICΩN was mistaken for KΩN and then expanded to KAKΩN. The same error has come to pass at Aesch. sept. 945, where Weil restores *πικρὸς δὲ χρημάτων ἴσος* *δατητὰς Ἀρης ἀρὰν πατρώαν τιθεῖς ἀλαθῇ* for *κακός*.

1472-1474.

- OI. ὦ παῖδες, ἥκει τῷδ' ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ θέσφατος  
βίου τελευτῇ, κούκ' ἐστ' ἀποστροφῇ.  
XO. πῶς οἶσθα; τῷ δὲ συμβαλὼν ἔχεις;

So L, *quinarius pro senario*: most other MSS complete the trimeter by inserting *τοῦτο*, some before *τῷ* δέ, some after. Hermann pointed out the fact, which his successors neglect to notice, that Suidas has *τῷ τοῦτο συμβαλὼν ἔχεις*: *ταυτὸν τῷ, τῷ τοῦτο κρίνεις, τουτέστι, τίτι τεκμηρίῳ νοήσας καὶ στοχασάμενος* in a place where the alphabetical order shows that *τῷ δὲ τοῦτο* κτλ. was his original reading. This agreement of Suidas with sundry of our MSS might seem to render the vulgate *τῷ δὲ τοῦτο συμβαλὼν ἔχεις* secure in spite of L.

But it is to be remembered that L is probably older than Suidas. These phenomena have a parallel in Ant. 1037. Some of our MSS read *ἐμπολάτε τὸν πρὸς Σάρδεων | ἤλεκτρον*, and so does Eustathius twice over, pp. 368 30, 1483 27. But neither *τὸν ἤλεκτρον* nor *πρὸς Σάρδεων* can possibly be imputed to Sophocles. L offers *τα προσάρδεων*, whence Mr. Blaydes elicits *τὰπὸ Σάρδεων*: this excellent emendation we all accept, undeterred by the consent of other MSS with Eustathius. Here too, in spite of Suidas, L must be considered. For, in the first place, there is no apparent reason why *τοῦτο* should disappear. Secondly, one of the tokens which oftenest enable us to expel from a classical text a word which has no business there is that the MSS which combine to offer it will disagree in placing it. Here this token is present: half the MSS which have *τοῦτο* place it after *οἶσθα*, half after *τῷ* δέ: the best MS omits it: away with it, say I, for a metrical correction.

Dindorf adds *πάτερ* at the end of the verse, which he assigns, perhaps rightly, to Antigone. I would suppose an easier loss. *η* is confused with *υ* and *α* with *β* more times than can be told; no wonder, then, if *συμβ* absorbed *σημα*.

*πῶς οἶσθα; τῷ δὲ <σῆμα> συμβαλὼν ἔχεις;*

*by what means hast thou interpreted the sign?* the thunders and lightnings, to wit: 1511 sq. *αὐτοὶ θεοὶ κήρυκες ἀγγέλλουσί μοι | ψεύδοντες οὐδὲν σημάτων προκειμένων*. To which passage we will next proceed.

1510-1515.

- ΘΗ. *τῷ δ' ἐκπέπεισαι τοῦ μύρου τεκμηρίῳ;*  
 ΟΙ. *αὐτοὶ θεοὶ κήρυκες ἀγγέλλουσί μοι  
 ψεύδοντες οὐδὲν σημάτων προκειμένων.*  
 ΘΗ. *πῶς εἶπας, ὦ γεραῖέ, δηλοῦσθαι τάδε;*  
 ΟΙ. *αἱ πολλαὶ βρονταὶ διατελεῖς τὰ πολλὰ τε  
 στρέψαντα χειρὸς τῆς ἀνικτήτου βέλη.*

The nominatives *βρονταί* and *βέλη* are anacoluthic, but the passage is not to be deemed corrupt on that account: see O. t. 740 sqq. τὸν δὲ Λάϊον φύσιν | τὴν ἔτυχε, φράζε, τίνα δ' ἀκμήν ἦβης ἔχων; | IO. μέγας, χυνάζων ἄρτι λευκανθὲς κάρα, O. C. 1500 sqq. τίς αὖ παρ' ὑμῶν κοινὸς ἡχεῖται κτύπος; . . . μή τις Διὸς κεραυνὸς ἢ τις ὀμβρία | χάλαζ' ἐπιρράξασα; I quote these passages to show that no such alteration as Reiske's δηλοῦσι for αἱ πολλάι is demanded by grammar. Inferior MSS and most editors read αἱ πολλά: I prefer the text of L. It contains a false quantity, true; but there are worse things on earth than false quantities, and the vulgate reading of this verse is one of them. The unusual order of words for αἱ πολλὰ διατελεῖς βρονταί is successfully defended by Prof. Jebb. But a verse in which πολλὰ comes twice over—first as an adverb meaning *very* and then as an adjective meaning *many*—is a verse which I, who am not one of the world's greatest poets, should be ashamed to set my name to; and to find Mr. Jebb saying 'the reiterated πολλὰ is effective' would be astounding if one had not often observed that a conservative critic writing for a conservative public is apt to grow careless how he defends a text which most of his readers are willing and even eager to accept without any defence at all. However, I put this question by and content myself with pointing out the simple fact that πολλὰ διατελεῖς is not Greek. πολλὰ δεινοί, πολλὰ μοχθηρός, πλείστα μῦθοι, πόλλ' ἀέκων, Mr. Jebb's examples, are all correct and all inapposite. Cleverness, misery, folly, reluctance, are conceptions admitting the notion of more and less; and a man can be clever, miserable, foolish, or reluctant, in the positive, the comparative, or the superlative degree. But either a thing is διατελής or it is not διατελής, and when a thing is διατελής no other thing can be more διατελής than it: there are no degrees of the quality; and πολλὰ διατελής is no more Greek than *multum perpetuus* is Latin. When Mr. Jebb translates 'the long-continued thunderings' he is deceived by an idolon fori residing in the English word *continued*. *Long-continued* means *long-protracted*; but διατελής does not mean *protracted*: it means *uninterrupted*, and πολλὰ διατελεῖς would mean *very much uninterrupted*. Which being ridiculous, I propose this substitute:

Διὰ τε βρονταί διατελεῖς τὰ πολλὰ τε  
πρέψαντα χειρὸς τῆς ἀνικήτου βέλη.

See 95 βροντὴν τιν' ἢ Διὸς σέλας, 1460 sq. Διὸς πτερωτὸς ἦδε μ' αὐτίκ' ἄζεται | βροντὴ πρὸς Ἀἶδην, 1502 Διὸς κεραυνός. Let the ΤΔΙ of ΔΙΑΙΤΑΙ be absorbed by the ΙΔΙ, and then ΔΙ of ΔΙΑΙ by the



ΔΙ, αὶ βρονταὶ remains, and some one inserts *πολλαί*, suggested by the *πολλά* at the end of the verse.

In 1515 I have altered *στ* to *ω*, *στρέψαντα* to *πρέψαντα* which *shone forth*: for the form see Plut. Charm. 158 C. *στρέψαντα* is not defended: the vulgate is, or was till lately, Pierson's *στράψαντα*, to which it is objected that the Attic form is *ἀστράπτω* and that *στράπτω* occurs no earlier than Apollonius Rhodius. 'In cases of this kind,' pleads Mr. Jebb, 'we should always recollect how incomplete is our knowledge of the classical Attic vocabulary, and allow for the likelihood that the learned Alexandrian poets had earlier warrant for this or that word which, as it happens, we cannot trace above them. With *ἀστράπτω* and *στράπτω*, cp. *ἀστεροπή* and *στεροπή*, *ἀσπαίρω* and *σπαίρω*, *ἀσταφίς* and *σταφίς*, *ἄσταχυς* and *στάχυς*, and many other instances in which the longer form and the shorter both belong to the classical age.' This is *ignoratio elenchi*: we are not concerned with the classical age, but with the dialogue of Attic tragedy. The classical age extends from Homer to Demosthenes, and includes Herodotus and Pindar; and even when we know a word to have been used in the classical age, we do not on that account admit it into tragic *senarii*. *στράπτω* we do not know to have been so used; only we are encouraged by Mr. Jebb to hope that it was, because it would be unlucky for Pierson's conjecture if it were not. Mr. Jebb's examples are unhappily chosen: as for *ἀστεροπή* and *στεροπή*, neither of them is Attic; *ἀσπαίρω* is Attic, but *σπαίρω* is not; there is no evidence that *ἀσταφίς* and *σταφίς* are both Attic; *στάχυς* is Attic, but the only ground for thinking *ἄσταχυς* so appears to be the grammarian at anecd. Bekk., p. 453 27, who supports his statement by a quotation from the illustrious Athenian poet Homer. *στράψαντα* therefore being highly improbable, some recent editors adopt Forster's *σκήψαντα*, which has much less palaeographical likelihood. Mr. Jebb further remarks, with some truth, that 'the thought is of the lightning-flash breaking forth as a sign in the sky (*φλέγει*, 1466), rather than of its descent on earth.' On the other side Nauck observes with equal justice that '*βέλος σκῆψαν* dem Sprachgebrauch besser entspricht als *βέλος ἀστράψαν*.' It will be seen that *πρέψαντα* escapes both these objections.

1744-1747.

AN. *μόγος ἔχει.* XO. καὶ πάρος ἐπέιχεν.

AN. *τοτὲ μὲν ἄπορα, τοτὲ δ' ὕπερθεν.*

XO. *μέγ' ἄρα πέλαγος ἐλαχίτην τι.*

AN. *αἰαί, ποῖ μὲνῶμεν, ὦ Ζεῦ;*

Prof. Jebb thinks that 'πέλαγος, without κακῶν, or the like, is excused by the familiarity of this metaphor in Greek.' This I do not concede; but it is here superfluous to discuss the question, because even the presence of κακῶν, or the like, would not redeem so incongruous an expression as πέλαγος λαγχάνω. The metaphor πέλαγος κακῶν, as Mr. Jebb says, is familiar, but it is familiar in another guise than this: Aesch. Pers. 433 sq. κακῶν δὴ πέλαγος ἔρρωγεν μέγα | Πέρσαις, supp. 470 sq. ἄτης δ' ἄβυσσον πέλαγος οὐ μάλ' εὐπορον | τόδ' ἐσβέβηκα, κούδαμὸν λιμὴν κακῶν, Eur. Hipp. 822 sqq. κακῶν δ', ὦ τάλας, πέλαγος εἰσορῶ | τοσοῦτον ὥστε μήποτ' ἐκνεῦσαι παλιν, H. f. 1087 sq. τί παῖδ' ἤχθηρας ὦδ' ὑπερκότως | τὸν σὸν, κακῶν δὲ πέλαγος εἰς τόδ' ἤγαγες; Men. arroph. 15 sq. ἀληθινὸν | εἰς πέλαγος αὐτὸν ἐμβαλεῖς γὰρ πραγμάτων: so too πέλαγος πλούτου, Pind. ap. Athen. XI 782 D πελάγει δ' ἐν πολυχρύσοιο πλούτου | πάντες ἴσα (fort. ἴσον) νέομεν ψευδῇ πρὸς ἀκτάν. Small warrant here for the phrase *you have gotten a great sea!* Aeschylus at sept. 690 sq. writes ἴτω κατ' οὖρον κῦμα Κωκυτοῦ λαχόν | Φοῖβω στυγῆθ' ἐν πᾶν τὸ Λαῖον γένος, i. e. *with hell for its portion to dwell in*, and so Homer O 190 ἔλαχον πολὺν ἄλα ναίμεν αἰεὶ, but that is not to the purpose. This verse of Sophocles I would emend

μέγ' ἄρα πένθος ἐλαχέτην τι.

Sophocles has πένθος λαγχάνω at frag. 598 1 and μέγα πένθος at Ajax 616: the latter occurs also at Aesch. cho. 300 and seven times over in Homer. The ελαγ of the corrupt reading may be an anticipation of the following ελαχ; but I incline rather to derive πέλαγος from

ΑΛΓΟC  
ΠΕΝΘΟC

i. e. the gloss ἄλγος mistaken for a correction of -νθος to -λαγος. I do not find πένθος explained by ἄλγος either in Hesychius, who has πένθος· συμφορὰ, θρήνος, λήπη, or in the Byzantine lexicons; nor in the tragic scholia have I met anything nearer than Eur. Hipp. 138 κρυπτῷ πένθει· ἀντὶ τοῦ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀλγῆθ' ὀνός καὶ τῆς νόσου τῆς κρυπτῆς. But the possibility of such a gloss may be shown as follows. Hesychius has ἄλγος· πόνος, πένθος. At first you might think that πένθος is not likely to be explained by ἄλγος when ἄλγος is explained by πένθος. But observe that ἄλγος is also explained by πόνος: now turn to πόνος and you find it explained by ἄλγος: the article runs πόνος· ἄλγος, ἐνέργημα ὀδύνης. Nothing forbids, then, that ἄλγος, a

common word in late as in early Greek, should be similarly employed as a gloss to *πένθος*. It is a trifle, yet perhaps worth mention, that the verse now tallies precisely, which formerly it did not, with the accepted reading of the strophic line 1734 *ἄγε με καὶ τότ' ἐπενάριξον*.

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A. E. HOUSMAN.

## II.—VERBALS IN -ΤΟΣ IN SOPHOCLES.

### INTRODUCTION.<sup>1</sup>

Comparative philology shows that one of the oldest suffixes used by our Indo-European family of languages was *-to* or *-ta*. This ending could be either primary or secondary. As a primary ending it was very commonly used in forming participles and the like from verbs. In Sanskrit we find the ending *-ta* side by side with *-na*, forming the so-called 'perfect passive participle'; similarly in Latin the ending *-tus* is used. In Greek these forms are no longer participles, but—a fact which makes their nature more complicated and hence more interesting—'verbal adjectives,' in some of which we see the participial nature still asserting itself through the *time-force* of the verbal; in others the verb-nature has so far died out that the verbal is quite timeless. It is just this time-force of the verbals which will form the basis of the three classes into which we shall divide the examples to be cited, viz. 1st. those referring to *past time* (prior act), 2d. those referring to *present time* (contemporaneous act), 3d. those referring to *future time* (subsequent act). Not alone the *tense*, but also the *voice*, and even the *mood*, of the verb we shall see to be reflected in the verbal. It is established that the *passive*, *neuter* and *middle* voices are seen in these verbals. As to the *active* (i. e. *transitive*) voice we shall attempt to speak more fully below: suffice it to say that this use is foreign to the language of Aischylos. The neuter force of the verbal arises either out of the neuter or the middle voice of the verb from which the verbal is derived. As to the mood, the verbal is quite parallel with the verb, exhibiting forms stating a *fact* (cf. the indicative), as well as those expressing a mere *possibility* or *wish* (cf. optative and subjunctive). It is the verbals in *-τός* which denote what ought to or should take place (cf. impera-

<sup>1</sup> The following notes on the Sophoclean use of the *adiectiva verbalia* constitute a second paper on the subject of the use of the Verbals in the Tragedians: the first was entitled "De Adiectivorum Verbalium *-τός* terminatione insignium usu Aeschyleo," diss. inaug. Leipzig, 1889. This second introduction, though not radically different from that on pp. 1-3 of the first paper, is here inserted for patent reasons.

tive). There are something over 400 different formations in Sophocles, ending in *-tos*, which are, with more or less probability, derived by different authorities from verbs: less than a hundred of these are *simplicia*, the rest being *syntheta* and *parasyntheta*. These Sophocles has used in the *passive* sense something less than 220 times, *modal* about 150 times, *neuter* 60 times; *active-transitive*, more or less seriously doubtful, are some seven cases; inexplicable fragments number about 18, composita possessiva 23, nomina 24, of doubtful etymology 24, and textually uncertain 15, 'instrumentalia' 51. These approximately accurate statistics are given for what they are worth. Verbal adjectives can be used either *attributively* or *predicatively* (but cf. Brugmann, Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik, II, p. 214). Although both the merely passive and the modal significations are quite old—both being seen in Homer, and indeed some even doubt which is the original force of the verbal: in Plato the greater number of these verbals shows the *modal* force—yet other circumstances go to show that the passive force was, on the whole, the commoner, not only in Sophocles, but also, e. g., in Aischylos; and in Attic inscriptions verbalia in *-tos* never have the modal force, which is in the Homeric language much rarer than the merely passive. As to the form of these adjectives: like other adjectives, they can appear in the comparative and superlative degrees; cf. *καταπαρότατον*, O. R. 1344. Three interesting questions concerning the form of the verbals present themselves here: 1st. From what part of the verb are these verbals formed? 2d. What laws govern their accentuation? 3d. What of their *motio*? We shall not pretend to make a special investigation into each of these points, not a one of which has yet been satisfactorily discussed. Concerning the etymological formation of these adjectives, cf. Gross, Specimen disputationis de adiectivis verbalibus in *-tos* et *-teos* exeuntibus, Marienwerder, 1839, p. 2 ff., and H. Moisisstzig, Quaestiones de adiectivis graecis, quae dicuntur, verbalibus, part 1, Conitz, 1844, p. 5 ff. Gross shows that by far the majority of the verbals in *-tos* and *-téos* is derived from the stem of the verb as seen in the *perfect passive*. The *second perfect* is taken as the basis in *αὐτόματος*: not a few follow the *second aorist* (active or middle), e. g. *ἄσπετος*, *νέοπος*, *ἀνόνητος* κ. τ. λ. Only one example is quoted, *τραπηγέον*, which assumes the aor. II pass. as its stem: *ἀπρίατος* carries us back to the first aorist middle, and *ἀλάμπετος*, *ἀμάχετος*, *δυνατός* and many others are formed on the present stem.

Not a few forms follow the analogy of a perfect stem which *does not exist*, but *could* exist, e. g. *θνητός*. Ἀμφίθρεπτος, ἄπαντος, δειμνηστος, εὐμνηστος, χρηστός, ἄπλαστος, διαιρετός, ἐξαιρετός and many others are referred to the stem as seen in the *I aor. pass.* The *future stem* is seen in *οιστός* and *οιστίος* and others. From page 7 on Gross discusses those many adjectives "quae quum vel ipsa supposita tempora nullam usu frequentatorum temporum habeant rationem, omnes leges despernere videntur." It has *not* been proved that the *meaning* of the adjective has been influenced by the particular tense-stem from which the verbal has been derived, hence this question does not strictly pertain to the subject under discussion. As, however, Greek grammars are so very misleading—or else silent—on this point, it should be alluded to in passing. More vital for us is the second question—concerning the *accentuation* of the forms—with which also the third is connected. Grammarians (cf. e. g. Lobeck, *Paralipomena grammaticae graecae*, pp. 455–98; Moisisstzig, l. l., I, p. 13 ff.) tell us that, as a rule, these adjectives, when *simplicia*, are oxytoned and have three endings (*σεπτός, σεπτή, σεπτόν*); when, however, *composita* they have the recessive accent, and only two endings (*χαλκήλατος, χαλκήλατον*). But as to the derivatives Chandler is quite in despair: "In fact, however" (he says, *Greek Accentuation*<sup>2</sup>, §529), "these words are in such a state of confusion, that no rule can be depended on, and all must be left to observation," and after citing numerous Greek authorities, he cites Lobeck, l. l., and closes thus (§530): "His (Lobeck's) researches prove that these words have been brought into such incredible confusion that it would be quite useless to attempt the construction of a more precise rule than that given above." "It is clear," he says, §427, "that scribes did not know how to write many of these verbals." We shall not even tabulate Sophocles' use of the verbals, in respect to their accentuation and motion. Suffice it to say that in Sophocles, as in Aischylos, the rule of accentuation is quite rigidly observed, that of the *motio* less strictly. But we must not accept a very widespread theory, which invites our belief all the more from being supported by such names as Lobeck (cf. *Paralipomena*, p. 478) and Gottfried Hermann. We refer to the 'law' that parasyntetheta are *oxytoned* when modal, but show the *recessive accent* when merely passive; e. g. *διαλυτός* = modal : *διάλυτος* = passive. Now, this rule is not observed with any degree of strictness in the older language (cf. George Curtius, *Das Verbum*<sup>2</sup>, II, p. 389), and

while many adjectives seem to conform to it, yet the rule, as a rule, has been given up long since: "and this rule," says Chandler, l. l., §531, note 2, "holds of very many words, but the exceptions and variations are countless and bewildering." We should rather derive *διαλυτός* from *διαλύω*, it being accented as a simplex, but *διάλυτος* from *διά* + *λυτός*. The following *passive* parasyntheta are oxytoned in Sophocles: *ἀπωστός* (Ai. 1019), *ἐμπολητός* (Phil. 417), *ἐπακτόν* (Ai. 1296, Tr. 259), *προσφθεγκτός* (Ph. 1067), *ἀνασπαστός* (Ant. 1186), *διαιρετόν* (Trach. 163), *ἐπακτός* (O. C. 1525, Tr. 491). *Modal parasyntheta not oxytoned* are *ἀπόπτυστος* (O. C. 1383), *ἐμπληκτος* (Ai. 1358), *ἀπόμοτον* (Ant. 388), *ἐξάγιστα* (O. C. 1526). Cf. Westphal, *Method. Gramm. der gr. Sprache*, I, p. 169 ff. Another 'crux' in the formation of these verbals is the much-talked-of *sigma*, which often appears thrust in between the stem of the verb and the ending *-τος*; cf. Wex, ad Ant. 29; Reisig, O. C. 1564; Lobeck, Ai. 704; Jebb, Appendix to O. R., p. 225; Curtius, *Das Verbum*², II, p. 389 ff.; M. I., p. 9. Both the Sanskrit and the Latin participles show not infrequently a 'connecting vowel' *i* before the ending: in Greek, instead of this connecting vowel, the consonant *σ* is often seen between stem and ending. Gottfried Hermann suggested the rule that those forms without the *σ* were merely passive, while those with the *σ* were modal. But even Hermann's statements of this rule are contradictory, or at least inaccurate, for he says (O. R. 362) "*γνωτός enim notum, γνωστός eum, qui potest nosci* significat," while in the note to O. C. 1362 we read "*κλαυτός proprie est defletus, deinde autem ad exemplum aliorum verbalium, lacrimabilis; κλαυστός autem lacrimandus, i. e. quem convenit defleri*"! It was of this rule that Moisisstzig exclaimed (I, p. 9) "Sententia duobus vel tribus exemplis faulta, sexcentis refutatur, et vir summus ipse (= Hermann) in verba sua leviter fortasse effusa profecto non iuraret." Eustathius repeatedly states that there is no difference in meaning between *γνωστόν* and *γνωτόν*, *ἄγνωστον* and *ἄγνωτον*, save perhaps that the forms with *σ* are the later of the two; cf. pp. 687, 30 f.; 400, 24 f.; 1450, 62 f.; 384, 4 f. Cf. Suidas s. v. *σέσωται*: *σέσωται καὶ σεσωμένος οἱ παλαιοὶ ἀνευ τοῦ σ. καὶ διεζωμένοι φησὶ Θουκυδίδης· οἱ δὲ νεώτεροι σέσωσμαι, ἐπ' ἐνίων δ' ἀπλῶς παραλείπουσιν τὸ σ, κεκλειμένον, πεπρημένον*. Cf. Walz, *Rhet. Graec.* IV, pp. 2-3. The readings of the manuscripts are little to be trusted, being themselves contradictory and unreliable; cf. Wex, Antig. 29, where, by a single example, we see how hopelessly confusing the

MS authorities are: similarly Reisig, O. C. 1564. That the metre influences the poet in the choice or rejection of the sigmatic form in not a few instances is not to be denied, as e. g. in the case of a penultimate short vowel: if, however, the penult is long, the  $\sigma$ , of course, does not affect the metrical length of the syllable; and even in such cases the usage appears to be entirely arbitrary. After reading Lobeck's note of over nine pages to Ajax, v. 704, one feels that it is utter folly to attempt anything more than a rehearsal of the numberless difficulties which even a Lobeck met in discussing so hopelessly complicated a question. He has shown that many cases are simply inexplicable, while others owe their  $\sigma$  to the presence of this consonant in the perfect or aorist passive: where the perfect or aorist forms are themselves variable—appearing now with, now without the  $\sigma$ —a corresponding variability is to be expected in the verbalia. He even extends the examination of this sigma to the *nouns* formed from these verbs, and finds in them also a similar confusion. From Lobeck's huge mass of examples, taken at random from writers in prose and poetry of nearly every period of the language, we turn, lastly, to the very different, but hardly less complicated, attempt at a solution of the problem as given by George Curtius, *Das Verbum*<sup>2</sup>, II, p. 394 ff. He argues that in not a few cases—he enumerates fourteen roots—the seemingly inexplicable sigma is nothing but the just representative of a once present final sibilant of the root: this sigmatic final then disappeared in the Greek verb, although comparative philology shows that it belonged to the root, and it now reappears in the verbal: thus are explained e. g. ἀγευστος (St. γευσ: Skt. ḡush), ἐρυστός (St. *Ferus* for *Feps*, Lat. vers: verrere), ἀτρεστος (√ τρεs, Skt. tras), χριστός, and others. Similarly, roots with original final dental are to be explained, e. g. Plato's ἀνάδαστος (√ δατ). Derivative verbs are more complicated, but ἀκεστός (ἀνήκεστος) seems to go back to an original ἀκεσjomai: so ἀτέλεστον. But, after all, the greater number of these inexplicable forms finds its explanation “in dem ausgedehnten Austausch zwischen den Verben, welche durch Ausstossung des ursprünglich-vorhandenen *j* vor dem thematischen Vocal einen vocalischen Stamm zeigen, und denen, in welchen sich vor jenem *j* ein *δ* entwickelt hat, das mit diesem zu ζ wird.” Already in Homer there are ten cases of verbs in  $\alpha\omega$  which exhibit parallel forms in  $\alpha\zeta\omega$ : similarly, some verbs in  $\epsilon\omega$  show secondary forms in  $\epsilon\zeta\omega$ , and possibly some in  $\nu\omega$  have forms from those in  $\nu\zeta\omega$ . Thus  $\alpha\zeta\omega$  may, through  $\alpha\omega$ , go



back to \**ajō*, similarly *εζω* or *ιζω* to \**εjō*, and *υζω* to \**υjō*. Such verbs are e. g. *ἀγαμαι*, *δαμάω*, *αἰνέω*: *σώζω* seems to be very complicated, because its forms have become tangled up with those of a verb *σάω*: Homer does not show the questionable *σ* in this verb at all, and only once the *ζ* (*σώζων*), where *σάων* is to be written. This *ζ* arose from *j* especially after the vowel *υ* and the diphthongs *αι*, *ευ*, *ου*: so e. g. *καυστός* and *κλαυστός*: *γνωστός* may possibly carry us back to \**γνωjō*. Curtius closes this chapter with a word of warning against the temptation to be too exact in accepting or rejecting certain of these forms: the tradition of the MSS is often worse than a poor guide, the sigma became more and more popular with time, and the author doubted if more than such beginnings of explanations would ever be made, with any degree of certainty. "Yet I would suggest," observes Jebb, p. 225 of the Appendix to his edition of *Oedipus rex*, "on the other hand, that the special attribution of a potential sense to the sigmatic forms may have thus much ground. When two forms, such as *γνωτός* and *γνωστός* were both current, regular analogies would quicken the sense that *γνωτός* had a participial nature, while *γνωστός*, in which the *σ* obscured the analogy, would be felt more as an ordinary adjective, and would therefore be used with less strict regard to the primary participial force. Thus it might be ordinarily *preferred* to *γνωτός*, when 'knowable' was to be expressed. At the same time, it would always remain an available synonym for *γνωτός* as = 'known'."

Those verbals which exhibit the simple passive signification—without the modal coloring—will be taken up first. While, naturally, most of these verbals are derived from active verbs, yet some are derived from media, e. g. *κρεμαστός*, *λωβητός*, etc. First we shall enumerate those verbals in which the *act* of the verb is prior to the resulting condition as expressed by the verbal itself: such cases, then, contain the idea of relatively past action. It is, however, not infrequently hard to see if the composita with a privativum really do refer to a past act, the negative resulting condition oftentimes being separated by so exceedingly narrow a space of time from the (negative) act, which could in many cases be said rather to accompany than to precede the condition as represented in the verbal. And yet such cases have been referred to past rather than to present acts. Again, it would have been tedious and very unsatisfactory, had the attempt been made to classify

strictly all cases in which the adjective was, or seemed to be, used *proleptically*; and yet this is not unimportant, as the modality may have arisen out of a sort of prolepsis. The individual examples are divided into those in which the adjective is associated (α) with a *person*, (β) with a *thing*: animals have been regarded as things. It has not been proved that the metre has in any way influenced the poet in the use of these verbalia in -τος; we shall see, however, that the case is different with those in -τεος. The following list of dissertations and programs is here appended: Dr. Henricus Moissisitzig, *Quaestiones de adiectivis graecis, quae dicuntur, verbalibus*: the *first part* (Conitz, 1844) contains a general introduction into the subject; a *second part* (Conitz, 1853) treats of the Platonic use of these adjectives; the *third part* (1861) treats of Demosthenes' use of the verbals: there are still other numbers of these programs, but they are obtained not without the greatest difficulty. Gross has two programs: *Specimen disputationis de adiectivis verbalibus in -τος et -τεος exeuntibus*, Marienwerder, 1839, and *Disputationis de adiectivis verbalibus in -τος et -τεος exeuntibus specimen alterum*, Marienwerder, 1847. Other monographs bearing more or less directly on the subject are: Joannes Schmidt, *De epithetis compositis in tragoedia Graeca usurpatis*, Berlin, 1865; Kopetsch, *De verbalibus in -τος et -τεος Platonicis, dissertatio, cui intextae sunt breves de Homericis adnotationes*, Lyck, 1860; Wilh. Holtze, *Adversaria semasiologiae apud poetas graecos usque ad Euripidem*, Naumburg a. S., 1866; Carolus Schambach, *Sophocles qua ratione vocabulorum significationes mutet atque variet*, in two parts, the first a dissertation (Göttingen, 1867), the latter a program (Nordhausen, 1878); Arnold Juris, *De Sophoclis vocibus singularibus*, Halle a. S., 1876; Friedrich Slameczka, *Über Eigenthümlichkeiten im Gebrauche der Epitheta bei Sophokles*, program, Teschen, 1869; Carolus Schindler, *De Sophocle verborum inventore*, Breslau, 1877. Other monographs will be mentioned on occasion. The verses are quoted according to Dindorf-Merkel, whose text is taken as the basis: the fragments are quoted from the first edition of Nauck's *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*: the scholiast is cited according to the edition of Papageorg, Teubner, 1888. Whenever our reading differs materially from that of the Laurentianus, this is indicated.

## VOICE, PASSIVE: TIME, RELATIVELY PAST.

a) *With Persons.*

O. C. 973 ἀγέννητος τότε ἦ. Trach. 61 καὶ ἀγεννήτων. Trach. 1083 ἀγύμναστον μ'. Schol. ὀδύνης ἀπείραστον, ἀνετον ὀδυνῶν. On Hesychius' definition, πολυγυμνάστοις, cf. Clemm, "de alpha intensivo," p. 71, 11. O. C. 1120 ἄελπτα (τέκνα). We follow Hermann, "Sunt qui hos putent accusativos esse absolutos, et ἄελπτα pro adverbio positum. Quorum nihil opus." Schol. οὐ γὰρ φησιν ἀέλπτως φανέντων ἐμοὶ τῶν τέκνων μηκύνω τὸν λόγον, ἀλλὰ <τὰ> τέκνα φανέντα εἶτα μηκύνω τὸν λόγον. Hesychius and Cyrillus define the verbal by the 'more Attic' (Rutherford, New Phrynichus, p. 26) ἀπροσδόκητον. Ai. 1177 ἄθαπτος ἐκπέσοι. Ai. 1307 ἀθάπτους (οὐς). Ai. 1333 ἄθαπτον (ἄνδρα). Ant. 205-6 ἄθαπτον . . . καὶ πρὸς κυνῶν ἐδεστὸν (τοῦτον). Ant. 697 ἄθαπτον (αὐτάδελφον). Phil. 351 ἄθαπτον. With Hermann, we do not join these words with the following οὐ γὰρ εἰδόμην. "Itaque," says he, "necessario hoc dicere putandus est Neoptolemus, se, quoniam nunquam vidisset patrem suum, nunc saltem, priusquam sepulcro corpus traderetur, videre eum cupivisse." O. C. 1521 ἄθικτος ἡγητήρος (of the speaker himself). We consider the verbal passive, as against those (e. g. Holtze, p. 6: "proprie; non tangens ducem, quod interpretes omnes (?) passive videntur accepisse (intactus a duce)"), who ascribe to it an active force, which ἄθικτος does not have before Callimachus. Trach. 417 αἰχμάλωτον (τὴν). Trach. 532 αἰχμάλωτοις παισιν. Ai. 1284 κακέλευστος ἦλθ' ἐναντίος. Tr. 45 ἀκήρυκτος μένει. Schol. ἄσημος, οὐ μηνύμενος ὅπου ποτ' ἐστίν· ὃν οὐδεὶς ἐλθὼν κηρύττει καὶ ἀπαγγέλλει ποῦ πότ' ἐστίν. Ant. 1027 ἀκίνητος πέλη. ἀκίνητος 1: ἀκείται L, which also gives the variant αἰνητος. Schol. ἀμετάβητος. Ant. 29 ἄκλαυτον. ἄταφον ἄκλαυτον, L: ἄκλαυτον ἄταφον, 1. The Πολυνείκους νέκυν of vs. 26 is here not to be regarded as a thing. Ant. 847 ἄκλαυτος . . . ἔρχομαι. V. L. ἄκλαυστος. Ant. 876 ἄκλαυτος . . . ἔρχομαι. V. L. ἄκλαυστος. Other words in the verse are suspected by Hermann. Ai. 289 ἄκλητος οὐθ' . . . κληθεῖς. Some, finding ἄκλητος οὐθ' . . . κληθεῖς tautological, suspect the reading. With Hermann Schütz (Sophokleische Studien, p. 25), we think that, if anything is to be changed, it should be κληθεῖς, not ἄκλητος. Trach. 39 ἀνάστατοι (ἡμεῖς). We derive the verbal from the causal force of ἀνίστημι, surgere facio (Steph.) Hesychius defines it by κατεστραμμένους. Cf. Anec. Bekk., p. 211, 10. O. C. 429 ἀνάστατος . . . ἐπέμφθην. Fg. 736 ἀπαιδεύτων βροτῶν. Phil. 731

καπόπληκτος . . . ἔχει. Antig. 1035 ἀπρακτος (μαντικῆς) εἰμι. "Poeta," says Hermann, "quod proprie diceretur, κοῦδὲ μαντικῇ ἀπρακτος ὕμιν ἐστὶ κατ' ἐμοῦ, invertit, dixitque, et ne a vaticiniis quidem intentatus vobis sum." Him we follow, with Wex, Schambach (II, p. 3), Jebb, Campbell, Holtze (p. 6), Kvičala (Beiträge zur Kritik und Erklärung des Sophocles, III, p. 83 sq.) and others. Ai. 1019 ἀπωστός . . . ἀπορριθῆσομαι. Suidas defines the verbal here with ἐκδεδιωγμένος. O. C. 906 ἀτρωτον (τοῦτον). Trach. 392 αὐτόκλητος (ἀνὴρ). Cf. Joh. Schmidt, p. 35, note 15. Ai. 908 ἀφαρκτος φίλων. Schol. ἀφύλακτος, οὐ πεφραγμένος καὶ τετειχισμένος τοῖς φίλοις. On the spelling (ἀφαρκτος vs. ἀφρακτος) cf. Blaydes ad loc. O. C. 1702 ἀφίλητος (οὐδὲ γὰρ ὦν ἀφίλητος). We accept Hermann's γὰρ ὦν for the γέρων of the L. The scholiast's λείπει τὸ ἦς is now senseless. Fg. 262 γνωτός . . . ἀνὴρ. But the verbal may be considered indefinitely present; cf. κλυτός. Ai. 211 δουριάλωτον (σέ, but cf. Schol.). Ai. 894 δουρίληπτον . . . νύμφην. Phil. 417 οὐμπολητός Σισύφου. Ai. 1296 ἐπακτὸν ἄνδρ'. Trach. 259 ἐπακτὸν (στρατὸν). Or is a στρατός a thing? Ai. 1386 οὐπιβρόντητος (στρατηγός). Unless conjectures be resorted to, the passage can be explained only by taking this to be the only passage in extant Greek, in which ἐπιβροντάω is used in the sense of ἐμβροντάω. Clearly the verbal means *attonitus* 'thunderstruck' (as against Campbell's *modal* interpretation of it). So the Schol.: οὐπιβρόντητος] ὃν εἶωθαμεν λέγειν ἐμβρόντητον. Cf. Suidas s. v. Ant. 406 καπίληπτος ἡρέθη. Ai. 103 τοῦπίτριπτον κίναδος. Thus Ajax alludes to Ulysses. Adjectives which, like this one, have acquired some idiomatic meaning are not infrequently particularly hard to trace back from their present meaning to that from which this meaning has arisen: so here. Suidas defines ἐπίτριπτος by ὁ ἐπιτριβῆναι ἄξιος: Stephanus "contritus. conteri dignus (!)." Campbell, translating 'the accursed fox,' says "The verbal, by a sort of prolepsis (!), expresses what ought to be." Taken passively, the verbal is stronger, because saying more, than when taken modally. Cf. German 'ein geriebener Kerl.' O. C. 389 ζητητὸν (σέ). Ant. 957 κατάφαρκτος ἐν δεσμῷ. On the spelling cf. Jebb, Ant. 241; Wecklein, Curae epigraphicae, p. 44 f. Ant. 309 κρεμαστοὶ . . . δηλώσῃθ' ὕβριν. We derive the verbal from the transitive meaning of κεράννυμι 'herabhängen lassen' (Pape). Ant. 1221 κρεμαστήν αὐχένος. O. R. 1263 κρεμαστήν τὴν γυναῖκα. Trach. 27 κριτὸν (λέχος). O. R. 19 λεκτοί (οἱ δ'). Ai. 1388 λωβητὸν αὐτὸν. Phil. 1103 λωβατός (ἐγὼ). O. R. 780 πλαστός ὡς εἶην. Schol. προσποιη-

τός, ἀλλότριος, νόθος. Trach. 276 πρατόν νιν. Ai. 830 πρόβλητος (ρίφθω). El. 126 πρόδοτον ('Αγαμέμνονα). El. 1074 πρόδοτος... ἥλεκτρα. Phil. 1067 προσφθεγκτός (γενήσομαι). Schol. προσφωνηθῆναι ἄξιος. Scarcely any one nowadays considers this verbal modal. Of this and several other adjectives whose accent doubtless misled the ancients, Lobeck says (Paralipp., p. 489): "Si vero de Homero res parum explorata videtur, posteriorum scripta magnam oxytonorum copiam suppeditant, quae a potentiali significatione longe seiuncta sunt." O. C. 1534 σπαρτῶν ἀπ' ἀνδρῶν. Phil. 335 τοξευτός (τέθνηκεν). O. R. 1123 ὠνητός (δοῦλος).

β) *With Things.*

Fg. 775 τὰ γένητα (ἅπαντα). τὰ γένη τὸ, Plut. Mor., p. 732 D. τὰ γέννητα, Valck. τὰ γένητα, Nauck. O. R. 58. γνωτὰ κοῦκ ἄγνωτα. Thus the La. And yet Ritter changes the reading to ἄγνωτα, on the ground that the ancients never used the word ἄγνωτος. But ἄγνωτος is so far from being un-Greek that it is even proved for Sophocles' time. In Pindar, Ol. VI. 67, two good MSS give ἄγνωτον, and in the Frogs of Aristophanes, v. 926 of the two traditional readings, ἄγνωτα and ἀγνώτα, the latter has long ago been rejected by Lobeck (Paralipp., p. 274) and Bergk. Ant. 454 ἄγραπτα... νόμιμα; Ai. 53-54 σύμμικτά τε... ἄδαστα... φρονήματα. On the construction and punctuation of the words cf. Lobeck's note ad loc. It seems that Attic inscriptions always write σύμμεικτος (Meisterhans, Grammatik der attischen Inschriften<sup>2</sup>, p. 144, Note 1253 δ)). O. C. 249 ἀδόκητον χάριν. Ai. 1166 αἰέμνηστον τάφον. The verbal is used proleptically. Schol. τὸν ἐσόμενον τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τάφον αἰέμνηστον. Ai. 715 ἐξ ἀέλπτων Αἴας μετανεγνώσθη θυμῶν. Schol. ἐξ ἀνελπίστων καὶ μεγάλων νεικίων. Some join the verbal with θυμῶν. We have hesitatingly taken the expression ἐξ ἀέλπτων adverbially, although Lobeck doubts if, in the earlier period, ἐξ ἀέλπτων is used for the usual ἐξ ἀέλπτου or ἐξ ἀπροσδοκίτου. In either event the verbal is passive. Trach. 203 ἄελπτον ὄμμ'. Ant. 467 ἄθαπτον... νέκυν. Trach. 686 φάρμακον... ἄθικτον. O. R. 439 αἰνικτὰ (πάντα). Or is the time of the adjective relatively present rather than past? O. R. 384 δωρητόν, οὐκ αἰτητόν (ἦν = ἀρχήν). O. R. 255-6 θεήλατον, ἀκάθαρτον (πράγμα). Schol. ὑπὸ θεῶν ἐλαυνόμενον. O. R. 1427 ἀκάλυπτον (ἄγος). Trach. 875 ἐξ ἀκινήτου ποδός. O. C. 1708 ἄκλαυτον (πένθος). Fg. 856 ἄκρατος (ἕμερος). So the MSS: thus taken the verbal is

passive, and the metaphor taken from wine. El. 786 ἀκρατον αἶμα. O. C. 1261 ἀκτένιστος (κόμη). But the time of the verbal may be a general present. Ant. 1071 ἀκτέριστον . . . νέκυν. Ant. 1207 ἀκτέριστον . . . παστάδα. Ant. 1309 ἀμφιθήκτω ξίφει. Trach. 572 ἀμφίθρεπτον αἶμα. Ant. 1186 ἀνασπαστοῦ πύλης. With Wex, Böckh and others, we accept Hermann's explanation of this difficult adjective: "ἀνασπαστοῦ πύλης κλείθρα χαλῶσα dictum usitatissima figura, pro ὥστε ἀνασπαστὸν γενέσθαι . . . Sed vereor ne nihil aliud quam pessuli retractio significetur." Cf. Lobeck, Paralipp., p. 490. Schol. (similarly Triclinius) δυσχερῶς ἀνασπασμένης καὶ ἀνοιγομένης (!). Trach. 240 ἀνάστατον . . . χώραν γυναικῶν. While ἀνάστατος is more properly used of persons, still its use of things is so plainly shown that it is absurd to resort to conjectures, writing e. g. ἀναστάτων to agree with γυναικῶν. Cf. Bekk., Anec. Graec., p. 211: ἀνάστατον τὴν πόλιν ποιήσας: ἀνοικίσας ἢ μεταστήσας ἢ μεταγαγών. Suidas s. v. εἶρηται δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ πόλεων ἐαλωκυῶν καὶ οἰκῶν ἐξερημωθέντων τὸ ἀνάστατον. Cf. Soph. Ant. 673: Andocides, κατὰ Ἀλκιβιάδου, 31; Lycophron, Alexandra, vs. 770. Ant. 673 ἀναστάτους οἴκους. Trach. 673 ἀνέλπιστον (θαῦμα). Schol. θαυμαστὸν καὶ οἶον οὐκ ἂν τις ἐλπίζοι παθεῖν. Fg. 264 ἀντίπλαστον νόμον. Hesych. ἀντὶ τοῦ ἰσόπλαστον, ὅμοιον. Fg. 375 ἀντίσπαστά τε Λυδῆς ἐφυμνεί πηκτίδος συγχορδία. But the sense of the Fg. is uncertain, and Campbell takes the verbal to be an (adverbial) accusative plural. Ant. 980 ἀνύμφευτον γονάν. Triclinius observes: δέον δὲ εἰπεῖν, ἀνυμφεύτου μητρός, ἀνύμφευτον πρὸς τὸ γονάν εἶπε. Nearly every one is satisfied with this explanation, and yet Slameczka exclaims (l. l., p. 6): "Jedoch passt dasjenige, was oben als Hermann's Bemerkung über die Enallage angeführt wurde, auf unseren Fall sehr wenig, weil sich bei aller Kühnheit doch nicht annehmen lässt, dass die γονά selbst ἀνύμφευτος genannt werden könne. Nauck hält, daher, die Stelle für verderbt" (!). O. C. 19 ἀξέστου πέτρου. Phil. 868 ἀπιστον οἰκούρημα. Immo, says Hermann, ἐλπίδων ἄπιστον est ὑπὸ τῆς ἐμῆς ἐλπίδος ἀπιστηθέν. Phil. 467 ἀπόπτου (ἐξ ἀπόπτου opposed to ἐγγύθεν). Ant. 44 ἀπόρρητον πόλει (θάπτειν σφ'). Schol. τὸν ἀπηγορευμένον καὶ κεκωλυμένον ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως τολμᾶς θάπτειν σφ'; Followed by Wex, who attempts to prove from the following corrupt verses that the verbal refers to σφέ, although ἀπόρρητος seems never to be used with persons. With e. g. Matthiä (Gr. Gr., §564, p. 1112) we take the verbal to be neuter; cf. Hermann's note ad loc. El. 1017 ἀπροσδόκητον οὐδέν. Cf. Dobree, Adversaria critica, I, p. 32. Ant. 972 ἀρατὸν ἔλκος. If this reading be correct, the verbal is passive, though Triclinius'

definition (καταρίσιμον) would rather be modal. El. 1012 ἀρρητ' . . . φυλάξομαι. Ellendt's 'nefandus dictu' is certainly not a happy translation of the verbal, which is here merely passive, with prolepsis. Ant. 556 ἀρρήτοις . . . λόγοις. Trach. 687 ἀρτίχριστον (νιν). Schol. παραντὰ χριόμενον. Fg. 791 ἀσπάθητον χλαῖναν. 'Ασπάθητον χλαῖναν: ἀνέφαντον, Anecd. Bekk., p. 453, 18. O. R. 1231 αὐθαίρετοι (αἱ sc. πημονῶν). O. C. 523 αὐθαίρετον οὐδέν. Until some very decidedly preferable reading has been suggested, we follow the tradition, with which most editors now content themselves. "Auch αὐθαίρετον ist zweifellos richtig," says Schütz (boldly), p. 154. Fg. 1022 αὐθαίρετα πάντα. Fg. 308 αὐτοκτίους δόμους. Bloomfield, however, derives the verbal (Gloss. in Aesch. Prom., vs. 309) not from κτίζω, but from \*κτίω. Fg. 276 ἀφύλλωτον πέτραν. The context is lost, and the etymology of the adjective —a ἀπ. λεγ.—is uncertain. If, with Passow, we derive it from the doubtful verb φυλλόω ('belauben,' cf. Hippocr. de nat. puer., c. 8), it is passive. Or is it a Bahuvrihi? Stephanus says: "ἀφύλλωτος affertur pro ἄφυλλος. Sonat autem q. d. infoliatius, i. e. non foliatus." Fg. 638 ἀχάλκευτα τρύπανα. O. R. 396 γνωτόν (ἐκ θεῶν του). Trach. 163 διαιρετόν (μοῖραν). MSS and editors vary as to the accentuation of the verbal. There seems, however, to be no certain proof that the form διαίρετος existed at all. El. 344 διδακτά (νουθετήματα). Ant. 346 δικτυοκλώστοις (σπείραισι). Schol. τοῖς σχοινίοις τοῖς εἰς δίκτυον κεκλωσμένοις ἢ συγκλείουσι τὰ δίκτυα. Ai. 146 δορίληπτος (λεία). Trach. 677 ἐδεστόν ἐξ αὐτοῦ φθίνει. Ai. 1302 ἔκκριτον . . . δώρημα. This δώρημα was, however, a person. Trach. 12 ἐλικτός (δράκων). But this verbal may contain the idea of a universal present; and, again, the δράκων is really a person. O. C. 1671 ἔμφυτον . . . αἶμα. Fg. 293 ἐνήλατα ξύλα. Thus we read, and thus connect the words in this corrupt passage, whose meaning is not made much clearer even by Lobeck's long note to Phrynichus, p. 178. Perhaps the adjective is merely passive: "das Hineingetriebene" (Pape). Rutherford, in the Phrynichus passage, is compelled to leave the question 'unsettled.' O. C. 1525 ἐπακτοῦ (δορός). Trach. 491 ἐπακτόν (νόσον). Ai. 730 ἐρυστὰ . . . ξίφη. Ant. 430 εὐκροτήτου . . . πρόχον. O. C. 1707 εὐσκίαστον (κοῖταν). With Passow, we derive this verbal (a ἀπ. λεγ.?) from σκιάζω. Fg. 676 ἐξαίρετον . . . ἀκουσίαν. El. 702 ζυγωτῶν ἀρμάτων. Phil. 987 ἠφαισιτότευκτον (σέλας). O. R. 992 θεήλατον μάντευμα. Ant. 278 θεήλατον τοῦργον. Fg. 615 θεηλάτους (νόσους). El. 707 θεοδμήτων ('Αθηνῶν). O. C. 1472 θέσφατος . . . τελετή. Schol.

ἡ θεοπισθεῖσα τελευτή. The verbal remains passive, whether we derive it from ἄφα 'to speak' (with e. g. Vaníček, p. 571; cf. Lobeck, Rhematikon, p. 128, vs. Curtius, Grundzüge<sup>5</sup>, p. 515) or from ἄσφα (cf. Göbel, Lexilogus, I, p. 77). O. C. 969 θέσφατον (τι). Ant. 1286 κακάγγελτα . . . ἄχη. Schol. κακὴν ἀγγελίαν ἔχοντα. "Dolores," explains Iuris, p. 37, "ex malo nuntio excitati. Schol. perperam active: κακὴν . . . ἔχοντα." Slameczka, p. 11, would here—as frequently elsewhere—resolve the adjective into its component parts, κακάγγελτα ἄχη = ἄχη κακῆς ἀγγελίας 'den Jammer einer schlimmen Botschaft.' Better is Schmidt's 'mala calamitose nuntiata' (p. 14). The -αγγελτα is added merely to give the expression that *poetic fullness* so common in the Tragedians, especially in lyric passages. Ant. 1011 καλυπτῆς . . . πιμελῆς. Schol. ἐκ τοῦ λίπους τῆς καλυπτούσης αὐτοὺς πιμελῆς ἐξέπιπτον. Defining it actively, Matthiae (Gram., §220, 2), Brunck ad loc. ("καλυπτῆς, id est τῆς καλυπτούσης . . . activam hic significationem habet"), Hermann, Wex (Ant., v. 392) and others follow the Schol. But these editors were misled by two circumstances: the Scholiast was merely giving the *general sense* of the passage, as he understood it, not parsing the adjective; furthermore, καλύπτειν by no means always signifies 'umhüllen, bedecken,' καλύπτειν τινά; but can (already in Homer) mean 'über einen etwas decken,' καλύπτειν τινί τι (see examples in Pape, Ebeling, etc.). So here: 'fielen aus dem umgewickelten Fette' (Pape). So Mehlhorn, Anacreontea, p. 240: "Ad hoc genus, in quo perversa activae significationis derivatio interpretes fefellit, pertinet etiam locus in Soph. in Antig. 1010 . . . Aperte hoc non simpliciter est *tegere*, sed *circumvolvere aliquid circa aliquid vel superinducere*." So Böckh (p. 272): "καλυπτῆς ist nicht activisch zu fassen, sondern ist von der *umgehüllten* . . . Umwicklung zu verstehen": similarly Stephanus. Ant. 1253 κατάσχετον (τι). Fg. 10 καταστίκτου κυνός. Fg. 365 κηρόπλαστον ὄργανον. Trach. 245 κριτόν (κτῆμα). Phil. 1112 κρυπτὰ τ' ἔπη. El. 159 κρυπτὰ τ' ἀχέων ἐν ἥβῃ. Scarcely a word of this passage is free from suspicion. Some want *ελευθέρα* for κρυπτὰ: others cannot imagine how Suidas and the Schol. came to consider ἀχέων a participle: the metre is entirely out of shape. If anything is certain in this confusion, it seems to be that κρυπτὰ is here certainly passive, meaning 'hidden.' With Haupt, Op. II, p. 291, we follow those who join ἀχέων as a genitive with κρυπτὰ. Ant. 1198 κυνοσπάρακτον σῶμα; Ant. 1275 λακπάτητον . . . χαράν. Schol. τὴν μεθ' ὕβρεως ἀπωθοιμένην ἢ τὴν μεγάλως καταπατουμένην.



Variae lectiones *λεωπάτητον, λαξπάτητον, λὰξ πατήτον*. We follow the Laurentianus and Triclinius. The Schol. further adds *τὴν χαρὰν λὰξ πατήσας*. Hermann saw that the Schol. was trying to explain two readings. Trach. 1261 *λιθοκόλλητον στόμιον πρίουσ'*. Variae lectiones *λυκοκόλλητον, πυκνοκόλλητον, πυρικόλλητον* (cf. Schütz, p. 446), and others. Of this passage—one of the most annoying in Sophocles—the Schol. says: *ἄγε οὖν, φησὶν, ὃ σκληρὰ ψυχῇ, ὡς ἀπὸ χαλυβικοῦ σιδήρου πεποιημένη πρὶν τήνδε ἀνακινήσαι νόσον ἐνδοῦσα τὸ σεαυτῆς στόμα ἐμφραγῆναι ὥσανεὶ στόμα φρέατος λίθω κεκολλημένον πρὸς τὸ μηκέτι ὕδωρ ἀνιμᾶσθαι· λείπει δὲ τὸ ὡς, ὡς ἀπὸ χάλυβος γενομένη· χάλυβος λιθοκόλλητον στόμιον παρέχουσ' λίθινον καὶ σκληρόν χαλινὸν σαυτῇ ἐπιβαλοῦσα*. But what does *στόμιον* mean here? 'A bit,' or 'the mouth of a cave'? The Schol. accepts both meanings! If it means 'the mouth of a cave,' the verbal means 'cemented,' and is, hence, passive: or is it a derivative from *λιθοκόλλα* 'cement'? *Στόμιον* means, however, in Sophocles, more frequently 'a bit,' and so we interpret it here. Accepting the *λιθοκόλλητος* of the MSS, we take the verbal to mean 'set with stones'—whether costly ones as ornaments, or sharp ones for cutting more effectually the mouth, does not affect the passiveness of the verbal. Welcker's arguments (Rh. Mus. II 2, 206; 1834) against our rendering of *λιθοκόλλητος* avail nothing, as his results are there all based on the use of the adjective in later authors. Ant. 1204 *λιθόστρωτον . . . νυμφεῖον*; Trach. 1069 *λωβητὸν εἶδος*. Nauck, Merkel, Schütz (p. 443) suspect the verse as spurious. Ai. 30 *νεορράντῳ ξίφει*. Ai. 828 *νεορράντῳ ξίφει*. Ai. 6 *ἔχνη νεοχάραχθ'*. Schol. *νεωστὶ κεχαργμένα*. Phil. 715 *οἶνοχύτου πώματος*. The question is, what relations exist between the elements *οἶνος*, *χυτός* and *πῶμα*? The Schol. cuts the knot by explaining *οἶνου περιφραστικῶς*. Schindler (p. 62) argues: "Nec recusant eandem illam per duplex subiectum explicationem frequentissima illa cum *-χυτος, -χοος, -ρυτος* composita, ut Sophoclis (Ph. 715) *οἶνόχυτον πῶμα*, potus vini infusi, vel Euripidea *ὑδρόχυτοι κρῆναι* (Cycl. 66), *πῶμα ὑδρηχόον* (fr. Nauck, 884), *ρανίδες αἱματόρρυτοι* (Iph. Aul. 1515), alia, quae apud omnes poetas passim deprehenduntur similia. In quibus tamen propterea mihi diffido, quod haud scio an intransitivam vim hic—ut saepe alias—contraxerint adiectiva verbalia *-χυτός, -ρύτός, -χοος*, substantiva autem, quibuscum colligata illa sunt, dativo intellegenda sint: vino, aqua, sanguine manans." But *χύεται* does not mean 'to flow.' Slameczka (p. 10)—and similarly Schmidt (p. 20)—explains it as used 'statt *οἶνου χυτοῦ*,' and classes it

along with those cases, 'wo das Epitheton ein Compositum ist, an dessen Stelle wir einen Genitiv mit einem Adjectiv erwarten.' Tessing, however, classes this passage with those sets of determinativa composita, of which he says (p. 67): "Huius generis composita ad nomina sua ita adiunguntur, ut posterior compositi pars significet actionem, cuius subiectum, quod aiunt, prior pars sit. Id autem vocabulum, ad quod refertur compositum, significat, quo tempore vel quo loco vel quo instrumento vel qua causa actio fiet." He argues that Sophocles and Euripides make frequent use of such composita. Thus explained, the expression means 'wine poured out *with a view to, for the purpose of being a πῶμα.*' But we think the οἶνος stands here merely in the relation of an instrumental to χυτός, the expression meaning then 'a drink poured out with wine,' the verbal being passive. Ant. 475 ὀπτὸν (σιδηρον). Ant. 1301 ὁξύθηκτος οἶδε βωμία πτέρυξ. La. ἡ δ' ὁξύθηκτος ἦδε βωμία πέριξ. Schol. ὁξείαν λαβοῦσα πληγὴν. "Parum constat," observes Schindler, p. 13, "utrum translate dictum Eurydicam denotet ad acrem furorem acutam, an proprie intellegendum sit de telo bene acuto, quo sensu Euripides vocem posuit Andr. 1118, 1150, El. 1159. Aegrotare enim codicum verba invictis argumentis Hermannus et Schneidewinus effecerunt, etsi, quousque corruptela pateat, non satis apparet." Many other conjectures have been suggested: cf. Schütz, p. 253; Wecklein, *Ars Sophoclis emendandi*, p. 74. We have hesitatingly adopted Hermann's ingenious conjecture, which accords with the Scholiast. Ant. 1316 ὁξυκώκυτον πάθος. With Stephanus ('acuta voce deploratus'), Böckh ('tiefbejammert'), Schindler (p. 13), Juris (p. 38), Tessing (p. 46) and others, we consider the verbal to be merely *passive*. Trach. 661 παγχρίστω (τὰς πειθοῦς). A corrupt passage. Schol. λείπει τὸ πέπλω, συγκεκραμένος καὶ ἁρμοσθεὶς τῇ πειθοὶ τοῦ θηρός. Hermann argues: "Constructio est συγκραθεὶς ἐπὶ προφάσει θηρός, παγχρίστω τὰς πειθοῦς. Conciliatus praedictione Centauri, suada peruncta. Satis moleste haec Sophocles enuntiavit, novata significatione vocabuli πρόφασις, id ut praedictionem vel mandatum indicaret. Sic certe unus ex scholiastis videtur accepisse, qui caeteroquin inepte scribit (to vs. 660), τῷ πέπλω τῆς πειθοῦς θελχθεὶς, τῷ ἐκ προφάσεως τοῦ Νέσσου κατεσκευασμένῳ." But παγχρίστω may be a noun. O. C. 1381 παλαίφατος Δίκη. O. C. 454 παλαίφαθ' (τάξ' ἐμοῦ). Trach. 823 παλαιφάτου προνοίας. Schol. γράφε παλαίφοιβον ἰδ' ἢ τῆς πάλαι μαντευσαμένης· φοιβᾶσθαι γὰρ τὸ μαντεύεσθαι. "Facilius credas," says Hermann, "qui ita scripserunt, voluisse

*tās pālai phoibou pronoias. Sed librorum scripturam numeri anti-strophici tuentur.*" Ant. 131 παλτῶ . . . πυρί. Schol. τῶ κεραυνῶ τῶ ἄνωθεν παλθέντι. Ai. 230 παραπλάκτω χερὶ. Schol. τῇ μανικῇ· παραπλήξ γὰρ ὁ μανικός. Ai. 907 πηκτὸν . . . ἔγχος. Schol. περιπεπηγὸς αὐτῷ. O. R. 1264 πλεκταῖς ἐώρας. Fg. 461 πλεκτοῖς (κημοῖσι). Fg. 490 πλεκταῖς . . . σπείραισι. πλεκταῖς, Nauck; πλεκτοῖς, Valck; πλείστοις, L. Fg. 683 πνικτὰ . . . μέλη (?). O. C. 1592 πολυσχίστων (κελεύθων). πολυσχίστων, Heath; πολυσχίσται, L. El. 207 πρόδοτον (βίον). Trach. 684 πρόρρητα (τά δ'). Schol. πρὸς ἐμὲ ὑπὸ Νέσσου προειρημένα· προμεμελετημένα μοι ἢ ἀπόρρητα. Wunder, Nauck, Wecklein (Ars Soph. emend., p. 132), Ellendt, Blaydes and others reject the verse as spurious. Trach. 1159 πρόφαντον (ῆν). Schol. προμεμαντευμένον, προειρημένον ὑπὸ τοῦ Διὸς· οὕτω δὲ διὰ τοῦ σ ἐν τῇ τραγικῇ λίσσει. Trach. 1163 πρόφαντον (τὸ θεῖον). Fg. 1021 πτερωτὰ φύλα. O. C. 1460 πτερωτὸς . . . βροντῇ. O. C. 1093 πυκνοστίκτων . . . ἑλάφω. Ant. 160 σύγκλητον . . . λίσχην. Schol. σύγκλητον λίσχην τὴν συγκληθεῖσαν ἐξαίφνης ὁμίλιαν ἐπειδὴ περ μεταπεμφάμενος τοὺς ἐντίμους εἰς ἐκκλησίαν συνήγαγεν. Cf. Eustath., p. 732, 53. El. 568 στικτὸν . . . ἑλάφον. Phil. 184 στικτῶν . . . θηρῶν. Phil. 33 στιπτῇ γε φυλλὰς. V. L. στείπτῃ. Trach. 916 στρωτὰ . . . φάρη. Ai. 65 συνδέτους (οἴκους). Ai. 296 συνδέτους . . . ταύρους. O. R. 733 σχιστῇ δ' ὁδὸς. El. 747 τμητοῖς ἱμάσι. El. 863 τμητοῖς ὀλκοῖς. Evidently the verbal is passive; but what does ὀλκοῖς mean? Schol. τμητοῖς δὲ ὀλκοῖς τοῖς ἱμάσιν· ὀλκοῖς οὖν ἀντὶ τῶν ἱμάτων ἐν οἷς εἰλκύσθη· τμητοῖς λώροις. Suidas, speaking of this passage, explains thus: τουτέστι τοῖς λώροις, τοῖς ἱμάσιν· ὀλκοῖς οὖν ἀντὶ τῶν ἱμάτων, οἷς εἰλκύσθη Ὀρέστης πεσὼν ἐκ τοῦ ἄρματος. Musgrave cannot believe that ὀλκοῖς was used for λώροις, and hence resorts to conjectures; while Hermann exclaims "Non video, quid impediatur simplicius (i. e. than the explanation of the Schol.) sulcos intelligi rotis arenae impressos." Ant. 858 τριπόλιστον οἶτον. On this difficult passage see the notes of Wex and Hermann. At one time Hermann wrote τρίπολιστον, which word does not exist. Böckh (p. 259) happily follows Schneider in deriving the verbal from πολίζω = πολέω, comparing Pindar's use of ἀναπολίζω (Pyth. VI 3) = ἀναπολέω, thus making τριπόλιστος = τριπόλητος. The verbal means, then, 'thrice (= oftentimes) revolved,' 'dreimal geflügt, immer wiederholt' (Wecklein, Ausgewählte Tragödien des S., 1874): 'dreimal d. h. vielfach immer von neuem durchgesprochen' (Wolff-Bellermann ad loc.); similarly Jebb, Juris, Jasper, Linwood, Campbell. Schol. πολλάκις ἀναπεπολημένον ἢ διάσημον καὶ παν-

ταχοῦ ἀκούμενον καὶ πολούμενον· ἢ τὸν πολλάκις ἐπελθόντα τῷ ἐμῷ οἴκῳ ἡ γένοι. We need not, then, with Hartung reject the word entirely, nor do we follow Donaldson's suggestion (*The New Cratylus*<sup>2</sup>, p. 281): "For the form πολύς admits of an adverb in -ις . . . and perhaps, after all, the difficult word τριπόλιστος in Soph., *Antig.* 857, may contain a remnant of this other superlative of πολύς." *Ant.* 848 τυμβόχωστον (ἔρμα). Donaldson (*The New Cratylus*<sup>2</sup>, p. 494) classes this adjective amongst those Karmadhārya in which, exceptionally, the adjective does not precede the substantive, in the compound. 'In tumuli modum congestus' is the meaning of the verbal. *Ai.* 481 ὑπόβλητον λόγον. *O. C.* 794 ὑπόβλητον στόμα. *Trach.* 1052 ὑφαντὸν ἀμφίβλητρον. *El.* 58 φλογιστὸν (δέμας). *Fg.* 316 χαλκηλάτοις ὅπλοισι. *Fg.* 347 χαλκηλάτους λέβητας. *Ant.* 945 χαλκοδέτοις αὐλαῖς. *El.* 485 χαλκόπλακτος . . . γένυς. Reading and interpretation of this passage have both been matters of lively discussion. Otto Jahn follows the one MS reading, χαλκόπλακτος: Wakefield, Erfurdt and others have resorted to conjectures. We think the case not so hopeless, although the ancients were embarrassed in attempting to explain it. Thus the Scholiast: ἡ χαλκόπλακτος γένυς ἡ ἐλοῦσα αὐτὸν ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὴ τιμωρὸς ἦξει κατὰ τῶν δρασάντων, to which the younger scholiasts are said to have added ἡ ἀπὸ χαλκοῦ ἡλασμένη, σφυρήλατος. The question is whether χαλκόπλακτος can mean χαλκήλατος, for we reject the active explanation of the verbal as being quite out of the question. Kvičala, *Beiträge zur Kritik und Erklärung des Sophokles*, I (1864), p. 34, denies this most decidedly, "denn niemals ward *πλήττειν* in der Bedeutung 'hämmern, treiben' (für *ελαύνειν*) gebraucht." This proves only that Sophocles has here (as elsewhere countless times) used an old word in a new sense—one of the characteristics of the language of our poet: we therefore accept this explanation of the verbal. *Ai.* 219 χειροδαίκτη σφάγι'. Schol. *θύματα* ὑπὸ τῶν χειρῶν αὐτοῦ δαΐχθέντα. *O. R.* 901 χειρόδεικτα (τάδε). *Trach.* 924 χρυσήλατος . . . περονίς. *O. R.* 1268 χρυσηλάτους περόνας. *El.* 837 χρυσοδέτοις ἔρκεσι. The play on the two meanings of ἔρκος, here, has caused the Schol. to give the two explanations of it—'a chain' and 'a trick'—in his long note ad loc. It means both here, the latter as a general form of the former. *Fg.* 224 χρυσόδετον κέρας. *Fg.* 1019 χρυσοτεύκτων (θεῶν ἀγάλματ').

## VOICE, PASSIVE : TIME, RELATIVELY PRESENT.

It is quite in keeping with the timelessness of the adjective, as such, that these verbals (which, though adjectives, have never lost all of their participial nature) can refer to a contemporaneous (relatively present) act. It is well known that in Latin many of these forms in *-tus* denote relatively present act. The more surprised are we, then, that commentators seem to have almost entirely overlooked this very evident force of the verbals in Greek. M., I, p. 69, cites *two* passages (both from Athenaeus) in which verbals in *-τος* are used with the force of the present passive participle! Of the adjectives which belong here, not a few have been explained *potentially*—the merely passive explanation, be it remarked, is in all such cases both more fitting to the situation than the potential, and also it is more *forcible*, just as 'one who is praised' is more forcible, because saying more, than 'one who may, can, deserves to be praised.' Others have, still less happily, been explained actively. In some cases it is quite unwise to insist on the difference between present completion and present duration—such cases forming the boundary-line between those adjectives of which we have just been speaking and those to which we now turn our attention.

The contemporaneous duration (continued act in relatively present time) is seen most plainly in those 'geographically present' adjectives—for so we may call them—such as 'the *sea-surrounded* isle,' 'an *uninhabited locality*,' etc. Such are partly simplicia, partly syntheta, partly parasyntheta. Of the other cases a few are joined with persons—an innovation, as compared with Aischylos, who never admits this force of the verbals when joined with persons. This liberty is at first used cautiously, and some of the cases hesitatingly put here should, possibly, be otherwise explained. Aischylos used this force of the verbals more freely than Sophocles: in both authors syntheta and parasyntheta are more frequent than simplicia.

## a) 'Geographically Present.'

Αἰ. 1219 ἀλίκλυστον (πρόβλημα). Αἰ. 597 ἀλίπλακτος εὐδαίμων. The Laurentianus reads ἀλίπλαγκτος, which form Lobeck tells us certain Greek grammarians affirm *can* be used instead of ἀλίπλακτος. And yet we follow the tradition of certain more recent MSS, ἀλίπλακτος 'quod unum verum est' (Moritz, Seyffert, ad loc.)

Ellendt cites a late scholiast: ἀλίπλακτος· ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀλίκλυστος· ἀλίπλακτος ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀλιπλάκτως, ἤγουν ἐν θαλάσῃ ἀτακτούσῃ περὶ σέ. Trach. 752 ἀμφίκλυστος (ἀκτὴ). Trach. 780 ἀμφίκλυστον . . . πέτραν. Schol. τὴν κλυζομένην. Ai. 134 ἀμφιρύτου Σαλαμίνος. Phil. 2 ἄστιπτος (ἀκτὴ). V. L. ἄστειπτος. But it is quite out of our power to determine whether—to the Greek ear—the expression meant a shore ‘which *is* never trodden’ or ‘which *has never* yet been trodden,’ and hence the various definitions given in Stephanus. O. C. 28 οἰκητός (sc. τόπος). Phil. 1 περιρρύτου χθονός. Phil. 239 περιρρύτου Σκύρου.

β) Other Examples.

Ant. 881 ἀδάκρυτον (πότμον). The scholiast—whom, unhappily, Bloomfield (Gloss. Aischyl. Prom. 905) follows—is misled by the alpha, which he takes to be an intensivum, translating πολυδάκρυτον; cf. Triclinius, ad loc., Clemm, de alpha intensivo, p. 72 (No. 12), Hermann ad loc. Ai. 407 δίπαλτος (στρατός) ἃν με χειρὶ φονεύει. Schol. (and similarly Suidas) ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς χερσὶν οἷον περιδεξίως με φονεύει· παντὶ σθένει ὡς Δίδυμος· ἢ ὁ στρατός με φονεύει λαβὼν τὰ δίπαλτα δοράτια ὡς Πιός φησιν: to which Lobeck exclaims “Utinam de difficilioribus locis illorum apposuissem sententias.” Now Eustathius says (p. 674, 14) καὶ παλτὸν εἶδος τι ὄπλου, ἐξ οὗ καὶ ὁ παρὰ Σοφοκλεῖ δίπαλτος φονεύς (sic), thus making the word a *possessivum*; similarly Hermann, “δίπαλτος, proprie *duas hastas vibrans*, ἔχων δύο δοῦρε”: followed by Campbell, and similarly Holtze, p. 11. It is not to be denied that, taken as a *possessivum*, the adjective corresponds to the definitions of Pius and Didymus. Ellendt, speaking of these definitions of Pius and Didymus, says “mihi neutrum horum, sed a duobus Atridis *duplex* eorum exercitus dici videtur adsignificato impetu in παλτός, ut δικρατεῖς Ἀτρεΐδαι *duo* sunt, sed *reges* esse adsignificatur.” Again, Schambach, II, p. 14, argues, “Si omnino, quid Graecus poeta a suis popularibus intellegi voluerit, nobis licet coniectura assequi, haec mihi videtur illius locutionis sententia esse: *exercitus duobus ducibus* (Agamemnone et Menelao) *impetum faciens*. Activum πᾶλλειν pro medio πᾶλλεσθαι (intransitive) ab Euripide usurpatum esse docet Seidler. ad Eur. El. 433.” Schindler, p. 24, observes “δίπαλτος is est exercitus qui duplicata, h. e. summa vi ‘παντὶ σθένει,’ in Aiace cooritur”: similarly Schmidt, p. 52, note 22. Finally Slameczka, p. 12, classes it amongst those cases “wo das Epitheton aus zwei Teilen besteht, deren erster nicht den zweiten näher bestimmt,

sondern seiner Bedeutung nach für sich zum Substantiv attributivisch hinzutritt." The subject of the verb in the verbal is *στρατός*: this granted, the verbal is *passive*, and we follow Pape, "das doppelt angetriebene Heer, mit Rücksicht auf die beiden Atriden, welche das Heer wie ein Geschoss auf den Aias schleudern": for surely we will not explain it *actively* (!) with Linwood, Wolff and some others; cf. Mehlhorn, *Anac.*, p. 242. Apart from the fact that verbals in *-τος* are *very* rarely used in an active sense, *δίπαλτος* is *always*, as it seems, used as a passive. O. R. 864 *εἵσεπτον ἀγνείαν*. Jebb—doing violence to the evident meaning of the passage—makes this the only case in all Greek in which *εἵσεπτος* is used in an *active* sense. O. C. 1235 *κατάμειπτον . . . πύματον*. O. R. 173 *κλυτὰς χθονός*. With Ritter and Kvičala (*Beiträge*, IV, p. 88), we do not resort to conjectures to take the place of this simple epithet of Boeotia. *κλυτός* is one of those adjectives which stand on the boundary between the mere passivity and the modality, and hence it easily reflects whatever coloring the context may give it. With Buttmann (*Lexilogus*), Brugmann (*Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik*, II, p. 208) and others, we accept as the original meaning of *κλυτός* 'einer, von dem viel *gerühmt* . . . *gehört wird*,' hence merely passive, and indefinitely present. Ai. 177 *κλυτῶν ἐνάρων*. Ai. 375 *κλυτοῖς . . . αἰπολίοις*. Whether the adjective mean 'celebrated' or 'bleating' it is passive. El. 714 *κροτητῶν ἀρμάτων*. Clearly this means 'of rattling wagons' (*κροτίω* = 'to make to rattle'). Fg. 221 *κροτητὰ . . . μέλη*. Enallage for *κροτητῶν πεκτιδῶν μέλη*. El. 1085 *πάγκλαυτον αἰῶνα*. O. C. 1440 *προὔπτον Ἀιδην*. El. 49 *τροχηλάτων δίφρων*.

### γ) *With Persons.*

Trach. 854 *ἀγακλειτὸν (κέλωρα)*. Reading and sense of the passage are uncertain. We have accepted Dindorf's conjecture, *Ζηνὸς κέλωρ' ἀγακλειτὸν*; L. *ἀγακλειτὸν ἡρυκλείου*. O. R. 762 *ἄποπτος (εἶη)*. Lobeck (*Ajax*, vs. 16), Hermann (*Aj.*, vs. 16), Schambach (*II*, p. 7), Ritter (*ad loc.*) and others have proved that the adjective means 'distant,' i. e. seen afar off. Its time is indefinitely present. Ai. 15 *ἄποπτος ἦς*. Suidas's *πὸρρωθεν δρώμενον* is more accurate than the scholiast's *δύρατος*. El. 1489 *ἄποπτον* (of the speaker himself). O. R. 1345 *καταρατότατον*. The adjective really qualifies the *με* of verse 1340.

## ON THE MODALITY OF THE VERBALS.

We now turn to those verbals whose time is future. This seemingly strange use is most easily, though mechanically, explained by *prolepsis*, and it seems originally to have been regularly attended by a negative; cf. Brugmann, *Grundriss*, II, p. 207, and *Griech. Gramm.*<sup>2</sup> (in Iwan Müller's *Handbuch*), p. 97. The transition in the meaning of the verbal, from that which *is* to that which *may be*, is very old, as we can trace it back into pre-Hellenic times; but the Greek language developed an especial inclination toward this modal use. The Latin example usually taken is *invictus*, which originally meant nothing more than 'not yet conquered' or (by prolepsis) 'so as to be unconquered,' and the transition in meaning from what will remain unconquered to unconquerable is a light one. That the adjective could not, save by prolepsis, denote *what WILL not be conquered* does not surprise us, when we remember how closely futurity and modality (potentiality) were connected in the classic languages, especially in Greek. We see, also, how the presence of the negative was particularly favorable to the development of this modality, as introducing a condition which *has never yet entered* or, by prolepsis, *so as that it will never enter or have entered*—and hence the inference that it *cannot enter*. But later the negative could be dispensed with, and indeed in Sophocles the number of composita with alpha privativum is quite below that of other composita and simplicia, the numbers being something like 40 to 90, of which latter number, however, a negative is more or less closely connected with the verbal in some 20 cases. Already Homer, who uses the verbals also modally, did not confine himself to a use of the adjective with a negative. Cf. Curtius, *Das Verbum*<sup>3</sup>, II, p. 388. And yet the modal use of the verbals is, as mentioned above, never met with in the Attic inscriptions. One is almost tempted to think this must be a mere chance, the modality being quite usual from the oldest times on. In fact so abundant are examples of this use of the verbal that Kopetsch makes the number of potential verbals in Plato larger than that of merely passive ones (p. 13).

As illustrating the manner in which the modality arose from mere passivity, might be cited the following passages, which thus form the connecting link between those adjectives which were being considered in the last chapter and those to which our attention is now turned.



Ai. 450 ἀδάματος θεά. Schol. παρθένος, ἄζυγος. On the form ἀδάματος vs. ἀδάματος cf. Lobeck ad loc.; Elmsley, O. R. 196; Reisig, O. C. 1564. El. 1239 ἀδμήταν ("Ἀρτεμιν). The reading is uncertain; with Otto Jahn, Schütz and others, we retain the ἀδμήταν of the Laurentianus. O. C. 1321 ἀδμήτης . . . μητρός. O. C. 1572 ἀδάματον φύλακα.

Approaching the verbals more closely, we cite M., I, p. 32; here, under the heading 'de significatu potentiali et passivo simplicium et parasynthetorum,' the following law is laid down: "Illis, quae a verbis sub sensus cadentia aut ab iis orta significantibus repetita sunt, potestas passiva, iis autem, quae a verbis animi motus et agitationes exprimentibus sunt derivata, vis potentialis devincta est." On page 65, however, the author is himself compelled to add "inveniuntur utique exempla quoque, quae legibus prorsus sunt contraria, sed haec traducenda sunt ad licentiam libertatemque linguae, unde emanavit notum illud ac tritum: *nulla regula sine exceptione*." Now, to sustain this rule of his, Moissiszig cites some 150 simplicia and 108 parasyntheta, selected from writers in prose and poetry at random, which conform to the law: scarcely 30 adjectives seem to be 'exceptions.'

We object to this method of treating the subject because of its impracticability. It is almost impossible to draw the line, with accuracy, between verbs of the senses and those expressing emotions of the mind, especially when the one class is used metaphorically. Apart from this, how are we to classify forms like διαλυτός as against διάλυτος? Sophocles uses something like 8 parasyntheta, 26 simplicia and 50 syntheta modally: modal simplicia which are evident exceptions to M.'s rule are e. g. θεατός, ακουστός, ἄλωτός, λεκτός, ῥητός, βλεπτός, οικητός. Furthermore, are we to believe really, then, that Greek verbs of emotion could never be used as mere passives? Without making a further point of it, then, we do not accept Moissiszig's clever suggestion, preferring to classify the examples of modal verbals according to the *cause*, *occasion* of this modality.

But Moissiszig (I, p. 70 f.) says—speaking de synthetorum potestatibus—that those "a nominibus composita duabus modo insignita sunt significationibus, passiva atque activa, quarum illa est frequentior": this statement is sustained for Sophocles by the facts of the language. Of those derived from a privativum M. says: "Adiectiva ab hoc particula loquelari ordientia prolixè fluunt . . . significationes utique primariae sunt potentialis et

passiva, quarum usus par est" (but not in Sophocles, where the passives outnumber the thirty-odd cases of modal compounds with α priv.) "ita quidem, ut discrimina inveniri prorsus nequeant, quibus eveniat, ut aliquot alterutro, multa autem utroque praedita sint significatu, ut ἄθικτος intactus et intactilis, ἄελπτος insperatus et insperabilis, ἀτρωτος inviolatus et inviolabilis, ἀθαπτος autem ἀκλητος passivam, et ἀνήκεστος ἀτλητος similia potentialem solam nacta sint vim." These statements are, in the main, supported by Sophocles' use of the language. But again: "A particula inseparabili δὺς coniugata solam prae se ferunt potestatem potentialem, ut: δυσθέατος, δύσλυτος, δυσίατος et sexcenta eiusdem generis. Duo modo invenimus exempla, quae activo praedita sunt significatu: δυσάλητος, Soph. O. tyr. 12, qui non facile dolores sentit i. e. durus, torpeus: et δυσβάϋκτος, Aesch. Pers. 575, valde lamentans. Significatio horum adiectivorum passiva a linguae indole ac natura prorsus abhorret." But other exceptions to this rule are e. g. δυσθρήνητος, Ant. 1211; δυσούριστος, O. R. 1315; δυσάλητος, O. R. 12, Fg. 867; δυσπόνητος, O. C. 1613. Finally, "Adiectiva, quorum pars prior particula est εὔ, activam, passivam, potentialem nauciscuntur intellectum." At first it seems strange that δὺς- and εὔ-compounds should be so dissimilar; but εὔ-compounds in Homer never (except once?) mean 'easy-, easily-, ' but only 'well-, beautifully-, ' the adjective being thus always passive, and K. Grashof (Über das Fuhrwerk, p. 8, note 8) maintains that Homer considers all composita with εὔ to be real *syntheta*, not *paratheta*, and hence uses them as adjectives of *two* endings. (This view is opposed by Hentze, Anhang zu Homers Ilias, E, vs. 466.) Kopetsch (p. 10) makes the following statement: "Coniugata autem sunt significationis potentialis adiectiva cum duobus praepositionibus, quae vocantur insuperabiles, alpha privativo et δὺς- et cum adverbio εὔ, *nunquam cum ullo nomine.*" But in Aischylos not a few exceptions to this sweeping assertion have been found: similarly in Sophocles such forms as ἀπέπτυστος, ἐμπληκτος, ἀνασχετός, ἀπόματος, ἐξόγιστος, etc.

The verbal adjectives, when modal, vary in meaning all the way from that which is merely *physically* or *naturally* possible—through that which is because of innate higher qualities intentionally so—and through that which poetic exaggeration makes (im)possible—up to that which is *morally* (im)possible, extreme cases of which latter coloring certain ones have thought to be equivalent to the gerundive force of the verbals in -τέος. It is

impossible to decide in each case just where one of these forces merges into the other, but if a scheme of these shades of meaning dare be attempted, it might possibly be not unlike the following:

I. Really, physically (im)possible: α) *by nature or chance*, e. g. ἀναρίθμητος χρόνος. β) *intentionally so*: 'dignus qui,' e. g. ἄτεγκτος . . . φανεί.

II. Through *poetic exaggeration* or freedom of speech characterized as (im)possible; e. g. ἀνικίων ὄπλων.

III. From *modesty, shame* or some *moral consideration* rendered (im)possible; e. g. ἄρρητον ἔπος.

(IV. That which *must* be?).

The ground, then, of this possibility rests on—α) what is *inherent in the nature of the subject* (whether intentionally or unintentionally); β) some *moral consideration*. Hence we distinguish I, the *first modality*, embracing I and II; II, the *second modality*, embracing III and (IV?). Our first modality is far more widely represented than the second, and is more usually connected with things than with persons, some 100 cases occurring with things, against less than 50 with persons. Of the second modality we have only about 20 examples, none of which are used with persons. The majority of these modally-used verbals occur in iambic verses.

#### EXAMPLES OF THE 'FIRST MODALITY.'

##### I. *With a priv.* α) *With Persons.*

Ai. 190 ἀσώτου . . . γενεᾶς. The verse is not (as Merkel will have it) corrupt, the subject being easily supplied from the preceding βασιλῆς. Schol. τῆς ἐξώλους καὶ σφίζεσθαι μὴ δυναμένης. O. R. 336 ἄτεγκτος . . . φανεί; Schol. ἄτεγκτος δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀσυμπαθῆς καὶ ἀδάκρυτος; similarly Suidas, An. Bekk., p. 458, 11, and p. 218, 22. Ritter maintains that the verse is spurious because it destroys the *stichomythia*, and especially because of the strange use of ἀτελεύτητος. O. R. 792 ἄτλητον (γένος). Schol. τὸ μὴ δυνάμενον ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων ὀρᾶσθαι. El. 1388 ἄφυκτοι κύνες. With Hermann, Wunder, Nauck and others, we accept the latter explanation of the schol.: ἄς οὐκ ἔστι φυγεῖν.

##### β) *With Things.*

O. R. 1314 ἄφατον, ἀδάματόν τε (νέφος). V. L. ἀδάμαστον. Schol. ἄφατον, ἀφάτως ἐπεληλυθός . . . ἀδάμαστον δὲ ἀνίατον, ὃ οὐδεὶς

δαμάσαι δυνήσεται ἢ σκληρὸν καὶ τραχὺ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀδάμαντος. O. R. 205 ἀδάματ' (βέλεα). Ai. 648 ἀελπτον οὐδέν. Trach. 999 ἀήλητον . . . ἄνθος. El. 123 ἀκόρεστον οἰμωγὰν. O. C. 1675 ἀλόγιστα παροίσομεν. The exact meaning of the passage is disputed. With Stephanus, Wunder, Nauck, we take the adjective to be modal. El. 230 ἄλυτα (τάδε). Schol. τὸ θρηνεῖν τὸν πατέρα ἄλυτόν μοι ἔσται ὃ ἔστιν οὐδέποτε παύσομαι ἀλλ' αἰὲν ἐν τῷ θρηνεῖν ἔσομαι. Phil. 198 ἀμάχητα βέλη. Ai. 646 ἀναρίθμητος χρόνος. Ai. 714 ἀναύδατον (οὐδέν)· ἀναύδατον (later ἀναύδητον), Lobeck; ἀναύδητον, L.; ἀναύδακτον, Hesychius. Ai. 52 ἀνηκέστου χαρᾶς. El. 888 ἀνηκέστῳ πυρί; Bergk, Nauck, Wecklein (Ars Soph. emend., p. 50) conjecture ἀνηφαίστῳ, which we, with Schutz, l. l., p. 304, reject 'aufs entschiedenste.' Curiously enough, Wunder takes the verbal here, and in the passage just discussed, to be either purely passive or even active! Kvičala's position (cf. Beiträge, I, p. 61 f.), that the verbal is merely passive, would be the more inviting, if the *uniform* (modal) usage of the verbal were not against it; cf. M., I, p. 72. Phil. 186 ἀνήκεστα μεριμνήματ'. O. R. 98 ἀνήκεστον (μίασμα). El. 1408 ἀνήκουστα (ἤκουσ'). Triclinius ἦτοι δ' οὐ δύναται τις ἀκοῦειν. El. 166 ἀνήνυτον οἶτον. Campbell's active translation 'accomplishing nothing' is plainly wrong. The verbal is modally passive; cf. Stephanus, 'quae perfici non possunt'; Anec. Bekk., p. 13, 26, ἀνήνυτος πόνος: ὁ πολλὸς καὶ ὃν οὐχ οἶδ' τε διανύσαι. Suidas: τὸν ἀτελείωτον μόρον, ἢ Ἠλέκτρα φησί. Ant. 781 ἀνίκατε ("Ἔρως). O. C. 1515 ἀνικήτου (χειρὸς). Phil. 78 ἀνικήτων ὅπλων. Ai. 683 ἀπιστος . . . λιμήν. Ai. 255 ἀπλатор (αἰσ'). The adjective has been derived from πελάζω (Gross, II, p. 12), πελάω (so e. g. Ebeling and Seidler), or even from πλάω (Stephanus). We derive it from πελάω. Trach. 1093 ἀπλатор θρέμμα. Trach. 982 ἀπλετον (βάρος). Construction and punctuation of the words disputed. Contrary to Hermann's conception of the passage, we have taken βάρος as a nominative. But the etymology of the verbal is disputed, and Gross, II, p. 12, does not harmonize with Gross, I, p. 9! We follow Lobeck, Pathologiae Graeci Sermonis Elementa, I, p. 245, who, rejecting other etymologies, argues: "Probabilius Graecus ille, quem testatus sum, ex ἀπλητος factum putat, hoc autem a πλέω impleo derivatum": so Curtius, Et.<sup>5</sup>, p. 277; Clemm, de alpha intensivo, p. 81, No. 28. El. 1336 ἀπλήστον . . . βοῆς. Trach. 1030 ἀποσίβατος . . . νόσος. O. C. 489 ἀπυστα φωνῶν. Schol. ἀνήκουστα ἀντὶ ἡρέμα καὶ συντόμως. Ai. 576 ἀρρηκτον σάκος. O. R. 301 ἀρρητα (πάντα). O. R. 464 ἀρρητ' ἀρρήτων. "Das Unaus-

sprechliche des Unaussprechlichen," Ritter. Hermann, Bruck, Wunder, Nauck and others have adduced passages in abundance to defend the above expression. Trach. 961 ἀσπετόν τι θαῦμα. We do not derive the verbal from ἔπομαι, but, with Vaniček (Griechisch-lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch, p. 995), Schmidt (Synonymik der griechischen Sprache, I, p. 10), Göbel (Lexilogus, I, pp. 87-88), from the root ΣΠΕ or ΣΕΠ 'to say.' Ai. 222 ἀτλατον (ἀγγελίαν). Ai. 788 ἀτρύτων (κακῶν). Schol. πολυτρώτων, which definition is rightly rejected by Clemm, de alpha intensivo, p. 88, No. 37. Trach. 694 ἀφραστον, ἀξύμβλητον (φάτω). O. C. 1463 ἀφατος (κύπος). Trach. 1057 ἀφράστῳ . . . πέδῃ. Schol. ἀπροσδοκήτῳ, ἀνενοήτῳ ἢ ἀλέκτῳ ἢ περὶ ἧς οὐκ ἔχει τις φράσασθαι τίς εἴη τὴν φύσιν: this latter is the preferable explanation. Trach. 265 ἀφυκτ' . . . βέλη. Phil. 105 ἀφύκτους (λούς). Fg. 611 ἀφυκτά τε μήδεα.

## II. With δυσ-. a) With Persons.

O. C. 1722 δυσάλωτος οὐδεὶς. Ai. 609 δυσθεράπευτος Αἴας.

## β) With Things.

Trach. 959 δυσπαλλάκτοις ὀδύναῖς. El. 1385 δυσέριστον αἶμα φουσῶν Ἀρης. By a slight *traiectio epitheti* the adjective—really belonging to Ἀρης—is joined with αἶμα; so Juris (p. 11): "Vix aliter explicare licet nisi, qui difficile impugnatur, 'qui est insuperabilis' (sic!): de Marte ad res ab eo gestas transfertur." But simpler is the explanation suggested by Lueck (De comparationum et translationum usu Sophocleo, Pars II, Neumark, 1880, p. 5): "quamquam enim paullo insolentius hoc appositionis genus videtur, tamen haec ratio multo probabilior est quam coniecturae in hunc locum prolatae"—his device consists in simply placing a comma before αἶμα. Ai. 1004 δυσθείατον ὄμμα. Ant. 1284 δυσκάθαρος . . . λυμήν. Ant. 1346 δυσκόμιστος (πόσιμος). Trach. 949 δύσκριτ' (μέλεα). Schol. δυσκατάληπτά ἐστιν ἰσομέγεθα ὄντα. Ai. 40 δυσλόγιστον (τί). Trach. 683 δύσνιπτον . . . γρηφῇ. O. C. 1687 δύσοιστον . . . τροφίαν; Enallage for βίου δυσόιστον κ. τ. λ. Phil. 508 δυσόιστων πόνων. O. C. 1277 δυσπρόσοιστον . . . στόμα. O. C. 286 δυσπρόσοπτον (κάρα). V. L. δυσπρόσωπον. El. 460 δυσπρόσοπτ' ὀνείρατα. Fg. 839 δυσπάλαιστον . . . κακόν. So Nauck, for Stobaios' δυσπελαστον. O. R. 109 δυστέκμαρτον (ἵχνος).

III. *Compounds of εὔ.* α) *With Persons.*

Ai. 704 εὖγνωστος ἐμοὶ ξυνείη διὰ παντὸς εὐφρων (ὁ Δάλιος). Schol. καὶ συνείη μοι εὐφρων, εὖγνωστος, φανερός ὦν καὶ δῆλος ὅτι φιλεῖ με, to which Lobeck thus observes: "Scholiastes Rom. primum et extremum nomen ita connexa censet ut significetur φανερός ὦν ὅτι εὐφρων ἐστὶ *favoris manifestus*; sed non persuadet. Postquam enim Panem praesultatorem invitaverat chorus, nihil magis consentaneum videtur quam ut Apollinis quoque, dei festivissimi, numen praesens ex propinquo venerari gestiat, communi persuasione, deos cultoribus suis φαίνεσθαι ἐναργείς." Evidently the adjective is decidedly flat when translated as a mere passive—'well known'! The chorus wishes that the god may appear in body, *so plainly that he can be easily recognized*: the verbal is therefore modal and proleptic.

β) *With Things.*

Ai. 151 εὐπιστα λέγει. La. εὐπειστα altered by another hand into εὐπιστα.

IV. *Remaining Examples.* α) *With Persons.*

O. C. 1383 ἀπόπτυστος (σὺν). Ai. 1358 ἐμπληκτοὶ (φῶτες). Schol. οἱ μὴ ἐμμένοντες τῇ ἀρχαίᾳ ἀρετῇ καὶ φιλίᾳ, ἄφρονες παρὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις· ἄλλως: ἐμπληκτοὶ κοῦφοι, εὐμετάβλητοι. We accept the latter explanation of the schol. So Lobeck: "Ἐμπληκτος idem valet quod ἄστατος εὐμετάβολος, ut Hesychius et Eustathius, p. 1886, 40, interpretantur." 'Mutabilis,' Schambach (I, p. 43). Ant. 1161 ζηλωτός (Κρέων). Or is the verbal merely passive? "Ut ei invadere potuisses," M., I, p. 44. O. C. 1665 θαυμαστός (τις). Fg. 872 θαυμαστὰ. Ai. 915 θεατός (sc. Αἴας). El. 234 πιστά (μάτηρ). El. 1204 πιστὰς (πρὸς πιστὰς ἐρεῖς). El. 1352 πιστόν (ὄν). O. R. 385 πιστός (Κρέων). O. R. 1118 πιστός (ἄλλος). O. C. 334 πιστῶ μόνῳ (οἰκετῶν). O. C. 356 πιστῇ (φύλαξ). O. C. 1322 πιστός . . . γόνος. O. C. 1395 πιστοῖσι συμμάχοισιν. Trach. 286 πιστός (ἐγὼ). Trach. 541 πιστός (Ἡρακλῆς). Phil. 1272 πιστός (of the person addressed). Fg. 303 πιστοὶ με κωχεύουσιν. Ai. 1369 χρηστός γ' ἔσει. "Χρηστόν," defines Kopetsch, p. 21, "dignum, quo utare, h. e. utile vel omnino quod in genere suo est bonum." O. R. 610 χρηστὸς (κακοὺς) νομίζειν . . . χρηστὸς (κακοὺς). O. C. 1014 χρηστός (ξεῖνος). O. C. 1430 χρηστοῦ (στρατηλάτου). Ant. 520 χρηστός (ὁ). Ant. 662 χρηστός (ἀνὴρ). Trach. 452 χρηστός (θῆλης γενέσθαι). Phil. 437 χρηστοὺς (τούς).

β) *With Things.*

O. R. 1312 ἀκουστόν (δεινόν). O. R. 111 ἀλωτόν (τὸ ζητούμενον). "τὸ ληφθῆναι δυνάμενον," Suidas defines it, citing this passage. O. C. 1652 ἀνασχετοῦ (φόβου). Trach. 721 ἀνασχετόν (ζῆν). Phil. 987 ἀνασχετὰ (ταῦτα). O. R. 429 ἀνεκτὰ (ταῦτα). Ant. 282 ἀνεκτὰ (λέγεις). Ant. 388 ἀπώμοτον (οὐδέν). Schol. ἀπώμοτον ἀντὶ ἀπηγορευμένον καὶ ἀπροσδόκητον· ἀντὶ τοῦ οὐκ ὀφείλει τις ἀπομόσασθαι περὶ τίνος ὅτι οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸ πρᾶξειεν. O. R. 1337 βλεπτόν ἢ στερκτόν (τί). O. C. 1526 ἐξάγιστα (ἅ). Schol. καθαρά· σημαίνει γὰρ καὶ τὸ ἄγος τοῦτο. οὕτως, ἐξάγιστα ἀντὶ ἁγνὰ καὶ μὴ οἷά τε ῥηθῆναι· καὶ ἐπὶ τούτου γὰρ χρῶνται πολλαχοῦ. "Neque vero," argues Hermann, "probari posse puto, quod et scholiastae, et aliis interpretibus placet, ἐξάγιστα esse *valde sancta*, sed est illa vox pariter ut *μηδὲ κινείται ad λόγῳ referenda: quae piaculum est nec licet dicere.*" The verbal means 'sins,' that is, 'what deserves to be accursed.' O. R. 361 γνωτόν (εἰπεῖν). γνωτόν, Elmsley; γνωστόν, L. If Merkel's reading (especially of the previous verse) is correct, the verbal means 'intelligible.' Fg. 731 διδακτὰ (τὰ μὲν) . . . εὔρετὰ (τὰ δέ). Trach. 699 εἰκαστόν ὥστε πρίονος ἐκβρόματ'. Phil. 191 θαυμαστόν (οὐδέν). But the verbal can, of course, be merely passive. O. C. 1360 κλαυτὰ δ' ἐστίν. V. L. κλαυστά. The verbal means 'worthy of being wept over,' not what *must* (is *necessary to be*) wept over—in which latter case it would be the only exception in Sophocles to the rule that verbals in -τος do *not* exhibit the signification of 'necessity.' Phil. 633-34 λεκτὰ (πάντα), πάντα δὲ τολμητὰ. O. C. 1036 μεμπτόν (οὐδέν). Phil. 1193 νεμεσητόν . . . θροεῖν. Schol. οὐκ ἔστι, φησί, μεμπτόν τῷ δυστυχοῦντι καὶ παραφθέγγεσθαι. Hesychius' definition of νεμεσητόν is μεμφίμοιρον, καὶ δ' ἂν τις ἐντραπίη. O. C. 97 πιστόν . . . πτερόν. O. C. 626 πιστόν (τὸ σόν). O. C. 1488 πιστόν (τὸ). Trach. 398 πιστόν (τὸ). Phil. 71 πιστή (ὁμιλία). Fg. 601 πιστόν οὐδέν. Phil. 756 ῥητόν (sc. ἐπίσυγμα). Fg. 325 συγγνωστόν εἰπεῖν. Ai. 466 τλητόν (τοῦργον). Ai. 223 φευκτὰν (ἀγγελίαν). Phil. 1154 φοβητός (χῶρος). This is Hermann's text; οὐκέτι φοβητός, L. Ai. 468 χρηστόν (τι). El. 240 χρηστῷ (τῷ). The verbal is neuter, referring to a good *thing*, and the scholiast is wrong in referring it to some imaginary person. El. 972 χρηστὰ (τὰ). Ant. 299 χρηστάς (φρένας). Ant. 636 χρηστάς (γνώμας). Trach. 3 χρηστός (sc. αἰών). Trach. 231 χρηστὰ . . . ἔπη. Trach. 470 χρηστὰ (λεγοῦση). Trach. 1136 χρηστὰ μωμένη. Trach. 1137 χρήστ'. Phil. 450 χρηστὰ (τὰ). Phil. 457 χρηστὰ (τὰ). Phil. 476 χρηστόν (τὸ). Phil. 584 χρηστὰ (ἀντιπᾶσχω). Fg. 85 χρηστόν (ἅπαν τὸ). Some, however, interpret

the verbal as referring to a person; cf. Campbell's note. Fig. 736 *χρηστὰ* (τὰ).

# ON THE SECOND MODALITY.

Kopetsch (p. 22) cites only three adjectives in Plato which contain the notion of that which is 'nefas . . . patrare': these are *ἀκίνητος*, *ἀπόρρητος*, *ἄβατος*. In Sophocles, as in Aischylos, the number is much larger. The signification of 'necessity,' cf. verbals in *-τέος*, is nowhere in Sophocles to be met with in verbals in *-τος*. The very circumstance that Sophocles made freer use of the forms in *-τέος* explains why he all the more avoided using those in *-τος* in a sense even approaching that of those in *-τέος*; compare O. C. 1360, where they are balanced against one another for the sake of greater contrast. The verbals thus used are all either *simplicia*—not infrequently with a negative—or *syntheta*. As above stated, this use of the adjectives is seen only when they are joined with names of *things*.

## I. With a *priv.*

O. R. 891 *ἀθίκτων* (τῶν). Schol. ὁ ἐστὶν ὃν οὐ χρὴ ἔχεσθαι. O. R. 897 *ἄθικτον* . . . ὀμφαλόν. Schol. οὐκέτι ἀπειμι πρὸς τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα οὐδὲ πρὸς τὸν ἄχρατον καὶ ἀπροσπελάστον αὐτοῦ νεών. Whether this *ὀμφαλός* was the temple itself or the white stone is disputed. O. C. 39 *ἄθικτος* (χώρος). Ant. 1060 *ἀκίνητα* . . . φράσαι. O. C. 624 *ἀκίνητ'* ἔπη. Ai. 773 *ἄρρητόν τ' ἔπος*.

The following three adjectives could very easily be referred to the first modality. Such cases mark the transition from the one modality to the other.

El. 203 *ἀρρήτων* (δείπνων). Schol. ἀ οὐδὲ ὀνομάσαι καλόν. Ai. 214 *ἄρρητον* (λόγον). Schol. κακόφημον μηδὲ λίγεσθαι ὀφείλοντα. O. C. 1001 *ἄρρητόν τ' ἔπος*.

## II. Remaining Examples.

Trach. 64 *διδακτά*. Schol. εἰ προσήκει μοι μαθεῖν. Trach. 671 *διδακτόν*. Schol. εἰ μὴ ἀπόρρητον εἶη. O. R. 300 *διδακτά τε ἄρρητά τ' κ. τ. λ.* O. C. 39 *οἰκητός* (χώρος). Ant. 874 *παραβατόν* (κράτος). O. R. 993 *ρήτόν*; (sc. *μάντευμα*). O. R. 1289 *ρήτά μοι*. O. C. 1001 *ρήτόν . . . ἔπος*.

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### III.—ON THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE COMMENTARIOLUM PETITIONIS OF QUINTUS CICERO.

The question of the authenticity of the Com. seems first to have been raised by the late Adam Eussner. After giving utterance at various times to doubt concerning its genuineness, he finally set forth his reasons in detail in a dissertation published in 1872.<sup>1</sup> That the question might be raised seems to have already occurred to Bücheler,<sup>2</sup> on account of the similarity of several passages to fragments of the oration in toga candida. But while granting that they were more than accidental resemblances, he held that they were borrowed from Quintus by his brother in his speech of a few months later. Bücheler also pointed out the general similarity of the Com. to the first letter ad Q. Fratrem, remarking (p. 10) *Marcus par pari quodam modo rettulit missa ad fratrem . . . epistula praeclara* I 1. In addition to the points of resemblance between the oration in tog. cand. and the first letter ad Q. Fratrem, Eussner adduced a number of parallel ideas and expressions from the oration pro Murena, some of which were striking, while others revealed nothing more than the chance occurrence of the same word. Indeed, I have no doubt that by indiscriminate citation of accidental resemblances, which would occur in any two documents treating of a similar subject, he really damaged a pretty good case and withdrew attention from a few striking parallels. Eussner further made many trivial objections, such as the unseemliness of a younger and obscure man like Quintus venturing to give advice to his older brother on a subject in which the experience of the adviser was as nothing to that of the advised, and others of the same sort, which drew down upon him the wrath of R. Y. Tyrrell, in *Hermathena* V (1877), p. 40, who seems to have seen nothing in the dissertation worthy of consideration. A calmer and more sensible rejoinder had already been made by R. Wirz (*Phil. Anzeiger* V (1873), p. 498), and he seems to have successfully answered the chief objections made by

<sup>1</sup> *Commentariolum petitionis examinatum et emendatum*. Würzburg, 1872.

<sup>2</sup> *Quinti Ciceronis reliquiae recognovit* F. Bücheler. Lips. 1869.

Eussner. Tyrrell again, in the first volume of his edition<sup>1</sup> of Cicero's letters, devotes some space to a refutation of Eussner's arguments, though they seem to have convinced no one of the spuriousness of the work. After this the question was not again raised until the year 1887, when Mommsen, in the long looked-for third volume of his *Staatsrecht*, expressed his belief that the Com. is not from the hand of Quintus Cicero. On page 484 (III), where the terms *ordo equester* and *equites Romani* are under discussion, he says: "In der Regel aber wird *ordo equester*, eben wie *equites Romani*, gesetzt für die Gesamtheit sowohl der das Ritterpferd besitzenden wie auch der zu dessen Besitz befähigten Personen. . . Ein terminologisch fester Gegensatz zwischen den Staatspferdinhabern und den Expectanten hat auch hier sich nicht entwickelt." In a note to this passage he says: "In diesem allgemeinen Sinn wird diese Bezeichnung schon von Cicero ganz gewöhnlich verwendet. Gegensätzlich und also incorrect findet sie sich in der in früher Zeit dem Q. Cicero untergeschobenen Bewerbungsschrift; hier werden die in den *centuriae equitum* stehenden jungen Leute bestimmt durch die *auctoritas* des *ordo equester*, während doch eigentlich jene den *ordo equester* bilden." Compare also page 497, n. 3.<sup>2</sup> The passage quoted does not, of course, contain all or probably any considerable part of Mommsen's reasons for considering the work spurious, but it is the only utterance so far as I know that he has made on the question. It is not my purpose to discuss the point which Mommsen here raises;<sup>3</sup> but since the authority of so great a scholar has arrayed itself against the genuineness of the Com., a reconsideration of the question has seemed to me desirable.

The MSS are practically<sup>4</sup> unanimous in attributing the work to Quintus Cicero, nor can any important argument for its spuriousness be drawn, I believe, from a consideration of historical facts and conditions as set forth in it.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> His answer is substantially the same as his earlier paper on the subject in *Hermathena*.

<sup>2</sup> On page 114, n. 5, 'Q. Cicero de pet. cons.' is cited with no intimation that it is looked upon as spurious.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Willems, B. Ph. W. 661, 1889.

<sup>4</sup> The fact that some of the *Lagomarsiniani* attribute it to Marcus Cicero is, of course, of no significance. See Bücheler, ap. crit. p. 25.

<sup>5</sup> In the case of Q. Gallius (spoken of Com. 19 as already defended by Cicero, while Asconius, p. 78, says that he defended him after the oration in tog. cand.), it is more probable that Asconius is in error, as is assumed by Drumann V, 374 and n. 97, and maintained also by Bücheler ad loc.

The striking contrast, however, between the upright, outspoken and rashly impolitic character<sup>1</sup> of Quintus and the compromising,<sup>2</sup> or even dishonorable, exhortations of some parts of the Com. has been sufficiently emphasized by Eussner (p. 20).

The dryness of the style of the Com., with its tedious iteration of the same or similar forms of transition, etc., is well set forth and illustrated by Bücheler, p. 7. But of all the rhetorical machinery which it displays, nothing is more tiresome or more characteristic of the pedantic school rhetoric than the wonderful fondness which the author betrays for the *distributio* (to use his own word). Indeed, a careful analysis of the work might almost convince one that it was nothing but an exercise in that subject. He begins by dividing the whole *petitio* into three subjects for Cicero's meditation: novus sum, consulatum peto, Roma est. Let us take for example the second member, *consulatum peto*. This is divided in 16 as follows: *Petitio autem magistratus divisa est in duarum rationum diligentiam, quarum altera in amicorum studiis, altera in populari voluntate ponenda est.* Of this double division, let us again take the second member,—*ratio popularis*: (41) *Dicendum est de illa altera parte petitionis quae in populari ratione versatur. Ea desiderat nomenclationem, blanditiam, assiduitatem, benignitatem, rumorem, spem in republica.* Each one of these six divisions is carried out in detail, with more or less subdivision (e. g. *rumor*, in 50 and 51: *sed—iam—etiam—postremo*). That this minuteness of division and subdivision, which might be equally shown by other examples, is a part of the writer's conscious rhetorical devices, is clear from the following: (49) *ac ne videar aberrasse a distributione mea, qui haec in hac populari parte petitionis disputem, hoc sequor, etc.* That in so much division he sometimes runs short of material will not cause surprise, as for example in 40, where the *rationes et genera obtrectatorum et adversariorum*—who are divided into three classes!—are to be met and won over, in the first class, by *spes—studium—officium*; in the second class by *beneficium—spes—studium*, and

<sup>1</sup> On the character of Quintus see the letters ad Q. Fratrem passim; Drumann VI, 719 ff. Cf. ib. 729. "Das Meiste welches Cicero an ihm tadelt, weil es nicht zu den Regeln der Klugheit stimmte, gereicht seiner Gesinnung zur Ehre."

<sup>2</sup> Com. 5, together with 14, must, in case of publication, which was manifestly contemplated (58), have put an end to friendly relations between Cicero and Pompey. Cf. also the shameless exhortation to mendacity in 46, and to injure the character of his competitors in 52.

in the third class—*eadem ratione qua superiores!* But this is not all. These very resources by which the *rationes obtreclatorum* are to be met are identical with the means by which his devoted friends (*quos devinctos tenet*—20) are to be further cultivated, viz. (21) *beneficio, spe, adiunctione animi ac voluntate* (= *studio*). That Quintus was a prolific writer of dramatic poetry, contemplated, at least, an epic poem on the deeds of Caesar, was somewhat of an historian, and could write “in a manner almost Aristophanic,” we learn from his brother’s works; but that he could write in the barren, mechanical manner above illustrated it is difficult to believe, especially in view of the following significant characterization of his literary tastes by his brother: *De Orat.* II 3. 10 (cited by Drumann): *Nec vero te, carissime frater atque optime, rhetoricis nunc quibusdam libris, quos tu agrestis putas, insequor ut erudiam—quid enim tua potest oratione aut subtilius aut ornatius esse?* We find, therefore, between the style of the *Com.* and the literary activity and tastes of Quintus, as his brother reports them, a contrast not less striking than the contrast between his character as portrayed to us by other sources and as revealed in this work.

But such considerations can do nothing more than arouse suspicion; in themselves they prove nothing. There remain, however, two points of view from which the subject may be discussed: (1) the language of the *Com.* in its relation to the history of Latin words and constructions, and (2) resemblances to other (later) works of Latin literature. The first of these contains material for an interesting study in itself; but, as bearing upon the question of authenticity, nothing of much significance can be drawn from it. It may be observed, however, that the word *fabula* (54), in the sense of “talk of the town,” is met with here for the first time, if we may trust the dictionaries, which cite *Hor.*<sup>1</sup> *Ep.* 11. 8 as the earliest example. Cicero uses *fama*, as in *pro Caelio* 16. 38, or *sermo* (*sermones*) or *sermunculi*. It is also worthy of note that *nedum* after a positive sentence is first found in *Com.* 21: *Minimis beneficiis homines adducuntur ut satis causae putent esse ad studium suffragationis, nedum i quibus saluti fuisti . . . non intellegant etc.* In Cicero and all other writers before Livy *nedum* only follows a negative. Cf. Draeger, *Syntax und Stil d. Tacitus*, p. 80, and Schmalz in Müller’s *Handbuch*, II<sup>2</sup>, p. 510.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 210, citation from Horace and note.

It remains, therefore, for us to consider the resemblances between the Com. and other works of Roman literature. Bücheler has done this for the fragments of the oration in tog. cand., and concludes that in two places Cicero borrowed consciously from the recent letter of his brother—(1) in speaking of the incest of Catiline and the Vestal Fabia,<sup>1</sup> and (2) in using the phrase *duas in rem publicam sicas destringere*.<sup>2</sup> The former, a guarded utterance on a delicate subject, since Fabia was a sister of Terentia; the latter, a striking phrase which might easily have been remembered and reproduced almost unconsciously.<sup>3</sup> Two other passages are quoted by Bücheler from the oration in tog. cand. and compared with the Com.

Of Antonius we read:

Com. 8: vocem audivimus	Asc., p. 74: in sua civitate
iurantis se Romae iudicio aequo,	cum peregrino negavit se iudi-
cum homine Graeco certare non	cio aequo certare posse.
posse.	

With reference to the murder of Marius Gratidianus, a near relative of the Ciceros, by Catiline:

Com. 10: Quid ego nunc di-	Asc., p. 78: Populum vero,
cam petere eum consulatum, qui	cum inspectante populo collum
hominem carissimum populo	secuit hominis maxime popularis
Romano Marcum Marium in-	quantum faceret, ostendit. P. 80:
spectante populo Romano . . .	caput etiam tum plenum animae
cecidit, . . . vivo stanti collum	et spiritus ad Syllam manibus
gladio secuerit, caput sua manu	ipse suis detulit.
tulerit. <sup>4</sup>	

<sup>1</sup> Ascon. (Kiessl. et Schöll), p. 82: cum ita vixisti ut non esset locus tam sanctus quo non adventus tuus etiam cum culpa nulla subesset, crimen afferret (from Com. 10).

<sup>2</sup> Ascon., p. 83, from Com. 12. It is noteworthy that the phrase seems to have occurred in both places in the same connection, for Ascon. says l. l. dicit de malis civibus, and the Com. has quis . . . tam improbus civis qui velit . . . duas in r. p. sicas destringere.

<sup>3</sup> It should be observed that this is the only remarkable metaphorical phrase in the whole work. There are but three others! Bücheler, p. 8.

<sup>4</sup> The treatment of this case in the Com. is peculiar in that no allusion is made to the intimate relationship existing between Gratidianus and the Ciceros (Asc., p. 75: fuerat hic Gratidianus arcta necessitudine Ciceroni coniunctus). His name is introduced in a rhetorical style natural enough in a public speech, but really very surprising in a letter to a brother. Indeed, the whole of this part of the Com. is written in a strained oratorical tone, which is easily explained if it had the fierce invective of Cicero for its source.

Of these two passages and other similarities between the two works, Bücheler says: "et haec quidem aliaque de Antonii praediis proscriptis, de Catilinae stupris, de Africa provincia, de testium dictis ac iudicio etiamsi pariter uterque vel tractavit vel elocutus est, tamen quod temporum rerumque aut necessitate id factum est aut opportunitate, mutuatum esse alterum non liquet." The extent of the resemblances in subject-matter is here indicated by Bücheler, but it can only be fully realized by a comparison, sentence for sentence, of the description of the characters of Catiline and Antonius (Com. 8-13) with the fragments of the oration in tog. cand. It will be found that scarcely half a dozen statements concerning them in the Com. are not also made or clearly implied in the speech.<sup>1</sup> The verbal resemblances were perhaps exhausted by the quotations of Bücheler, but I would call attention to the following sentences, which betray a remarkable similarity of structure as well as of subject-matter:

Com. 10: Quid ego nunc de Africa, quid de testium dictis scribam? Asc., p. 77: Quid ego ut violaveris provinciam praedicem?

The oration for Murena is the next work of Cicero in which resemblances of thought and language to the Com. appear, and among many more than doubtful examples of such likeness which Eussner quotes, the following are really remarkable:

Com. 56: atque haec ita nolo te illis proponere ut videre accusationem meditari, sed ut hoc terrore facilius hoc ipsum quod agis consequare. Mur. 43: primum accusandi terrores et minae . . . et populi opinionem a spe adipiscendi avertunt et amicorum studia debilitant. nescio quo pacto hoc fit, . . . simul atque candidatus accusationem meditari visus est, ut honorem desperasse videatur.

This passage from the pro Murena has a further significance not noticed by Eussner. For the words *populi opinionem . . . et ami-*

<sup>1</sup> In the enumeration of those whom Catiline had put to death at the command of Sulla, the names of Titinius, Manlius (conj. Bücheler) and Tanusius are given in Com. 9. Asconius, p. 75, says: Catilinam cum in Syllanis partibus fuisset, crudeliter fecisse. Nominatim etiam postea Cicero dicit quos occiderit, Q. Caecilium (Com. 9), M. Volumnium, L. Tanusium. The fact that the names Titinius and Manlius are not here given by Asconius, and hence were not probably in the oration in tog. cand., points to the independence of the two documents, and might therefore be used as an argument for the genuineness of the Com.

*corum studia* make just such a division of the constituency of a candidate as is set forth and carried out with much detail in the second part of the Com. (16): *Petitio autem magistratus divisa est in duarum rationum diligentiam, quarum altera in amicorum studiis, altera in populi voluntate ponenda est.*

Com. 34: *et quoniam assestationis mentio facta est, id quoque curandum est, ut cotidiana cuiusque generis et ordinis et aetatis utare. nam ex ea ipsa copia coniectura fieri poterit quantum sis in ipso campo virium ac facultatis habiturus.*

Mur. 44: *petitorem ego, praesertim consulatus, magna spe, magno animo, magnis copiis, et in forum et in campum deduci volo . . . praesertim cum . . . ex vultucandidatorum coniecturam faciant, quantum quisque animi et facultatis habere videatur.*

Of the other resemblances which Eussner cites, that between Com. 37 and Mur. 70 is quite striking; while Com. 21, Mur. 71; Com. 28, Mur. 77 are worthy of note. Observe also the following examples which Eussner seems to have overlooked. Speaking of the value to a candidate of presence in Rome (*assiduitas*), Cicero says:

Mur. 21: *primum ista nostra assiduitas . . . nescis quantum adferat hominibus fastidii. mihi quidem vehementer expedit positam in oculis esse gratiam.*

Com. 43: *iam assiduitatis nullum est praeceptum, verbum ipsum docet quae res sit. prodest quidem vehementer nusquam discedere.*<sup>1</sup>

And of the morning *salutatio*:

Mur. 44: *placet mihi . . . persalutatio, praesertim cum iam hoc novo more omnes fere domos omnium* concursent.

Com. 35: *in saluatoribus qui magis vulgares sunt et hac consuetudine quae nunc est pluris* veniunt.

There is, further, an astonishingly large number of small verbal

<sup>1</sup> With this compare also pro Plancio 67: (Plancius) *numquam ex urbe afuit nisi sorte, lege, necessitate . . . valuit assiduitate.* The oration pro Plancio presents a good many interesting resemblances to parts of the Com., but none are so striking as those from the pro Murena. E. g. 67: (Plancius) *ea est usus ratione vitae qua minima invidia novi homines plurimi sunt eosdem honores consecuti.* Com. 14: *Iam in populo quam multi invidi sint, quam consuetudine horum annorum ab hominibus novis alienati, venire tibi in mentem scio.*

<sup>2</sup> The obscurity of this awkward paraphrase has caused *pluris* (preserved by the Erfurtensis and a few other MSS) to be changed in almost all MSS and editions to *plures*. The reading of the Erfurtensis is completely confirmed by the above comparison, showing that *quae nunc est pluris* [quam erat apud antiquos] = *nova*.

resemblances between the Com. and the oration pro Murena, which are of no significance in attempting to prove that it is one of the sources of the Com., though, if that were established by other considerations, they might fairly be adduced as confirmatory evidence. As stated above, many of Eussner's examples are of this kind. Here is one not given by him :

Com. 1 : mihi . . . dies ac noctes de tua petitione cogitanti.      Mur. 78 : consulem . . . dies atque noctes de re publica cogitantem.

Not only the generic resemblance of the Com. to the first letter of Marcus ad Q. Fratrem has been pointed out by Bücheler,<sup>1</sup> but also the close relationship between certain parts of the two, e. g.:

Com. 39 : Non est huius temporis perpetua illa de hoc genere disputatio, quibus rebus benivolus et simulator diiudicari possit.      Ad Q. Fr. I 1. 37 : non suscipiam ut quae de iracundia dici solent a doctissimis hominibus ea nunc tibi exponam.

Eussner pointed out many other cases of resemblance, but here also he erred in giving much which proves nothing except that both works are written in Latin. Several of his examples are, however, noteworthy, as, for instance, the opening of the two letters :

Com.: Etsi tibi omnia suppetant . . . tamen sum arbitratus.      Ad Q. Fr. I 1 : Etsi<sup>2</sup> non dubitabam . . . tamen existimavi.

Com. 1 : ad te perscribere . . . non ut aliquid ex his novi addisceres.      Ad Q. Fr. I 1. 36 : at ea quidem . . . non ut te instituerem scripsi.

Worthy of comparison are also Com. 58 and ad Q. Fr. I 1. 18. To these I would add :

Com. 54 : Roma est . . . in qua multae insidiae, multa fallacia, multa in omni genere vitia versantur, multorum adrogantia, etc.      Ad Q. Fr. I 1. 22 : Romae est, ubi tanta adrogantia est, tam immoderata libertas, tam infinita licentia, etc.<sup>3</sup>

Bücheler, while thinking it possible that Quintus may have made use of Greek sources in parts of the Com., "velut de ami-

<sup>1</sup> Introd., p. 10; ad loc., p. 51.

<sup>2</sup> The formula *etsi—tamen* is exceedingly common, however, at the beginning of letters.

<sup>3</sup> The occurrence of *adrogantia* in both passages is, of course, of much less significance than the similar structure of the two sentences upon the same subject.



corum atque adversariorum generibus,"<sup>1</sup> notes that there are but few traces of Greek in the work, as would be natural enough "cum totum commentariolum ex vita Romana sumptum Romanoque negotio aptatum sit." The examples he cites are the verse of Epicharmus in 39—*nervos atque artus esse sapientiae non temere credere*—and the admonition in 2 to call to mind often what Demetrius had written *de Demosthenis studio et exercitatione*. He suggests, further, that the *disputatio, quibus rebus benivolus et simulator diiudicari possit*, alluded to in 39, refers to some Greek treatise on this subject, such as the one preserved in the *Moralia* of Plutarch.<sup>2</sup> Of these examples it is to be observed that the verse of Epicharmus is given in the original by Cicero in a letter to Atticus,<sup>3</sup> while Demetrius' life<sup>4</sup> of Demosthenes is spoken of in the *de Divinatione*.<sup>5</sup> For the *disputatio quibus*, etc., it is not necessary, of course, to assume a Greek source, for this theme was a very common rhetorical exercise, as appears from numerous references to it elsewhere. E. g. Cicero, *Topica* 85: *ex altero autem genere, quod erat bipertitum, unum est de eodem et alio: quid intersit inter amicum et adentatorem, regem et tyrannum*. Cf. also Cic. *Lael.* 95, and Horace, *A. P.* 425. To these traces of Greek pointed out by Bücheler should be added *Com.* 55: *Et quoniam in hoc vel maxime est vitiosa civitas, quod largitione interposita virtutis ac dignitatis oblivisci solet, in hoc fac ut te benenoris, id est ut intelligas eum esse te qui iudicii ac periculi metum maximum competitoribus afferre possis*. That *te benenoris* = *γνώθι σεαυτόν* no one, I think, will doubt, nor that the triteness of the saying is at once indicated and apologized for by the particular application given it in the words following. The same phrase with

<sup>1</sup> P. 7. In that connection he calls attention to the fact that, according to *ad Att.* II 3, 3, Quintus had in his library a work of Theophrastus, *περὶ φιλοτιμίας*.

<sup>2</sup> Plut. *Mor.* 49: *πῶς ἂν τις διακρίνοι τὸν κόλακα τοῦ φίλου*.

<sup>3</sup> *Att.* I 19, 8: *ἴαφε καὶ μέμνᾳς' ἀπιστεῖν, ἄρθρα ταῦτα τῶν φρενῶν*. Cf. also *Att.* II 20, 1.

<sup>4</sup> So Bücheler *ad loc.*, but on what authority I do not know. No life of Demosthenes is contained in the catalogue of the works of Demetrius in *Diog. Laert.* V 5, 80. All that is given in the *de Div.* might have been contained in the *περὶ ῥητορικῆς* or the *περὶ ἐπιτηδεύματων* of Demetrius.

<sup>5</sup> *Div.* II 96: *Multi etiam naturae vitium meditatione atque exercitatione sustulerunt, ut Demosthenem scribit Phalereus, cum rho dicere nequiret, exercitatione fecisse ut planissime diceret*. It may not be without significance that the *exercitatio Demosthenis* is here emphasized as in the *Com.*

a particular application similar to this is found ad Q. Fratrem. III 6. 7: Cessator esse noli et illud γράφει σεαυτὸς noli putare ad adrogantiam minuendam solum esse dictum, verum etiam ut bona nostra norimus. In both cases γράφει σεαυτὸς is made the text for admonition to know one's own gifts and use them.

Somewhat analogous to this is the following. In Com. 9 we read: quod Antonius umbram suam metuit, hic (Catilina) ne leges quidem. The phrase *umbram suam metuere* is natural enough, and we are not surprised to find it in Latin; yet that it occurs elsewhere I have not been able to discover. The only thing like it that I have found is the following in ad Att. XV 20. 4: equidem etsi mihi videtur iste, *qui umbras timet*, ad caedem spectare, tamen nisi explicata solutione non sum discessurus. It would be rash to affirm that there is any connection between these two (apparently isolated) occurrences of similar phrases, but it stimulates one's curiosity to learn that *iste, qui umbras timet* is Antonius here also—nephew of the Antonius of the Com. and triumvir. Were the Com. a forgery of later date than the letter of Cicero, it would not be difficult to believe that the phrase there used of Mark Antony had been applied to the competitor of Cicero of the same name.

The same section (9) presents perhaps a similar case. The author of the Com. says of Catiline that he was *educatus in sororis stupris*: where it is uncertain whether he charges Catiline with incest or whether he refers to "stupra quae Sergia fecit cum aliis" (Bücheler). The former is the more natural interpretation, and undoubtedly the meaning which the author meant to convey,<sup>1</sup> although Bücheler, in the absence of any other evidence to this charge, chooses the latter. However that may be, a comparison with the description of the early career and incest of Clodius in the oration de haruspicum responso would suggest the thought that we have what is there said of Clodius applied here to Catiline.

Com. 9: alter vero, dii boni, De har. resp. 42: hic vero, quo splendore est? . . . natus . . . pro di immortales, quid est? in patris egestate, educatus in . . . qui post patris mortem . . . sororis stupris, corroboratus in in domesticis est germanitatis

<sup>1</sup> Drumann, V 387, n. 66: "Educatus in sororis stupris; zweideutig und gesucht; man kann erklären, der Bruder buhlte mit der Schwester, aber auch er war Zeuge ihres unsittlichen Lebens, und wurde dadurch verdorben. Der Vf. will ihn anklagen, *nicht entschuldigen*, und dachte daher ohne Zweifel an das Erste; Andere und selbst Cicero schweigen von dieser Blutschande."

caede civium, cuius primus ad rem publicam aditus equitibus Romanis occidendis fuit.	stupris volutatus; deinde robu- stus . . . se rei militari dedit . . . pupillos necavit . . . divisores macta(vit). exorta est . . . quaes- tura. Atque hic . . . P. Clodio gradus ad rem publicam, hic primus est aditus ad popularem iactationem.
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The resemblances to the Com. thus far cited have been taken exclusively from works of Cicero, later, by intervals varying from a few months to ten years, than the assumed date of the work. In all of these passages, the possibility that the orator borrowed from the letter of his brother or retained in memory for a long time and so unconsciously reproduced his words and thoughts, may be admitted, though the probability of its occurring so often and at such intervals of time is certainly to be denied. But the case would manifestly be very different if resemblances to other writers should be shown; though if the work could have furnished Cicero with so many of his ideas and expressions, there is perhaps no absolute barrier (unless chronological) to extending its influence to other writers. Compare the following passages:

Com. 54: video esse magni consilii atque artis in tot homi- num cuiusque modi vitiis tantis- que versantem vitare offensio- nem, vitare fabulam, vitare insidias.	Hor. Sat. I 3. 58 ff.: [Bene sanus ac non incautus (61)] hic fugit omnis   insidias nullique malo latus obdit <sup>1</sup> apertum,   cum genus hoc inter vitae versetur, ubi acris   invidia atque vigent ubi crimina.
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Whether the resemblance here is sufficient to consider one the source of the other may perhaps be doubted; but this at least is certain, that if there is any direct relation, it can only be one of imitation and paraphrase of the words of Horace on the part of the author of the Com., and that seems to me very credible. The other alternative, aside from the *a priori* improbability of Horace's resorting to so barren a work as the Com. for material, meets with the chronological difficulty that we thereby assume imitation of a

<sup>1</sup> How accurately the meaning of the words *nullique malo latus obdit apertum* is expressed by *vitare fabulam* is well shown by the Schol. Cruq. ad loc.: *nulli dat sese irridendum idque agit ne lingua malevola laceretur.*

work which, even if genuine, was not, in all probability, published at the time of the writing and publication of this satire.<sup>1</sup>

The same chronological considerations apply to the relation between the following passages:

Com. 45: *illud difficilium (est) . . . quod facere non possis, ut id iucunde neget . . . Cum id petitur quod . . . promittere non possumus . . . belle negandum est . . .* Audiui hoc dicere quendam de quibusdam oratoribus ad quos causam suam detulisset, *gratiorem sibi orationem* eius fuisse qui negasset, quam illius qui recepisset.

With this compare Publilius Syrus,<sup>2</sup> *Sententiae* 357 (Ribbeck):

*pars benefici est quod petitur si belle neget.*

It seems to me that there can be no doubt that the passage of the Com. quoted presents an elaborate paraphrase of the *sententia* of Publilius, in which the original saying is cloaked at first under the form *iucunde neget*, but betrayed a moment later by *belle negandum*; while it will not escape notice that *pars benefici* of Publilius is paraphrased by *gratiorem sibi orationem*, etc. Here, then, the Com. presents perhaps the most direct relation to other literature that we have observed, with the exception of the oration in tog. cand., and we need not therefore hesitate longer to pronounce the conclusion to which the rest of our investigation has led us, viz. that the Com. is the work of some first-century rhetorician or rhetorical student who, perhaps in imitation of similar works,<sup>3</sup> wrote the Com. in the name of Quintus Cicero, and, modelling the general form of his composition on the first letter ad Q. Fratrem (on the duties of a

<sup>1</sup> According to the usual view (e. g. Tyrrell), the letters ad Q. Fratrem, to which there is every reason to believe the Com. would have been appended (Bücheler, p. 11), were published along with the letters to Atticus, after the death of the latter (32 B. C.). Gurlitt (*de M. Ciceronis epistulis*, etc., Gött. 1879) holds (p. 47) that they were a part of a single collection, including all the extant letters except the letters ad Att., and that this original collection was not published before the death of Antonius, but at some time in the decade following Actium. Hor. Sat., bk. I, not later than 35 B. C.

<sup>2</sup> To be sure we do not know how long the activity of Publilius continued, but Jerome puts his *floruit* in the year 43 B. C., and we may well doubt whether he was writing still at the time of the publication of the letters ad Q. Fratrem.

<sup>3</sup> See Bücheler, p. 6, Aul. Gel. XIV 7. 2: (consulatum) Pompeius cum initurus foret, quoniam per militiae tempora senatus habendi consulendique, rerum expert urbanarum fuit, M. Varronem, familiarem suum rogavit ut commentarium faceret *εἰσπραγμικόν*—sic enim Varro ipse appellat—ex quo disceret, quid facere dicereque deberet, cum senatum consuleret.

provincial governor, etc.), made use especially of the orations of the period of Cicero's consulship bearing upon the subject, viz. the orations in tog. cand. and pro Murena, and incidentally also of other works of Cicero, as has been pointed out. This will explain adequately the historical correctness and faithfulness of his descriptions, and in a measure also the purity of the style and vocabulary. That he should have betrayed familiarity with a well-known passage of Horace or a saying of Publilius is by no means surprising, for, as is well known, much spurious literature owes its origin to no intentional deceit,<sup>1</sup> and no special pains were therefore used to avoid anachronism in the use of sources. How early the *Sententiae* of Publilius had gained currency apart from his plays, and how familiar they were to the young men of Rome, is well shown by Seneca *Rhet. contr.* VII 18. 8: *Memini Moschum, cum loqueretur de hoc genere sententiarum, quo infecta iam erant adolescentulorum omnium ingenia, queri de Publilio, quasi ille [iam] hanc insaniam introduxisset.*

Concerning the date of the composition of the *Com.*, we can only say that its language and style admonish us to put it as early as possible. If we may assume that the letters to Atticus were already published<sup>2</sup> at the beginning of our era, I should not wish to place the *Com.* very much later.

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<sup>1</sup> Blass in Müller's *Handbuch*, I, p. 246.

<sup>2</sup> Bücheler, *Rhein. Mus.* 34 (1879), p. 353, notes that Asconius (p. 76) does not make use of a passage from a letter to Atticus (I 2. 1) supporting a point which he is attempting to prove, and concludes from this that the letters were not then published (ca. 55 A. D.). The evidence, however, scarcely seems sufficient for a conclusion so hard to believe (cf. Hofmann, *Ausgew. Briefe*, p. 13).

#### IV.—POLLICE VERSO.

Some of the most disputed questions concerning the *missio* of the Roman gladiator have to do with the interpretation of certain vexed phrases. Especially to be mentioned are *pollicem vertere*, *pollicem convertere*, *pollicem premere* and *pollex infestus*. How radically our modern authorities differ as to the meaning of these terms is evident from the variety of opinions entertained as to the response made to the vanquished gladiator begging for his life. Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities, 3d edition, vol. I, p. 917: "His [the gladiator's] fate depended upon the people, who turned up their thumbs if they wished him to be killed. . . . There is no clear evidence that the wish that mercy should be shown was expressed by pressing down the thumbs: this was indicated rather by waving handkerchiefs." Baumeister, Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums, u. s. w., p. 2101: "Das Volk gewährte die Begnadigung oder Entlassung (*missio*) durch Schwenken von Tüchern, oder durch einen Gestus des Daumens (*presso pollice*), stimmte für Tod durch Wenden des Daumens nach unten (*verso pollice*)."<sup>1</sup> Friedländer, Sittengeschichte Roms, 5th edit., vol. II, p. 345: "Von Seiten der Zuschauer war das Zeichen der Gewährung, wie es scheint, das Schwenken von Tüchern;<sup>1</sup> das Wenden des Daumens nach unten bedeutete den Befehl zur Ertheilung des Todesstosses." Guhl and Koner, Life of the Greeks and Romans described from Antique Monuments; translated from the 3d German edition (p. 560): "In case the spectators lifted their clenched fists (*verso pollice*), the fight had to be continued; the waving of handkerchiefs was the sign of mercy granted." Falke, Greece and Rome: their Life and Art, N. Y., 1882; translated from the German edition (p. 289): "It stood in the pleasure of the people to grant them their lives, but usually they gave the sign of death by stretching out the hands with extended thumbs." Dyer, Pompeii, 3d edit., N. Y., 1871 (p. 228): "This signal was the turning down the thumbs," Dyer naively adding, "as is well known." O. Seyffert, Dictionary of

<sup>1</sup> In a footnote F. adds: "Vielleicht auch das Aufheben eines Fingers."

Classical Antiquities, etc.; transl. from the German; revised and edited by Nettleship and Sandys; London, 1891: "The sign of mercy (*missio*) was the waving of handkerchiefs: the clenched fist and downward thumb indicated that the combat was to be fought out till death" (p. 254).

Nor are the lexicographers more satisfactory. Lewis and Short (under *pollex*): "To close down the thumb (*premere*) was a sign of approbation; to extend it (*vertere, convertere, pollex infestus*), a sign of disapprobation." Georges, Ausführliches lateinisch-deutsches Handwörterbuch (7th edit.), under *pollex*: "Der Daumen, *infestus*, der gerade hingestreckte, als ob man Einen damit erstechen wollte: *pollicem premere*, den Daumen einschlagen: *pollicem vertere*, den Daumen gegen die Brust richten (ein Zeichen, dass das Volk einen besieigten Gladiator getödtet wissen wollte)." Forcellini (De Vit.), under *pollex*: "In pollice erat favoris, studiique significatio, nam faventes premebant, aversantes improbantisque vertebant retro et subrigebant."

In this mass of contradictory statements what are the ascertainable facts? Of what character was the response made to the appeal of the man who was *hors de combat*? What is the real meaning of the Latin terms used? Manifestly, any sure ground of belief must be sought in ancient authorities, literary and artistic, aided by auxiliary study of the general use of the words employed in describing the response made to the wounded gladiator.

We have seen that there is a large amount of disagreement and contradiction among scholars concerning several important terms and facts, so much so that there is reason for a new examination of the data and sources of our knowledge. What was the sign for *missio*? What the sign for death?

There is no doubt that *pollicem vertere* or *convertere* (lit. 'to turn the thumb') was the sign for death made in answer to the appeal for mercy. This is clear from Juvenal 3. 34-37, and from a passage in Prudentius Clemens, contra Symmachum 2. 1096: "et quoties victor ferrum iugulo inserit, illa delicias ait esse suas, pectusque iacentis virgo modesta iubet converso pollice rumpi." But this does not touch the question as to what this sign, or turn of the thumb, was. Most of the modern authorities, including the commentators on Juvenal 3. 36, tell us in an *ex cathedra* way that the spectator turned his thumb towards his own throat, or breast, as a sign that the victorious gladiator should dispatch his conquered antagonist. I have come to believe that there is small

ground for this interpretation, and that, if not altogether impossible, it is very doubtful.

Let us examine more closely the Latin terms in dispute, hoping thereby to ascertain something as to the true signification of the phrases in question. The word *vertere* seems literally = 'turn, turn about, turn around.' Forcell. says: "*Verito* proprie ut in aliam partem converto, torqueo." If *pollicem vertere* = 'to turn the thumb *upwards*,' one is moved to inquire why we have no modifying adverb to define more accurately the direction. In case *p. vertere* = 'to turn the thumb *downwards*,' is there any reason why the adverb can be dispensed with? An examination of the use of *vertere* shows that it = 'to turn *from the normal or existing position*.' E. g. *terga vertere, se vertere* ('wheel about'), *vertere solum bidentibus*, or *terram aratro vertere* = *arare*. So *vertere* = *evertere* 'overthrow, subdue,' etc. *Pollicem vertere* ought to be such a turn of the thumb as will throw it into a position different from the normal position. The natural position of the thumb, when the sitting spectator extends his hand, if not turned slightly upward, is stretched out towards, or in a line with, the fingers. Again, it is very evident that the thumb in this hostile gesture must have been somehow so pointed as to indicate the hostile or adverse feelings of the spectators.<sup>1</sup> It stands to reason that the position of the thumb must have been so different from the normal position as to preclude any mistaken interpretation; that is, it must clearly indicate the will of the spectators as against any other gesture of the thumb declaring for *missio*. That there was a disposition to grant the *missio* to a gladiator who had fought bravely, we would infer from the fact that great gladiators were public favorites, like actors and the jockeys of the circus, and even the fallen gladiator would be apt to have many friends among the spectators, who would be glad to have him spared.

<sup>1</sup> There seems to be little reason to doubt that, in republican times, the decision lay sometimes, if not always, with the *editor muneris*. Even during the empire, after the decision for life or death was tacitly referred by the *editor* to the crowd, it is likely that he, taking his cue from the crowd, gave the signal to the victorious gladiator. Cf. Martial 3. 99; Juvenal 3. 34-37; Horace, Epist. 1. 1. 4-6; Seneca, Epist. 117. 7 and 37. 2. In the case of the games given by the emperor, it is likely that, as *editor muneris*, he reserved the right to decide the question of *missio*. In a *munus* of this sort it would appear that the people were not expected to indicate directly, but indirectly, their preference. Cf. Mart. Lib. spect. 29.



That the *missio* was frequently given is clear enough from inscriptions, e. g. Orelli-Henzen 2571 = Wilm. 2615:

FLAMMA · SEC · VIX · ANN. XXX  
 PVGNAT XXXIII · VICIT · XXI  
 STANS<sup>1</sup> VIII · MIS<sup>2</sup> · III NAT · SRVS<sup>3</sup>  
 HVI<sup>4</sup> DELICATVS COARMIO FECIT

The gesture for *missio* must have been of such a character as to render easy distinction between it and the normal position of the thumb, as well as between it and the sign for death. The Flavian amphitheatre especially was such an immense structure that a gesture of the hand, as seen by gladiators in the arena, could not be distinguished at all, except when made in a very characteristic way, or except as made by the spectators in the front rows. Where the combatants fought near the emperor's box and looked to him for judgment, the case would be simpler; but where the *editor muneris*, looking to the gestures of the spectators for his direction (who might by no means be agreed in their opinion), or where the conquering gladiator looked directly to the spectators for his command, there must be no room for uncertainty of meaning because of failure to see the gestures actually made. It seems probable—almost certain—that the separate thumb and fingers of the outstretched hand of the majority of sitting spectators could not have been distinguished at all, thereby necessitating such a turn of the whole hand as to make clear the position of the thumb *as seen from below* by gladiator or *editor muneris*. This affords a presumption in favor of such a turn of both wrist and hand as to direct the thumb *downwards*, pointing to the fallen gladiator, as much as to say, "There he is! finish your work, gladiator, by plunging your sword into his breast or throat." In a place so vast, where the individual in the arena appears so diminutive as seen from the tiers of seats, and where the gesture of the individual spectator lost in the mass would be even harder to see clearly by the gladiator, the motion necessary to point the thumb towards the breast of the spectator is so slight, necessitating but a very little turn of the wrist, that it is hard to see how it could have served the end desired. Besides, as seen *from below*, the thumb, pointed towards the breast of the spectator would to the watching gladiator have been in many cases wholly hid behind the rest of

<sup>1</sup> Vid. P. J. Meier, *De gladiatura Romana*, Bonn, 1881, p. 46 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Missus.

<sup>3</sup> Syrus.

<sup>4</sup> Huic.

the hand. Furthermore, is it likely, reasoning *a priori*, that the Roman, superstitious in a high degree, who, while he could look with pleasure on the death of poor wretches in the arena, so much dreaded to think of his own,<sup>1</sup> would have used a gesture so realistic as to point at his own throat? Would not the pantomimic pointing of the thumb of the spectator at his own throat or breast seem to look—and absurdly—rather to the self-slaughter of *the victor* than to the killing of the fallen gladiator? Slight as this presumption may appear to be, I believe that in dealing with sign-language of this character we cannot afford to ignore it. In the above argument it is taken for granted that the *pollex* symbolizes the Roman sword, comparatively short and thick.<sup>2</sup>

It is possible, too, although hardly likely in the case of a people so practical as the Romans, that just as they used the middle finger (*digitus medius*), the so-called 'finger of scorn,' with which to make an insulting gesture, so the downward turn of the thumb may = *ad inferos*, i. e. 'to the lower world with him! death to him!'

Again, the word *convertere* was used interchangeably with *vertere* in the phrase *pollicem convertere*. *Convertere* is used not simply for *vertere*, as it undeniably is in many cases, but it is apt to point to the *terminus in quem*. Cf. *naves in eam partem c., ora ad aliquem c., ferrum in aliquem c.* In the case of the gladiatorial *pollicem convertere*, the real *terminus in quem* would seem not to be the unknown spectator, but rather the chief object of momentary interest, i. e. the fallen and beseeching gladiator. Hence to him the *pollex* should be directed.

The interpretation above advanced for *pollicem vertere* and *p. convertere* is strengthened by a study of the phrase *pollex infestus*. It is well known that *pollex infestus* stood for the hostile gesture of the thumb in the case of the amphitheatre spectators. E. g. Burmann, *Anthologia Latina* 3. 82. 28:

Sperat et in saeva victus gladiator harena,  
sit licet infesto pollice turba minax.

Though the etymology of *infestus* is not absolutely certain, there is a fair degree of agreement among scholars in referring it to some word meaning *strike*. Not to consider seriously the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the many euphemistic phrases for 'die' rather than the blunt *morior*.

<sup>2</sup> The symbolic use of the fingers precluded *their* use, besides there is peculiar significance in the use of the *pollex*. Cf. etymology of *pollex*: *polleo* (*potis* and *valere*). "Pollex nomen ab eo, quod pollet accepit," Macr. Sat. 7. 13. 14, citing the grammarian Ateius Capito.

derivation of the word from *festinandum* by P. Nigidius Figulus, a grammarian of the time of Cicero,<sup>1</sup> or from *inferus* (cf. the remarks as to *ad inferos* above), Roby (Grammar of the Latin Lang., §704, footnote) refers *infestus* to *ferire* 'strike.' Georges derives the word from *in* and *fendo* (the primitive seen in *defendo*), as do Lewis and Short. It is hardly due entirely to graphical peculiarities that *infestus* and *insensus* are confused in MSS. We can scarcely doubt that *infestus* primarily = *in* ('against') + *fendo* ('strike').

That *infestus* has two meanings was recognized by Gellius:<sup>2</sup> 1. 'unjust, unsafe'; 2. (act.) 'hostile, dangerous, threatening.' Manifestly, in *pollex infestus* the adj. has the latter meaning. But 'hostile' or 'dangerous' to whom? To the fallen gladiator certainly, and *not* to the passive spectator. If the symbolism of the *pollex* counts for anything, why not that of *infestus*? Some uses of *infestus* are here to the point, showing that in its sense the adjective has a literal directive signification. So *infesta hasta* (Verg. Aen. 10. 877), to which Servius says: "in vulnus parata, id est protenta." Here the *hasta*, like the *pollex* in *p. infestus*, is turned hostilely towards the object for which the hostile feeling is entertained. Cf. "infestis signis; Tarquinium infesto spiculo petit" (Livy 2. 20. 2); even in *exercitu infesto* and *infestis oculis*. In all these cases the adverse directive force of the adjective appears clearly enough.

But there is a far different application of the phrase *pollex infestus*, an examination of which is not without value here. The phrase *pollex infestus* was used by the Romans to denote a certain kind of gesture used by some orators in making the opening remarks of a speech. The term *p. infestus* used of the orator is used evidently of something well understood, and, although having no hostile sense in this latter use, and being employed apparently to describe a peculiar gesture only, there is hardly reason to doubt that the position of the hand and thumb described by *p. infestus* in the one case is the same as that in the other. It is not to be supposed that a phrase apparently so characteristic would stand for two different things *unless somehow qualified*, in order to define more closely the peculiar signification in a given case. The passage of most interest in this connection, referring to this use of *p. infestus*, is as follows: Quintil. 11. 3. 119, Fit et ille habitus, qui esse in statuis pacificator solet, qui, inclinato in

<sup>1</sup> Aulus Gellius 9. 12. 6.

<sup>2</sup> 9. 12. 2.

umerum dextrum capite, brachio ab aure protenso, manum infesto pollice extendit. The commentators throw no real exegetical light on this passage. Several things, however, may be noted. (1) Quintilian is not only speaking of gesture, but especially of bad or faulty gesture. (2) Without much amplification he refers to a considerable number of such gestures, the foregoing sentence, for example (which, by the way, is not undisputed as to MS reading) containing several such references. (3) The *fit et ille* sentence has apparently no dependence on the former sentence. (4) The head being inclined to, or towards, the right shoulder, the arm is extended forward (*protenso*) from the ear, and the hand is *extended* with the thumb in the *infestus* position. As to the *qui . . . pacificator solet* there seems to be no archaeological help obtainable from existing remains. If we, interpreting the words of Quintilian literally, extend the arm from the ear, it may seem as if the *most natural* gesture were to half invert the hand and turn the thumb *up*. But when we do this, the position of the thumb will not be what is demanded by those who advocate the upward turn of the *pollex*. The thumb *will not point to the throat or breast of the spectator*, as those who favor this interpretation of *p. vertere* assume. It is not only *too high to do so*, but cannot be made to point *in the right direction*. Remember that *infestus* (*in + fendo*) apparently *points to SOMETHING*. Moreover, if the *pollex infestus* be the upward turn of the thumb, why the necessity of describing a gesture or position so natural by a technical phrase which clearly points to something abnormal? (Quintilian, be it remembered, is describing awkward and ridiculous gesture.) If, on the other hand, we extend the arm from the ear as before, but do not invert the hand, the finger cannot now be made to point to the throat or breast, *provided it be kept extended from the ear*, any more than in the former case when the hand was inverted. But how easily does the thumb now point *downward* to the imaginary fallen gladiator!

One passage from Appuleius seems to throw a little light on this use of *infestus*. Metamor. 2. 21. 142, Effultus in cubitum suberectusque in torum porrigit dexteram, et ad instar oratorum conformat articulum; duobusque infimis conclusis digitis, ceteros eminentes porrigens et infesto pollice clementer subridens inquit. Unfortunately, the passage is corrupt, such important words as *conclusis* and *eminentes* being in dispute, because of MS differences. For *eminentes* some adopt the MS reading *eminens* or *eminus*. Hildebrand reads *eminus* = *e manu*. Baumeister (p.

590) cites this passage to illustrate another gesture altogether. But it seems to me impossible, for in the illustration which he gives (from a so-called Dareios vase) the *pollex* is not in the position demanded by any theory of the *pollex infestus*. It is to be noted that the gesture here described is referable to the beginning of the orator's remarks. May not the phrase *qui esse in statuis pacificator solet* in the Quintilian citation refer to a gesture by which the orator about to begin his remarks would ask for silence? If so, the gesture of the Appuleius passage would seem to be intended to serve the same purpose and to be virtually the same gesture.

What was the corresponding sign of *missio*, or mercy? There is about as much difference of opinion here as in regard to the sign of condemnation. Most modern authorities assume that the phrase expressive of the sign for *missio* is *pollicem premere*. They explain it to mean that the thumb was simply turned downwards; that is, the opposite gesture to *p. vertere*, when standing for the death signal, expressed by an upward turn of the *pollex*. Mayor (Juv. 3. 66) says that this downward turn of the *p. premere* was a signal that the conqueror was to drop his sword, raised to slay the vanquished gladiator. But is *premere* in this use equivalent to *vertere*? It stands to reason that, if *p. vertere* means, as I have sought to prove, to turn the thumb downwards, *p. premere* must stand for something different. Even if *p. vertere* meant to turn the thumb upwards, *p. premere* must mean something more than merely to turn the thumb downwards. If we inquire by appealing to the literal or radical meaning of *premere*, we find that it most naturally means *to press* or *squeeze*, not *to turn*. Press or squeeze the thumb how, or by what? If *premere* have a literal signification here, *p. premere* points to a literal squeezing or pressing of the thumb by the fingers, hiding the thumb in the palm of the hand, for the *pollex* can be squeezed only by the remaining fingers of the hand. Assuming that my notion of the gesture is correct, is any explanation forthcoming? Was it symbolic? If so, of what? Kiessling, in common with others, commenting on Horace, Epist. 1. 18. 66, refers to the passage in Pliny, H. N. 28. 2. 25, Pollices, cum faveamus, premere etiam proverbio iubemur. Other classical references—unfortunately but few in number—add a little. That the passage in Horace above mentioned (Epist. 1. 18. 65–66) refers to the amphitheatre contests is clear (although the direct reference here is to a mock fight at a country-seat) from the technical word *ludus*, and from

the allusion to the custom of matching the gladiators in pairs (see *alterutrum* v. 64) in the actual fight. The inference is that in Horace's time the *pollex* was used somehow to favor the victorious gladiator; that is, to declare in favor of the *missio*. Another passage is in Statius, *Theb.* 8. 26, *Fata serunt animas et eodem pollice damnant*. (For *serunt* some MSS read *ferunt*.) We may here presumably infer that as late as Statius (latter half of the first century A. D.) the *pollex* was used to indicate the spectator's wish for *missio*, assuming that the allusion is to the amphitheatre custom, which there seems no reason to doubt. Naturally, too, *if the same thumb be used*, the gesture must be very different in the one case from that used in the other.

Reverting to the Pliny excerpt, it is fair to say that we have no direct proof that the thing alluded to by him was the identical gesture used for the *missio*. It seems, however, more than probable. Pliny refers evidently to something that was old and well-established enough to have become proverbial. The use of the plural *pollices* is no more against it than the *utroque . . . pollice* of Horace, *Epist.* 1. 18. 66, cited above. There is no reason for understanding *faveamus* reflexively, or to doubt that the 'favor' refers to other persons than the subject. I can see no good reason for believing that Pliny refers to any gesture made with a view to warding off the evil eye, as Kiessling seems to think. As is well known, the Romans sought to offset and render abortive this evil influence by various charms designed to distract, or throw off its guard, the evil power by an imprecation, or by some scare-crow of a laughable or obscene character. The most common of all these charms was the *fascinum*<sup>1</sup> or *phallus*. This was made on an emergency, by one who would paralyze the evil eye, by sticking the thumb between the index and second, or middle, finger (*digitus medius* or *impudicus*), or by extending the *digitus medius* from the other clinched fingers. Kiessling evidently assumes (1) a real, or symbolic, resemblance between the *fascinum* and the *p. premere* gesture, and (2) that the Pliny passage refers to the gesture made against *fascinatio*, for he cites this passage and also says that the *p. premere* gesture had, properly speaking, an obscene signification, and served as a means of averting evil influences, like the evil eye, etc. If K. means that the *p. premere* gesture and the *fascinum* were identical, is either assumption correct? That the latter may have

<sup>1</sup> Porphyr. ad Hor. *Epod.* 8. 18.

suggested the former is possible, but not, I believe, probable. The sign, or demonstration, against *fascinatio* looks to the protection or preservation of *him who uses it*. Reasoning *a priori*, is it likely that the same gesture would be used in so changed and objective a sense as to look to the preservation of another than of him who uses it, especially *when there is no question of FASCINATIO involved?* If the *fascinum* gesture was the *p. premere* gesture, which *fascinum* gesture, we must ask, for there were, as we know, two of them? If the *digitus medius* stretching from the clenched fist is meant, it is so like the *p. vertere* as to be practically useless in a great assembly. If the other *fascinum* gesture be meant, in which the thumb was pressed and extended between the *digitus index* and the *digitus medius*, then, although the literal etymological demand of *premere* is satisfied, and though there is enough difference between the two gestures to preclude confusion, still we can see no connection between the gesture and the thing for which it is supposed to stand. If we could believe that Pliny's words refer to the *fascinatio* we might accept this interpretation, but there is no proof that they do refer to this, or, indeed, to the *missio* at all. Besides, if Pliny here refers to power against 'fascination,' it is strange that he does not plainly say so, as he has done in other places where he has spoken directly of the *fascinum* and of *fascinatio*,<sup>1</sup> rather than speak of something apparently different. Why resort to a half-mythical explanation, when a more direct and natural one will suffice? If the *pollex* symbolized the short sword in the one case (*p. vertere* or *convertere*), the symbolism should hold good in the second case. If the *p. vertere* points the sword at the fallen gladiator, why should not the *p. premere* symbolize by the pressing and hiding of the *pollex infestus* the hiding of the sword within the sheath and the preservation of the appealing gladiator?

Furthermore, it may be that during the empire a different fashion was set through court or other influence, and that *missio* was sometimes indicated otherwise than by the *p. premere* gesture. We have already cited Friedländer (see p. 213), who inclines to the belief that the desire for *missio* was indicated by the waving of *mappae*, or the holding up of a finger. Let us examine what grounds F. has for his double assertion. In his *Sittengeschichte* he gives no authority at all for his first statement, which is doubtfully made. But in his edition of Martial, commenting on 12. 29.

<sup>1</sup> E. g. H. N. 28 "

7-8, he says: "Um die Entlassung eines Gladiators von dem Spielgeber zu erbitten, schwenkte man Tücher." The words of Martial are:

Nuper cum Myrino peteretur missio laeso,  
subduxit mappas quattuor Hermogenes.

The *onus probandi* is evidently with him who would assume that *mappae* were waved, for no mention is made of the fact. Unless strongly called for by the context, it would seem utterly unscientific to infer this, more especially when based upon but a single example. At first sight the context seems to require no such assumption. The brief period during which the *missio* was being demanded by the crowd for Myrinus would be one of great excitement—a fine opportunity for pickpockets!—and Martial may mean that Hermogenes used his time to such good purpose that he actually purloined, not one, but four *mappae*. It would appear ridiculous to assume that he could on the sly (notice the *SUB-duxit*) steal *mappae* from the very hands of people waving them, while the other interpretation appears natural. Let us, however, examine our citation in connection with the other parts of the epigram. Hermogenes, says Martial, was an inveterate thief, who stole as many *mappae* as Massa, who had plundered a province, had stolen sesterces. This hyperbolic style Martial, for a reason perfectly clear, keeps up through the entire epigram. He says, for example, that H. will find some way to steal your *mappa* if you hold his left and watch his right hand. Immediately following our quotation Martial says that, when the praetor in the circus was about to drop the *mappa*—the usual signal to the *aurigae* for starting—Hermogenes managed to steal it. Since no guest brought a *mappa* to dinner, because they knew their man, H. stole the table-cloth. When H. enters the theatre, although it may be extremely hot, the *velarium* is rolled back lest he steal it. Our passage seems to be the weakest illustration of the misdirected activity of H., if he only purloined four *mappae*—surely no impossible feat, if the demand for the *missio* required several minutes and the *mappae* were handkerchiefs carried on the person. If, on the other hand, we understand that these *mappae* played some part in the *missio* demand, that H. was sly and adept enough to get them away from the very hands of those who held them, as he stole the praetor's *mappa* and could steal yours though you held one of his hands and kept an eye on the other, the hyperbole is strong enough to serve Martial and no more extreme than the others in the epigram. A further exam-



ination of the epigram shows that the various things mentioned as the objects of H.'s kleptomania, actual or possible, are *directly essential to the action*, or *are a part of the thing described*, and not merely incidental, like handkerchiefs, e. g. the *mappa* of the praetor, the table-cloth at dinner, the *velarium* in the circus, etc. So the *mappae* in our quotation should have some direct relation to the demand for the *missio* which is mentioned. It is hard to see how *mappae* could have been so used except by waving them and thus backing up the shout or clamor of the crowd. Still, there is a difficulty in this assumption. There seems to be no doubt that under the empire, even during Martial's own time, the *pollex* was used as a sign of favor. Cf. the passages already cited from Horace, Statius and Juvenal. Can the use of both means of declaring for the *missio* at the same period be explained? The populace would naturally defer to and appeal to the *princeps* for decision, when he was present at the games, rather than take the matter into their own hands. It is more than likely that court and fashionable demands would insist on one means of declaring for the *missio* when the crowd had the right to do so, and on something else when the people could only appeal to the *princeps*. I suspect that, if the waving of *mappae* were a sign of the *missio*-desire, it merely served to express the wish of the crowd that the emperor should spare the life of a vanquished favorite. It is to be noticed here (Mart. 12. 29. 7) that there is no statement that the people VOTED *missio* to Myrinus, but that they *begged* for him the official release. Cf. Liber Spectaculorum 29, *Missio saepe viris magno clamore petita est*. Here the *princeps* is expressly stated to have exercised the deciding power. Friedländer's second surmise, viz. that the finger of the spectator was raised as a sign for *missio*, rests apparently on even less substantial basis. There seems to be absolutely no proof from literature, or indeed from any source. Friedländer (vol. II, p. 346, footnote 1), quoting from the *Bulletino dell' Istituto* for 1853, refers to a relief found at Cavillargues, France, now in the museum at Nîmes, representing a combat between two gladiators. In this relief, according to Friedländer, appear four spectators, three men and a woman, who are said to hold the thumb upwards.<sup>1</sup> The inscription on the

<sup>1</sup> The new edition of Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities, mistranslating Friedländer, represents the woman only as raising her thumb, which, if the fact, would prove no more than a possible difference of opinion among the spectators. Meier (*De gladiatura Romana*, p. 47, n. 1) says:





relief fixes the meaning. The first letters are obscure, the remaining letters being TES MISSI. The obscure letters are likely STAN, which would give us STANTES MISSI, as F. supplies. The combat being a drawn one, the spectators are represented as asking that the *missio* be voted the combatants. All of which, even if to be fairly got out of the relief, would prove little, being but a single fact. But the relief will admit of no such interpretation. So far as I know, it has never been published. To the courtesy of M. Estève, Curator of the Archaeological Museum at Nîmes, I am indebted for a full-sized photograph of this relief, together with supplementary explanations. The relief is upon a circular piece of terra-cotta, with convex top, the concavity being 0.025 m. It served, when found in 1845 or 1847, as a cover to a mortuary urn. It is to be observed that each gladiator is accompanied by a *lanista* (?). The one to the right, who extends his arm and whose hand is represented with the four fingers bent down over the thumb, seems to corroborate in an unexpected way what has been said of the *pollicem premere* as a declaration for the *missio*. The position of the hand is not natural, and the abnormal position stands for *something*. The inscription proves that the relief is a representation connected in some way with the *missio*, and we cannot refuse to believe that the *lanista*, or backer of the *secutor*, or Samnite, as he may be, is asking the *missio* for his man. Friedländer's four spectators, one of whom he says is a woman, and who hold the thumb up as a sign for *missio*, are at the very top of the relief. The slightest examination must convince any one that they cannot be spectators. There are several reasons which occur to me why they cannot be so regarded, only one of which will I mention now, viz. that of the four figures, (counting from the left) only the second and fourth are facing us, the first and the third being turned the other way. Of the four persons, only one, or possibly two, can be said to raise the hand in the air. Lastly, the work was originally so rough, or has suffered so much mutilation, that absolutely nothing can be inferred as to the thumbs of a single so-called spectator. The second conjectural statement of Friedländer receives no support whatever from this relief, which seems to be his only authority.

EDWIN POST.

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"Femina in altiore suggestu sedens digitoque sublato gladiatores mittens depicta est in anaglypho, de quo Henzen bull. d. inst. 1853, p. 130, conferatur."

## NOTES.

### ETYMOLOGICAL.

#### 1. *vīvo* : *vixi*, *victus*.

The origin of the guttural in *vixi* and *victus* has never, so far as I know, been explained. These forms belong to the nearly synonymous *vigeo*. Cf. Cic. N. W. 2. 33. 83 quae a terra stirpibus continentur, arte naturae vivunt et vigent; Tusc. 1. 27. 66 quod sentit, quod sapit, quod vivit, quod viget.

English *quick* vouches, perhaps, for the I. E. existence of the guttural. Sk. *jāgat* 'a moving, living creature,' man or animal, has always been explained as a participle to I. E.  $\sqrt{gem}$ . Grk. *τίγας*, *γίγαντ-* shows the strong stem. *jāgat* has the weak stem, like all the reduplicated present participles in Sk. Latin *vigeo* has the same origin. The pres. ptc. *vigent-* goes back to an I. E.  $ge(?)gṃnt-$  whose next stage, still in I. E., was very likely  $ge(?)gṃ(n)t-$ . It seems impossible to exactly reconstruct the present reduplicating vowel. For Greek and Latin it is *i*, Sanskrit *e* ( $*gē > *je > jā$ ). *τίγας* is practically ptc. to *βίβημι*; cf. Hom. *μακρὰ βιβάς*, *ἵψι βιβάντι* (Il. 7. 213, 13. 371). The semasiological connection with *τίγας* is made ready to hand. The giants were 'high steppers,' an intensive effect given first by reduplication, and later, when this sense was paling out, reinforced by adverbs. *τίγας* has for some reason not been affected by labialization. Lat. *vigent-* for *\*vivent-* <  $gṃnt-$  is due, very likely, to  $*vig-si$ ,  $*vig-tus > vic-si$ ,  $vic-tus$ . A present ptc. *\*vivent-* led very easily to confusion with *vivent-* <  $gṃnt-$ . Lat. *vegeo* is probably due to such doublets as *intellego* : *intelligo*.

In *βι-βάς* the accent has been affected by *βάς*, as *i-σράς* by *σράς*.

#### 2. *mīlia* : *χίλια* : *sa-hśram*.

*mīlia* has been previously equated with *μύριοι*; cf. e. g. Thurneysen, KZ., vol. 30, p. 351. Thurneysen there suspects, but hesitatingly, a connection with *μεστός* 'full,' and a Latin occurrence of vocalic *g*. *mīlia* is, however, precisely the same as the Sanskrit word for 'thousand,' *sa-hśram*. The I. E. language had two

methods of numbering: unemphatic, (a) thousand, Grk. χίλια; emphatic, *one* thousand, Sk. *sa-hásram*; Grk. ἑκατόν, *one* hundred; Lat. *centum*, (a) hundred. In Latin '(a) thousand' was \**hília*. The *h* was phonetically nearly valueless: cf. Lat. *anser*: Grk. χήν 'goose.' *One* thousand was in Latin \**sm-(h)ília*; cf. *sim-plex*, 'one-fold'; *sm-* never took vocalic function, owing probably to the accent, in \**sm-(h)ília*; cf. *sa-hásram*. \**smília* gave *mília*; cf. *mirus*: Sk. √*smi* 'smile, admire.' The *i* of *mília* is the continuant of I. E. *z*; cf. the examples given by Thurneysen in the article cited above: *tri-vi* < \**trig'i*: τριβω, I. E. \**trǵō*; *frivolus*: χρίω < I. E. \**ghrǵ-jō*.

*mília* and χίλια are identical in suffix, < I. E. \**ghǵl-ǵō*.

Old Irish *míle* 'thousand' was probably borrowed from Latin. So Brug. II, p. 506.

Lat. *míle* (not *mille*) stands in the same relation to *mília* as *omne*: *omnia*.

#### SEMASIOLOGICAL.

πίεω: *piḍayate*: 'sit on.'

Gr. πίεω; Sk. *piḍayate*, (1) 'press,' (2) 'oppress,' both with the same meanings, were compared by Pott, Etym. Forsch. I<sup>2</sup>, p. 514. He derived both words out of a clipped preposition, Sk. (*a*)*pi*, Grk. (*i*)*pi* + √*sed*. This root took for Sk. a weak form: *pi* + *sd* > \**pizd* > *piḍ*. In Greek we have the strong form *pi* + *ez* = *piez* < \**pi-seḍio-*. It is likely that this combination had taken on an independent value in I. E. and dissociated itself from its components. Grk. *ἐπίσταμαι* 'understand' had likewise lost touch with *ἵστημι*; cf. Eng. *stand* in *understand*.

Leo Meyer, in KZ. VI, p. 428, objects to the derivation from (*e*)*pi* + *sed* as follows: "Die Deutung des Letzteren (i. e. *piḍ*) aber aus einer Zusammensetzung *api* + *sad*, aufsitzen, ist schon der Bedeutung wegen unwahrscheinlich, wenn wir z. B. die Verbindung *ῥαβαρῆαῖς piḍayitum* (Bopp, Glossar, 218), mit Pfeilregen bedrängen, treffen, oder geradezu durchbohren, und ähnliche genauer erwägen." In this connection let us consider the colloquialism 'sit on (upon) a man,' much the same as 'oppress,' German 'bedrängen.' Mr. Howells is perhaps more wise than witty when he remarks in 'Criticism and Fiction' that 'slang has probably always been dropping its *s* and becoming language.'

## REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

Lateinische Volksetymologie und Verwandtes, von OTTO KELLER. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner, 1891. pp. x, 387. 8vo.

Keller's book is the first attempt at a systematic treatment of Latin folk-etymology, where the form of a word is affected by false derivation or mistaken analogy, or where the signification is warped and perverted from the assumption of a false relationship. It is a loose collection of material rather than an exposition of the principles on which popular etymology is based. But we must be satisfied until we can get something better. The treatise is divided into two parts: 1. Latin Folk-etymology, and 2. Etymologies of Loan-words. An appendix to Part I treats of popular etymologies in the domain of the Greek language. One of the most unpleasant features of the book is that the author seldom mentions the sources from which he has compiled it, so that any reader who has not worked in the same line must needs receive the impression that a great many etymologies are here proposed for the first time, which is by no means the case. I have compared the book with the works and articles of Hehn, O. Schrader, Bradke, O. Weise, Saalfeld and others, and have found that in many cases our author copies their statements without giving due credit to them. Again, Keller assumes a number of popular etymologies without explaining cause or origin, and a careful reader will be compelled to sprinkle almost every page with interrogation marks; for, in his desire to explain every strange formation as the result of popular etymology, every obscure word as a loan-word from the Semitic or other languages, the author has often been misled into fanciful and absurd statements.

On pp. 18, 51, 251 and 352 the etymology of Palmyra from the Phoenician Tadmor is discussed. No sources or authorities are mentioned, nor is Keller able to explain how Tadmor was changed to Palmyra. The etymology was first proposed by Movers (Phoenizier, II 3, p. 224 f.), who considered Tadmor (2 Chron. 8, 4) an old colony of King Solomon. The reading Tāmār (1 Kings, 9, 18) he explained as a later change of the original Tadmor.<sup>1</sup> Blau (ZDMG. 25, 542) has shown that there existed a form *Taδμύρα* for *Taδμύρα*, λ for δ being a result of dissimilation. *Taδμύρα*, again, is from Tadmur, which, of course, is connected with Hebrew תַּמָּר 'date-palm.'<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, see Nöldeke's cautious remarks in Gött. Gel. Anz. 1881, 1222-31, and Lagarde's Übersicht über die . . . Bildung der Nomina, in Gött. Gel. Abh., vol. 35, 125. A knowledge of Nöldeke's remarks would have warned Keller against deriving *palma* from an hypothetical \**tadmar* = \**padmar*. *Palma* was the genuine Latin name for the dwarf-palm (*chamaerops humilis*). To the layman both trees looked very much alike. "Und nun bedenke man, wie weit die Alten, besonders die

<sup>1</sup> See also Gutschmid, Kleine Schriften, II 11.

<sup>2</sup> Literally, 'the lofty tree,' from a verb *tāmār* 'be high, lofty.'

Römer, in der Uebertragung von Namen heimischer Gegenstände auf fremde giengen. Wenn man die Datteln als 'Eicheln' (*βάλανοι*; schon bei Herodot, und immer das classische Wort geblieben) und den Elephanten als lucanischen Ochsen<sup>1</sup> bezeichnete, so kann man doch wol auch den Dattelbaum mit heimischen Namen Palme (= Zwergpalme) genannt haben." Keller derives *δάκτυλος* from an Arabic *dakhl* 'fluctuant, wavering,' but such a word I cannot find in Arabic.<sup>2</sup> The specifically Arabic word for date-palm is *naxl*, an expression wanting in the other Semitic languages. The origin of Greek *δάκτυλος* is not quite certain; Pliny's statement, 13, 9, §46, rather favors a connection between *δάκτυλος* 'date-palm' and *δάκτυλος* 'finger.' I would also suggest as further literature on the subject Lagarde's Mittheilungen, II 356; KZ. V 188 and VIII 398; L. Fleischer in Levy's Wörterbuch der Targumim, I 443 b.

*Anulus* ring from *annulus*, although advocated by Sophus Bugge, Etrusk. Forschungen, IV 124, is rejected by Gustav Meyer and others. *Esquilinae* and *Esquilinus* from *esculus*, *aesculus* 'winter oak,' was proposed as early as 1875 by Fritzsche, Horace, Satires, I 8, 14, but the *qu* makes it rather doubtful; also see H. Jordan in Hermes, 1880, No. 1. Greek *νύμφη* passed into Latin as *lympa* for *nympha*, *numpā*. So Keller, who compares for the change of λ to π *λαγχάνω* and *nanciscor*; but the latter is utterly impossible, and that *νύμφη*—*lympa* are two different words has been proved by Weise, Die griechischen Wörter im Latein, p. 14.

In many instances Keller's etymologies are forced and unnatural, e. g. the *Furculae Caudinae* are derived from Greek *φόρκες* = *χάρκες*; but how should *φόρκες* have become known to the inhabitants of the Apennine mountains? *Suleviae*, a by-form of *Silviae* 'forest nymphs,' is explained by a false analogy to *sublevare*, as if they had changed into *subleviae* 'protecting goddesses'; but insertion of a vowel is not so rare in Latin, where we have *calicare* for *calcare*, *magenae* for *magnae*; thus also *jugulans* for *juglans* 'walnut' need not be associated with *jugulus* 'a pair,' because they are often found in pairs. The original form of *Mars grādivus* was *Grabōvius* on the Eugubine tables; the Romans changed this, so we are told now, into *grādivus* with an intentional leaning on *grādior*. But this is by no means new doctrine; it was taught by Bréal long ago in his Les tables eugubines, p. 66. Another etymology of *grādivus* for *grandivus* from *grandire* 'to grow' = 'a deity promoting growth' is found in A. J. P. IV 71. *Castrare* from *castor* (pp. 75, 285) is also taught by Stowasser, but W. Meyer-Lübke, Indogerm. Forschungen, I, Anzeiger, 121 f., justly warns against this etymology; W. P. Mustard, The Etymologies in the Servian Commentary to Vergil, p. 17, simply quotes: *castores autem a castrando dicti sunt. Capis, capidis* 'a bowl with one handle, especially used for sacrifices,' is explained as borrowed from the Greek *καπίθη* 'a measure containing two χοίριακες' (Xen. An. I 5, 6), i. e. about two quarts. But *καπίθη* must have been a rare word in Greek; it occurs only in this passage and was evidently borrowed by Xenophon from the Old Persian original *katwiz*; the same occurs

<sup>1</sup> See, however, Bücheler, Rhein. Mus. 40, 150: "*bos lucas* is not a Lucanian cow, but, as Varro has it, *lucas* ab *luce*; cf. Horace, *elephans albus*."

<sup>2</sup> Arabic *dakhl* means 'burrow, side-hole, corner of a tent'; *daxl* = 'entrance, interference, disturbance; intention, custom, habit'; *dakl* = 'to knead clay, tread, tread down'; *daql* = 'to prevent, hinder, forbid, strike.'



in Armenian as *kapîc*, Syr. ܩܦܨ, passed thence into Arabic as *qafsa* and, again, into mediaeval Latin as *cafisium* (Lagarde, *Arm. Studien*, 1108; *Abh.* 81; *Mittheilungen*, II 27; *Symmicta*, I 45). On p. 82 Keller, following Rönisch, compares Latin *capitulata* 'a vessel of uncertain dimensions,' Augustinus epistolae, 2, 48, with Greek *καπέτις* = *χοϊνίς*, seemingly ignorant of the fact that *καπίθη* and *καπέτις* go back to the same original. Lagarde (*Abh.* 198, 32; *Arm. Stud.* 1108; *Übersicht*, 61, 7) has shown that *καπέτις* does not exist in Greek; Polyaeus 4, 3, 32 has to be corrected into *καπέζις* = *καπαίσις* = Syr. ܩܦܨ. Latin *samentum* 'wollumwundener Oelzweig den der Flamen auf dem Kopfe trug' is derived from *sāma*, the Doric for *sēma*. But Bücheler, *Rhein. Mus.* 37, 516, says: *samentum*, a Hernican word (Fronto, IV 4, p. 67, Naber), is related to *sagmen*, as *segmentum* to *segmen*; the guttural has been lost, as in *lumen*, *luna* (\**lūcna*, \**λεγκνα*), *examen*. The word belongs to the Italic root *sak*, and its general sense is 'means of divine confirmation, token of consecration.' *Amuletum* is derived from Arabic *hamalet* 'appendix, amulet.' But there is no such word in Arabic.<sup>1</sup> Our author, no doubt, believes that as Arabic *tilsam*, *tilism* = talisman, was borrowed from the M. G. *τίλσμου*, so *amuletum* must, as a fair exchange, have been taken from the Arabic. The word, however, is not Semitic at all. J. G. Gildemeister, one of the best Arabic scholars, rejected the usual derivation of this noun mentioned by Varro (apud Charisium, 105, 9, edit. Keil) and often used by Pliny, and says that its origin must be sought in Latin sources (*ZDMG.* 38, 140-42). *Cutullus* (p. 82) is derived by S. Fränkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, p. 170, from the Semitic. Of the two forms *polenta* and *pulenta*, the latter is considered (p. 83) as the more original form, but Meyer-Lübke (*Philolog. Abhandlungen*, H. Schweizer-Sidler gewidmet, p. 19) shows that *pōlenta* is the original form. *Parricida*, *parricidium* for *patricida*, is by far inferior to Stowasser's derivation of the nouns from *parrère*, or rather from the adjective \**parrus*, *a, um* (cf. *parra* [auis] 'bird of omen') 'open, manifest'; "*parricidium* ist offener Mord, juristisch-erwiesener Mord im Gegensatz zur *manifesta caedes*, die nicht juristisch, sondern durch Ergreifen auf frischer Tat bewiesen ist" (*Dunkle Wörter*, I, p. 19). *Turunda* 'a kind of sacrificial cake' is derived from the accusative *τυροῦντα* 'cheese-bread, cheese-cake, cheese'; but J. Piechotta, *Wölfflin's Archiv*, I, No. 4, believes it to be an odd case of metathesis for *rutunda*, like *lapidicina* for *lapicidina*. From *turunda*, in its later signification of a 'ball of paste for fattening geese,' Keller derives *opturare* (*obturare*) 'to stop up, close, to fatten,' for *obturundare*; while Stowasser, much better, refers it directly to *τυρός*, giving it a meaning similar to that of the late Greek *τυρώω*. *Amusis* 'rule, level' is derived from Greek *ἀμωσις*, *ἀμωξίς* (like *Saalfeld*, *Tensaurus*); Stowasser borrows it from the Hebrew *ammāh*, c. st. *ammāth*, 'ell, cubit.' Weise's much better etymology from *ἀμωξίς* is not mentioned by either. *Littera* for *dittera* is said to be the Greek *διφθέρα*, an etymology claimed by Bréal as his property and declared utterly impossible by Gustav Meyer. I will mention in this connection that Fürst (*Lexicon*, 308) goes a step further, deriving the Greek from an impossible Arabic *daṣ(dif)tarun*, which he combined with Hebrew *דָּבָר* and explained as *דָּבָר תָּרֵן* (book town). A number

<sup>1</sup>*Himala* means (1) 'be bathed in tears; flow, rain steadily and uniformly'; inf. *hamal*, *hamul* and *hamalin*; (2) 'to pasture at large, day and night; leave undone, neglect, forget.'

of Keller's etymologies have long been forestalled by Bücheler in his excellent articles on Old Latin, which should be known to every philologist.<sup>1</sup> Thus *inciens* 'pregnant,' from ἔγκυος; *duploma* and *diplomum* for *díploma*, as a false analogy after *duplum*, is found in Rhein. Mus. 39, 408; so also *primilegium* for *privilegium*, after *primus*; Bücheler adds *Octimber* for *October*, after *imber*; *ilico* for *inloco*; *sedulus* for *se-dolo* = *sine dolo*, Rhein. Mus. 35, 627; *sedulus* for *sedolus* is due to the accent (Meyer-Lübke, l. c., p. 19); *caduceus* from καρίκιον goes back to Curtius, Grundzüge<sup>5</sup>, 438; *discipulus* for *disciculus* Keller owes to Stowasser's article in Archiv, V 289; paying no attention to Bréal's objections, ibid. 579. The combination of φάσγανον and *fuscina* was first suggested by Fröhde in Bezz. Beitr. I 249; also see Saalfeld, Tensaurus, 490; the word is as yet obscure; its ending *-ina* points to a Greek source, but as yet nothing certain is known (Meyer-Lübke, l. c., p. 17). The explanation of *redivivus* was first given by Lange.

The etymology of *accipiter* goes back to Wölflin's Archiv, IV 141, 324; *coturnix*, *coturnus*, ibid. VI 562; *salaputium*, IV 601; *caliendrum*, II 478-82; *maenianum*, V 290, VI 507; *mattiobarbulus*, V 135; *Ardalio*, V 486 and Bréal, Rev. de Philologie, IX 137; *meridies*, Archiv. I 273, also cf. VII 605; A. J. P. VII 228, VIII 82; *clanculum*, Archiv, VI 563, VII 23; *profecto*, II 334; for *aestimare*, *aestumare*, Studemund (ibid. I 115) might be remembered; *purare*, ibid. II 123; a writer on *trux* = δόρξ should take due notice of Ribbeck's article in Archiv, II 122; *velum* = *vexillum*, ibid. IV 413; *malacia*, VI 259, VII 270, 445, 586; *antenna*, O. Weise, Philolog. 47, 45; *idus*, Bücheler, Rhein. Mus. 44, 320; *satura*, σάτυροι goes back to Mommsen, Röm. Gesch. I 28, O. Ribbeck, Gesch. der röm. Dichtung, I 9, Archiv, V 33; *tus* to Jordan in Hermes (1880) and O. Weise in Lazarus & Steinthal, 13, 245. Under *omen* mention should be made of Stowasser, Dunkle Wörter, I 19, and Mähly, Philolog. 47, 568; for *caesaries* I refer to Lagarde, Arm. Stud. 35, 481; *Iulius*, *Iulus*, see Archiv, IV 586 and 616; Greek τῑπαννός corresponds to Armenian Էր = 'master' (Lagarde, Arm. Stud. 2217), and thus overthrows Keller's theory (pp. 329-30). Ramsay (Bezz. Beitr. 14, 309) says: "τῑπαννός is vouched for by the grammarians as Lydian, while Բάναξ is a Phrygian word."<sup>2</sup> *Reciprocus* should refer to Corssen's Kritische Nachträge, 136, and Rhein. Mus. 43, 399; also Greenough in Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, I (A. J. P. XI 225). On *ergo* and *erga* see now Zimmermann in Berl. philol. Wochenschrift, 1892, No. 18. The relation of *tentare* and *temptare*, *contemptus* is not explained by Keller (p. 151), but by Meyer-Lübke, l. c., p. 21.

Many etymologies correspond almost verbatim with those given by V. Hehn in his book: Wanderings of Plants and Animals, e. g. *astur* 'a species of hawk,' from ἀστερίας, after the analogy of *vultur*; *citrus* from κίτρος; *colopuintis*. Latin *pavo*, from τὰς, under the influence of *paupulare*. Strange to say, Lagarde, Beiträge zur Baktrischen Lexicographie, p. 65, says: τὰς is perhaps an old mistake for παῶς, *pavo*, and is nothing else but the older form of the Armenian հաւ (Arm. Stud. 1268), which means ὄρνις, ὀρνιθίων, ἀλεκτωρ. τὰς for παῶς originated perhaps as πρᾶσος 'leek,' *πρασία* 'garden-plot' from Sem. *karrath*, Hebr. כרית, borrowed by the Ionians as κράσος and changed later into πρᾶσος, whence also

<sup>1</sup> See A. J. P. VI 243, IX 237, X 247.

<sup>2</sup> See, however, Bezz. Beitr. 13, 314 and 15, 92; Mém. de ling. 3, pp. 27 and 275.

Latin *porrum*; or μάροπος, Latin *marsupium*, for μάροκος, from מָרְפֹּס. *Excetra* 'snake, serpent' is, according to the dictionaries, corrupted from ἐχιδνα. Keller attempts to convince us that the Romans adopted ἐξέδρα 'hall,' borrowed already as *ex-hedra*, *exedra*, instead of the correct ἐχιδνα; he compares with it the well-known 'marmorierte Häringe' and 'hermöglischst verschlossene Kästen,' overlooks, however, the great difficulty that these latter instances are adjectives, while ἐξέδρα is a noun. Stowasser (*Dunkle Wörter*, II) derives *excetra* from *ex* = ἐχis and *cetra* 'a short Spanish shield.' Both etymologies are forced, and Weise's comparison with Lithuanian *eschketras* 'whale,' Prussian *esketres* 'sturgeon,' Slav. *jesetrü*, Russ. *osetr* = 'stör,' is by far preferable. (Bezz. Beitr. V 82, VI 234; Saalfeld, *Tensaurus*, 477.)

I must take exception to such etymologies as *phalaris*, *phalēris* 'water-hen, coot,' so called from its white head, borrowed by the Romans as *phalaris*, *phalaris*, was changed into *fulica*, *fulix* after a false analogy to *fuligo* 'soot,' because the main color of the bird was black. *βλέφαρον* and *palpebra* belong to the same root as the 'einfachste etymologische Instinct' would teach us, but, unfortunately, it has been declared impossible 'von autoritativer Seite aus' (p. 1); *cinnus* 'a mixed drink,' shortened from *concinus*, from κυκεών; *sufflamen* 'a clog, drag-chain' is derived from ὑπόβλημα; πᾶνος and *pannus* 'cloth, garment' are combined, but Saalfeld, *Tensaurus*, G. Meyer, Berl. phil. Woch. 1887, 214, have shown that they are different words. *Mamphur* 'a bow drill' (Paul-Diac.) Keller derives from μαννοφόρος 'wearing a collar.' That Scaliger, O. Weise and Saalfeld, l. c., 659, have done so is not mentioned at all. Meyer-Lübke, l. c., pp. 24-27, shows that the *ph* in *mamphur* is as wrong as that in *sulphur*, etc., for *sulphur* or *sulfur*; that *mamfur*, again, is a mistake for *manfär*, which would be *mafar* in Latin; that it is an Oscan-Umbrian word, which in Latin must have become *mandarinum*, whence French *mandrin*, while the Italian *manfanile* is derived from the Oscan form *manfarinum*. *Porticus* is said to be from πορευτική sc. στοά, after the analogy of *portus*. *Monobelis*, from ὀβελός 'monolith,' was changed to *monubilis*, after the analogy of *nubilis* and *nobilis*; but J. Piechotta (*Wölflin's Archiv*, I, No. 4) has shown that *monubilis* with the force of monolith is to be identified with μονόβελος. Keller's etymology is at least better than the one offered in Harper's Latin Dictionary, where the noun is derived from *mōneo* (remind) and *columnae monubiles* explained as 'columns that serve as remembrancers.' Κατάστας is shortened in Latin to *catasta* 'scaffold, stage,' on which slaves were exposed for sale. So Keller, following Saalfeld, *Tensaurus*. But Stowasser and others consider it a compound of *cat* (= κατά) and *asta* (= hasta). *Basterna* 'sedan chair, litter' is connected by Keller, after Saalfeld, l. c., 168, and others, with βασιτάω, with a leaning toward *Basternae*, the name of a German tribe which became known to the Romans in the war with Pyrrhus and whose abode extended from the sources of the Vistula to the Carpates. This comparison is certainly 'an den Haaren herbeigezogen'; besides, it is rather awkward for Keller that we have the same word in Armenian: *bastern* 'couch' (Lagarde, *Arm. Stud.* 27, 362; *Abh.* 23, 4). A look into Gesner's Thesaurus s. v. would have pointed our author to the right source. For Semele ζεμέλη = זמל I refer to *Revue des études juives*, XII, No. 23, p. 139.

Still less successful is Keller in his etymologies of Greek and Latin words

from the Semitic and other languages. *Pallas* ('Αθήνη) and *Palladian* are derived from Hebrew פָּלַד (pāld; not pālath); but Keller disregards the fact that the Qal of this verb means 'to escape,' while 'to save' is the meaning of the Piel. I fail to see from what Hebrew or Phoenician noun-formation the word could be derived, unless it be from an intensive form like gannāb. 'Αθήνη, according to our author (p. 228), is the same word as Semitic *Ate*; he overlooks one slight difficulty, namely, that *Ate* is the name of a Phoenician god (not goddess!); *Αράγατις* = *Attar-Ate* = the Ištar of the god *Ate*. *Artemis Munichia* is connected with מִנְחָה 'gift, sacrifice, unbloody offering,' simply because such sacrifices were offered to that goddess. How the Semitic noun should have become a Greek adjective is not explained. *Μουνιχία* is said to be based on the analogy of μῶνιχος μῶνιχος 'the unmarried goddess,' and this, again, was changed to μουνυχία with reference to νύξ, thus *Artemis Munichia* = 'die in der Nacht einsam wandelnde Artemis.'

*Εἰλήθνια*, as well as *Mylitta*, are derived from the Hebrew-Phoenician יָלָה; the one is as impossible as the other. No Semitic scholar, at present, will combine *Mylitta* with Hebrew יָלָה 'to bear.' The word is a corruption of the Babylonian *Belit* (the *Bellis* of the Old Testament). It is an agreeable surprise to see that Keller does not also derive *Λητώ*, Aeolic Λάτω, *Latona*, from this Semitic verb 'to bear.' What he remarks on p. 62 is found already in Bezz. Beitr. 5, 86; KZ. 30, 211. *Λητώ* as well as 'Αρτεμῖς and 'Απόλλων Ληκαῖος seem to be of Phrygian origin. C. P. Tiele, *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, I 179, II 139, quotes a Carian inscription where *lada* occurs in the meaning of 'lady, mistress' = *freya*. Bury's etymology of 'Αρτεμῖς in Bezz. Beitr. 7, 340, I cannot accept; nor C. Roberts' derivation from ἀρτεμῆω; nor do I agree with C. D. Buck that "since the form 'Αρταυ- has a small representation compared with 'Αρτεμ- we are certainly not justified in regarding the former as the original, and that, according to all probability, 'Αρτεμῖς is the original form and every attempt to find an etymology should take this as the basis" (A. J. P. X 466). Lagarde's Abh. 153 ('Αρτας); Bezz. Beitr. 11, 192, and C. P. Tiele's remarks in the journal quoted above, will furnish good material for the correct etymology.

*Μίγαπα*, *μάγαπα*, *μέγαρον* are all derived from Hebr. מִשְׁעָרָה. That M. Jos. Halévy is the author of this etymology (*Mélanges de critique et d'histoire sémit.*, p. 144) is not mentioned by Keller, who quotes this book repeatedly. Lagarde, *Reliquiae jur. eccles.* XXXVII, has: *μέγαρον* eodem quo *tugurium* refero, ad מִשְׁעָרָה scilicet; and more may be found in the same writer's *Symmicta*, I 3, II 91; *Mittheilungen*, I 230. G. Hoffmann, *Einige Phoenikische Inschriften*, p. 6, rem. 1, says: "Das karthagische *Μέγαπα* = מִשְׁעָרָה wegen der sachlichen Übereinstimmung; vergleiche die Verstümmelung Carthada für קִרְתַּחְדִּית." *Κίκλωψ* Keller believes to be 'eine malerische Reduplication' of the onomatopoeitic root *klap*, *klop*, whence also Hebr. כִּילְפָה 'hammer' (read כִּילְפֹת 'hatchet, axe,' Psalm 74, 6). An Indogermanic derivation is given by Möhl in *Mém. de soc. ling.* VII 389 ff. Of the same value is the etymology of δαίμων, in the meaning of 'satan,' from *zebūl* or *zebūb* in *Ba'alzebūl* or *Be'elzebūb*. In the Old Testament there occurs only *Ba'alzebūb* (1 Kings i) as the name of the *Ba'al* of Ekron, the averter of insects. *Beelzebūl* occurs several times in the New Testament, being equivalent perhaps with בְּעִזְבּוּל 'Ba'al of

the heavenly tower' =  $\text{𐤓𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤓}$ , Phoenician  $\text{Beelšāmūn}^1$  =  $\text{κύριος οὐρανοῦ}$ . Whether  $\text{Beelzeboul}$  really denotes the 'chief of the evil spirits' is an open question; and, even if it should have this meaning, it is hard to see why the Greeks should have adopted only the second part of the word and transformed it into  $\text{διάβολος}$ . The change of  $\text{z}$  to  $\text{di}$  would not be so very strange, for we have  $\text{tophadius}$  (late Latin) for  $\text{topazus}$ ; the corresponding transition from  $\text{di}$  to  $\text{z}$ , especially in the form  $\text{zabulus}$ , is very widely distributed from Commodian (in Palestine?) to the Irish Books of Kells and Durrow (*Studia Biblica*, II 321). I would call attention also to the controversy on *Typhon-Zephon* between O. Gruppe and E. Meyer (*Philologus*, 48, 487 and 762).  $\text{Μάραγδος}$ ,  $\text{σμάραγδος}$  and Skt. *marakata* are both borrowed from the Hebrew  $\text{מָרְקָת}$  and  $\text{מָרְקָת}$  (!); so Keller (p. 192), who cannot see why Aug. Müller (Bezz. Beitr. I 280-81) considers  $\text{μάραγδος}$ , etc., as of Indogermanic origin. The fact is that the Sanskrit was borrowed independently by the Phoenicians and the Greeks, the Phoenicians writing  $\text{bārekdth}$  for  $\text{marekdth}$ , with analogy to Sem.  $\text{בָּרַק}$  'to shine, glitter,' while the Greeks adopted  $\text{μάραγδος}$ , which, influenced by Greek  $\text{σμάω}$ , begot a by-form  $\text{σμάραγδος}$  (Latin *smaragdus*).

That  $\text{βοιά}$ ,  $\text{βόα}$  'pomegranate' has no connection with  $\text{בֹּרֶךְ}$  has been known to every Semitic student since 1877. The Cyprian form  $\text{ῥοδία}$ , of which Keller makes no mention, debars all possibility of deriving the Greek from the Semitic. Greek  $\text{νέτωπον}$ ,  $\text{νετώπιον}$  from Hebr.  $\text{נֶטֶפֶן}$  is very doubtful (Lagarde, *Mittheilungen*, II 357; A. Wiedemann, Herodot's zweites Buch, p. 30);  $\text{ἀλεκτρονών}$  is explained as consisting of  $\text{al-}$  (= Semitic article) +  $\text{keter}$  (crown), i. e. 'the fowl with a crown on its head.'  $\text{Θάψακος}$ , says Keller (p. 199), "zeigt höchst auffallender Weise ein  $\vartheta$  entsprechend dem  $\text{ת}$ , während sonst dem  $\text{ת}$  vielmehr ein  $\text{τ}$  entspricht." To explain this he assumes an analogy to the name of the Western city  $\text{Θάψος}$  or the plant  $\text{θάψος}$ ; but we have here a metathesis of aspiration,  $\text{Θάψακος}$  for  $\text{Τάψαχος}$ ; the companions of Xenophon changed  $\text{Τάψαχος}$  =  $\text{תַּפְסַח}$ , the halting place where the Phoenician caravans crossed the Euphrates (cf. Assyrian *tapšaxu* 'resting place') into  $\text{Θάψακος}$  on the analogy of  $\text{Λάμψακος}$ , which stands for  $\text{Λάψακος}$  >  $\text{Λαψαχος}$  =  $\text{לַפְסַח}$  = at the ford across the Hellespont, the initial  $\text{ל}$  being the same as in  $\text{Λιλυθαῖον}$  (Lagarde, *Mittheilungen*, II 261 =  $\text{לְלִיבִיא}$ ).  $\text{Βύρσα}$  'a part of Carthage' is not from *birthā* 'fortress,' but a metathesis of *Begura* or *Bogra*, the earlier name of the city. The guinea-fowl  $\text{μελεαγρίς}$  was originally a compound of  $\text{μέλας}$  +  $\text{ἀργός}$  'black and white'; its name, our author asserts, was changed to  $\text{μελεαγρίς}$  after the analogy of the proper name Meleagros, so that it now means the Meleagros-bird; but if so, what becomes of the Old Bactrian *meregha* 'guinea-fowl' from which, according to most authorities,  $\text{μελεαγρίς}$  was formed? The reference (on p. 206) to Lagarde's *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, p. 81, for  $\text{ἀλώπηξ}$  is misleading and not correct; his later statements in the *Armenische Studien*, 8, No. 63, should be consulted, as well as Curtius' *Studien*, IV 305; KZ. 1, 498; 13, 366; 26, 603; Bezz. Beitr. 10, 294; 13, 315 and 15, 135; G. Meyer in *Indogerm. Forschungen*, 1, 328; and W. Meyer-Lübke's note on *lupus*:  $\text{λίκος}$  in *Abhandlungen Schweizer-Sidler gewidmet*, p. 17, is of the greatest importance. Keller's remark on  $\text{ιέραξ}$ —*sacer* is almost exactly like Hehn's on p. 486, note 72, of his famous book; Lagarde, *Mittheilungen*, II 252, however, derives *sacer* from Arabic  $\text{عَظَر}$ . *Amaltheia* is derived (p. 225) from  $\text{מַלְחָה}$  (i. e.

<sup>1</sup> For *Beelšāmūn* cf. Schröder, *Phönizische Sprache*, 131, 2.

*māldt*, not *mālath*, which every Semitic student would consider as equivalent to מָלַח ('to save'; but here again I must say that this is the meaning of the Piel, while the Qal means 'to escape.' For the correct etymology of ἀνδράποδον I refer Keller and his readers to Lagarde's *Baktrische Lexicographie*, 23, rem. 1. Not only is *Pelagos* derived from Hebrew פָּלַג 'canal,' Middle High German *bulge* being completely ignored; *Persephone* from פֶּרֶץ-פֶּחַי (!) 'the fruit of the hidden,' i. e. 'Frucht des im Boden verborgen gewesenen Samenkorns,' but also *Heracles* from the Hebrew רָכַל 'to go around and about' — article *ha*. Truly, one is reminded of the early days of Assyriology when H. Fox Talbot (*Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* II 33) derived Διόνυσος from the Assyrian *dān nīše* 'judge of the nations,' an epithet of the Sun-god Šamaš, pronounced by him *diyān nīše*, or Hades (ib., p. 188), from *Bit Edi* or *Bit Hadi*; but there is no such word in Assyrian; the ideographic expression being KUR NU-GI-A = *eršit lā ūtrat* 'the land whence no return.'

I have only touched on a few points in the second part of Keller's book, a thorough criticism of which would fill a volume of about the same size as the book itself. To this part I shall return again in a special treatise on 'Semitic words in the Greek and Latin languages,' to be published in vol. XXIII of the *Transactions of the American Philological Association*.

W. MUSS-ARNOLT.

Kleine Schriften von Heinrich Ludolf Ahrens: erster Band. Zur Sprachwissenschaft, besorgt von CARL HÄBERLIN, mit einem Vorwort von O. CRUSIUS. Hannover, Hahn'sche Buchhandlung, 1891. xv, 584. Price 16 Marks.

In these latter days, when the ancient reign of the classics is molested on every hand, it may seem a hazardous thing to adventure a volume of collected essays dating in part from the first half of the century. Greek has been voted a protected commodity by the Senate of the University of Cambridge, one of whose sons has taken up arms, whetted by his study of Aristotle, against the further supremacy of the language of the philosopher; in America, as we all know, we have our own battle to fight; and even in Germany we hear regrets for the old times. The number of students of Greek and Latin at the gymnasia and the universities there has, if we are correctly informed, sensibly diminished within the past decade; and Caesar has now entered the lists against the dominion of the old-time studies. While the devoted adherents of Greek are convinced by the continual disclosure of new treasures of art and literature that they were never better fitted to understand and proclaim the lessons of the eternal Hellenic spirit, the world at large, it must be confessed, has grown somewhat impatient of the part Greek has played in our system of education.

In taking up this first selection of the works of Ahrens it seems as if his shade would not rest, but arose to ask of his few surviving contemporaries:

ὦ πιστὰ πιστῶν, ἡλικίης θ' ἡβῆς ἐμῆς,  
Πέρσαι γεραιροί, τίνα πόλιν πονεῖ πόνον;

Ahrens was not only a great investigator, he was a great teacher. No one but a great teacher could have infused vitality into his theory that instruction in Greek should begin with the beginnings of its literature, and that its study

should advance together with the development of the language until it reached the perfected form wrought by the master-workers of the Attic dialect. Ahrens was by inheritance a great teacher. He was the pupil of Otfried Müller, and at the Lyceum in Hanover he trained many pupils who have since won for themselves an honorable place in the history of classical philology. It is due to the loyalty of one of these pupils, Otto Crusius, now professor at Tübingen, that we are at last placed in a position to survey at least a part of the scientific activity of his master. We are also indebted to Dr. C. Haeberlin, to whom was entrusted the carrying out of Prof. Crusius' plan. Dr. Haeberlin has fulfilled his laborious task in a highly acceptable manner by verifying the references, infixing the pagination of the original publications and supplying convenient indices.

Ahrens was born early enough to have drawn his inspiration from the encyclopaedic instruction of the early leaders of philology, who were still under the influence of Wolf, early enough to have felt the stimulus of the first linguistic researches of Bopp; but at a time when he was freed from the temptation to divorce literature from language. To the end he was always pressing forward to keep pace with the investigations of younger generations of scholars. That he did not leave behind him a greater number of masterpieces is due in part to this restless activity, and in part to the requirements in the form of 'programmes' and addresses exacted of the practical school-teacher, the pathos of whose lot speaks out with such intensity in the recently published *Einleitung in die neugriechische Grammatik* of Hatzidakis. Of the one hundred titles of Ahrens' works collected by Haeberlin, fully a fifth is the outcome of his practical duties as an educator of youth, which he remained to the last.

Of Ahrens' joint pursuit of the study of classical antiquity and of comparative philology, the chief result, beyond all question, was the *De Graecae linguae dialectis*, published only ten years after its author obtained his doctor's degree at Göttingen (1829) and in the year immediately following upon that which witnessed the appearance of the well-known tractate *Ueber die Conjugation auf  $\mu$  im homerischen Dialekte*. It has been the singular fortune of the work on the Greek dialects that it held its ground uncontested by any rival for nearly forty years, despite, perhaps even because of the enormous increase of material illustrative of the subject. It is only recently that a part of the Dialects reappeared in a second edition under the care of Meister, to whom it was entrusted by its author shortly before his death; while no small part of the legacy of opportunity bequeathed by Ahrens to his successors still remains unclaimed. A comprehensive treatise on Ionic, a dialect of greater literary interest than Doric or Aiolic, which engaged Ahrens in the first two and only volumes of the Dialects, still does not exist. Of Ahrens' great work this is not the place to speak. It is one of those pioneering yet enduring works, one of those classical treatises in the history of philology which deserve, as Crusius well says, a place on the same shelf as Wolf's *Prolegomena* and Hermann's *Elementa*.

A striking feature of Ahrens' scientific activity is the emphasis he laid upon the study of the poetical monuments. Whether as an investigator of language or as a critical student of literature, he dealt with Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, *Epicharmus*, *Sophron*, the melic and elegiac poets. The tragic poets were, it

is true, not a subject for special investigation with him. But Aeschylus he studied much, and besides the papers on the Agamemnon in the *Philologus* for 1860, he wrote reviews of Bamberger's Choephoroe, Schoemann's Prometheus, and Franz' Oresteia. Nor is there manifest any lack of interest in mythology. Yet there is scarcely a single product of his pen dealing with Greek prose literature as such. Had Ahrens embraced Ionic in his researches, we should doubtless have heard his views on the question of the origin of Attic prose. The Ionisms of tragedy and Thucydides, though few in number, must bring close home to every one the problem of the influence exerted by Ionic upon the rise of Attic as an organ of literature. Throughout his life, so long as he occupied himself with the dialects, Ahrens gave, almost of necessity, greater scope to Doric and Aeolic; and thus was easily led in time to that closer study of Theocritus which resulted in the edition of 1850 (of which there have been seven unchanged impressions) and in the larger work of 1855-59.

Next to the Dialects, Ahrens' Theocritus is the work by which he is best known and by which his fame is ensured. The Theocritus is still the most exhaustive critical edition that we possess. In it, as elsewhere, Ahrens exhibited that fine sense of proportion which recognized as a characteristic virtue of Greek literature the subtle interrelation between the literary dialect and the ordinary speech of the people. The imperishable treatise that has taught us more than any other single contribution to the subject—*Ueber die Mischung der Dialekte in der griechischen Lyrik*—showed us that it is art, not the casual affinities of the individual, which regulates the delicate shading of dialectal speech in Greek literature. Greek literature, in one point at least, is unlike other literatures. From Homer till the latest period in which the literary genius of the Greeks was creative, the dialects were more or less commingled in poetry. In fact there exists scarcely any branch of the poetic art which did not consciously intervein one dialect with another. Now it is not to the renown of Ahrens that he admitted the existence of dialect admixture (Hermann had long before him seen the facts and attempted a solution of their interrelation), but that he found the law of permanence of literary type as expressed in dialectal language, i. e. that the various branches of the poetic art did not abandon the dialect in which they started. That in the existing monuments this principle is everywhere carried out may perhaps be denied. Yet in its essential features it still holds good, despite the recent assaults upon it by Fick. Ahrens avoided the dangers on either hand. In the inscriptions, though they record the actual usage of the time and are free from the suspicion of corruption at the hands of blundering scribes or of sciolists, he refused to see an absolute standard to control MS tradition. Nor, on the other hand, did he fail to recognize the fact that without epigraphy palaeography may starve. Ahrens would have rejected Fick's theory of the absolute authoritativeness of purely inscriptional testimony; and wondered at the supersensitiveness of Fritzsche's musico-philological ear. Fritzsche thought that the minute shades of feeling expressed in Theocritus' use, now of an epic, now of a Doric or an Aiolic form, were to be apprehended only by the critic whose soul was attuned to this harmony of language, and in the same manner as it may apprehend the subtle variations in the last three measures of Beethoven's Symphony in *a dur*.

In the present volume there is a goodly number of epigraphical essays.



Most noteworthy is the well-known treatise on the Kyprian inscriptions, which still possesses a distinct value of its own. There are also commentaries on inscriptions from Olympia (Roehl 75, 112, 113), and a treatise on Lakonian. The dialect of the bucolic poets is represented only by the caustic review of Mühlmann's *Leges dialecti qua Graecorum poetae bucolici usi sunt*.

Ahrens was undoubtedly stronger on the side of systematic grammar than of etymology. To work in etymology before the last quarter of this century was often a difficult and a dangerous thing. Ahrens suffered shipwreck on the rock of proper names. The lengthy treatise *Ueber eine wichtige indogermanische Familie von Götternamen* can add nothing to his fame. The name of Poseidon has been discussed with better results by Pott and, in later times, by Prellwitz, than in the essay *Ueber den Namen des Poseidon*, though nowhere do we find a greater wealth of illustrative material. Other papers of an etymological character are: 'Pā, *Beitrag zur gr. Etymologie und Lexicographie*; *Αὐλή* und *Villa*; *Ein Beitrag zur Etymologie der gr. Zahlwörter*; *Etymologische Untersuchungen zum Homer* (1. ἀπανράω, ἐπανρίσκω, ἐρύω; 2. ῥύομαι, ἐρύομαι, εἰρύομαι, σόος, οὔρος, ὤραι; 3. *Einiges über die sogenannte Distraction*; 4. εἶσαι, ἀμφιέλωσαι, ἐλικες); *Δρῶς* und seine Sippe.

For the history of language and the study of prehistoric civilization it is imperative that the choice and use of words to denominate parts of the body and other common things be followed through the various languages. Ahrens set the type for this species of investigation in the treatise published shortly before his death: *Die gr. und lat. Benennungen der Hand* (Teubner, 1879). This work was of too great an extent to be incorporated in this volume.

There can be no question that as a student of the formal side of grammar Ahrens must hold a very high place. It is astonishing how much is still correct in his *Conjugation in μ im homerischen Dialekte*, dedicated to Otfried Müller in 1838. The *Formenlehre des homerischen und attischen Dialektes* is still serviceable, though the rapid advance of Homeric investigation along the lines laid down in part by Ahrens himself has rendered much out of date. Some time ago the reviewer was struck by the occurrence of ἦμα in Herodas. Lucius' recent treatise on Crasis and Aphaeresis contains nothing on the question, but Ahrens, *De Crasi*, p. 60, gave an explanation of the form, to which that of Brugmann has been forced to yield. In the treatise *On the Hand* before mentioned, Ahrens anticipated Wackernagel's explanation of the form *ἐάντων* (K. Z. XXVII 279).

Of the grammatical treatises we may notice especially the Homeric excurses which deal i. a. with the gen. in -oo, the gemination of initial ν, *Τρωαί*, *Τρωάς*, *Τρωός*, *Τροίη*, the lengthening of short final syllables in the hexameter (four papers), and with certain legitimate species of hiatus. There is also a treatise on hiatus in the older elegiac poets. The discussion of the feminines in ω has not lost its interest, despite the more recent investigation of the question by Danielsson and Johannes Schmidt. Here, as always, Ahrens supports his view with a wealth of illustration from literature, the inscriptions, and the grammarians which he knew equally well with the Königsbergers. Ahrens' erudition was in fact rivalled only by that of Lobeck. No one who has not himself worked his way into the enormous mass of grammatical literature can fail to be amazed at Ahrens' unwearied patience, firm grasp, and critical insight.

It is needless to say that the treatises collected in this volume cannot claim the place they once enjoyed. *Dies diem docet*. We have learned that phonetic 'law' is more rigorous in its requirements than was imagined by the leaders of the past generation. The days of wonderment at the correlation of ordinary Greek and Latin forms has long gone by. But whatever the errors of Ahrens, all that he did bears the impress of a profound worker who left nothing neglected that might contribute its light to the discovery of the truth. For that reason these memorials of his life will always repay reading even by the most advanced specialist.

The matter collected in the first volume of the *Kleine Schriften* deals with certain aspects of those grammatical studies which have always proved attractive to American philologists. Prof. Crusius tells us that the publication of the second and concluding volume must depend upon the reception accorded to this. Will not American scholars support the devotion of Ahrens' pupil and the enterprise of the publisher in an undertaking which at best cannot prove highly remunerative, that they and others may possess a collection of essays dealing with the broader aspects of classical culture?

HERBERT WEIR SMYTH.

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Livy. Books I and II. Edited with Introduction and Notes, by J. B. GREENOUGH. Boston and London, Ginn & Co., 1891.

Mr. Greenough's latest contribution to classical scholarship gives abundant evidence that its author has performed no perfunctory task, but has had before him certain definite ideals. The leading feature of the book is the endeavor to assist the student in grasping Livy's thoughts in the form and order in which the historian himself presents them. Great pains are taken to indicate the proper 'thought-perspective' of a complex idea, that the student may clearly discern what is emphatic and what is subordinate in the Latin sentence. The editor has on many previous occasions effectively urged this principle as one of prime importance in the study of Latin. In the present work he has gone further. With admirable skill and judgment he has so analyzed example after example of Livy's thought as to impress clearly upon the reader what it means to read Latin as Latin is written.

Mr. Greenough's own special tastes and studies have naturally led him to emphasize matters of language much more prominently than history or antiquities. In the two latter departments more might well have been given. Even Mommsen is but rarely cited, and there is no reference to the suggestive views of Ihne concerning the character of the early history of Rome. The general impression conveyed by the historical notes is that the whole history, of the regal period at least, is so uncertain that it is useless to undertake to arrive at any rational views concerning it. Even with regard to so well-determined a fact as the right of intermarriage between the inhabitants of different states, Mr. Greenough has no more positive declaration to make than that "it *seems* to have been carefully guarded among the ancients" (p. 30).

In the grammatical notes, as a rule, no statement is made of the principle involved, but a simple reference to the grammar is given. It is questionable whether this method is a wise one to follow. Wherever the grammatical

principle involved is of sufficient importance to receive notice, it would seem to be worth while to give at least the gist of it in the commentary, with an accompanying reference to the grammar for fuller information.

In a number of instances the editor, in aiming at brevity and compactness of statement, has given too little help. Some passages of real difficulty are thus dismissed with but a word of comment, which will fail to satisfy the reflecting student. Thus on i. 9. 13 the interpretation (apparently the editor's own) of *incusantes violati hospitii foedus*: "accusing their HOSTS (properly the implied agreement made by their hosts)," is eminently unsatisfactory. It ought to be supplemented at least by some fuller explanation, if not by a statement of other interpretations that have been advanced concerning this puzzling passage. The freshman is a rational creature, and it is often good policy to endeavor to encourage his critical faculty by allowing him to choose between different explanations of a passage. Thus, in the sentence just referred to, the words *per fas ac fidem* are interpreted "by a pretence of piety and good faith." Yet Weissenborn, in his note on this passage, has made exceedingly plausible another interpretation, by which *per* is taken as retaining one of its primitive meanings, viz. *contrary to*, like the Greek *παρά*, with which (as another form of the same root) it is properly identified. Latin *perjurium* can hardly be explained on any other theory. Cf. Greek *παράνομος*, adduced by Curtius, *Grundzüge*<sup>6</sup>, p. 269, who also recognizes this force of *per* in Latin. Cf. also Lat. *perfidus* (*per fidem*) with Greek *παράσπονδος* (*παρὰ σπονδός*). In Plautus, *Mostellaria* 500, and elsewhere, the phrase *per fidem* clearly demands the interpretation suggested.

In the note on *non operae est*, i. 24. 6, it is gratifying to note the correct interpretation of a passage often wrongly taken. But it would have been much better if the editor, instead of a general reference to Plautus (which few students will appreciate), had cited some of the other instances in Livy where the expression occurs, as iv. 8. 3, v. 15. 6, and observed that the context in each case bears out the interpretation here given. Moreover, we miss the explanation of the case-construction—whether genitive or dative—a matter upon which the student might fairly expect further light.

On i. 45. 6, *praeftuit*, occurs the note that Livy often uses *prae* for *praeter* in composition. A citation of one or two of these instances, which are easily found, might be *à propos*.

On i. 24. 5, *fraude*, the right explanation, 'harm,' is undoubtedly given. But if *fraude* is taken with this objective force, some explanation ought to be offered of the apparently anomalous use of *mea* as objective genitive. Here again Livy might well be illustrated from his own pages. Cf. xli. 23. 8 *Cum ferae bestiae cibum ad fraudem suam positum plerumque adspersentur*.

In several places greater clearness might easily be attained. Thus in the note on i. 32. 12, *duello*: "old form of *bello*; cf. *bis* from *duo*," *bis* should be explained as for \**du-is*, with reference to the analogous *τρίς*. So also on i. 4. 4 the almost inevitable inference from Mr. Greenough's note is that *mergi* with its subject *infantes* is used as the logical subject of *posse* employed impersonally, which is, of course, false.

In the Praefatio 9 the note on *deinde*, 'the second moment,' in the sense of *the second consideration*, seems a reminiscence of Weissenborn's "die einzelnen Momente."

Occasionally an inaccuracy has been noted. Thus on i. 6. 3 the explanation of *nomine* as ablative of separation is certainly to be rejected. The only rational explanation of the word in the present instance is as an ablative of instrument. The expression *ab nomine* in i. 23. 3, cited by the editor, represents an entirely different conception and is chronologically later than the construction of the simple ablative.

The substructions referred to on i. 12. 6 cannot fairly be claimed as those of the Temple of Jupiter Stator. There is no evidence in favor of this view sufficient to warrant a positive statement.

The punctuation is faulty in two important instances in the Praefatio, viz. in 9 after *auctum imperium sit*, and in 10 after *intueri*. In both places a comma stands, where all other editors, in conformity with the sense, punctuate with the semicolon or colon. As the passages involved are of special difficulty, the oversight is likely to mislead the student.

An excellent introduction to the book is provided, touching upon Livy's life and the sources and style of his work, but one notes the lack of indexes at the close of the volume, although other books of the series, as Allen's *Annals of Tacitus* and Kellogg's *Brutus*, are furnished with these useful accompaniments.

The foregoing incidental strictures, however, are not of serious import. The book in its main features, as has already been indicated, has much to commend it, and will be gratefully received by classical teachers.

CHAS. E. BENNETT.

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A Grammar of the Old Persian Language, with the Inscriptions of the Achaemenian Kings and Vocabulary, by HERBERT CUSHING TOLMAN, Ph.D. Boston, Ginn & Co., 1892.

According to the announcement of the publishers, "This is the first complete grammar of the language that has ever been published either in this country or in Europe," a statement which is hardly correct, unless greater stress is laid on the title than on the contents of a book. For the actual treatment of the grammar is much less complete than may be found in Bartholomae's *Handbuch der altiranischen Dialekte* in conjunction with Avestan grammar, or together with the texts of the inscriptions in *Die altpersischen Keilinschriften* of Spiegel. It is especially with the last-named work, as covering essentially the same ground and being in its second edition the manual most used at present, that Dr. Tolman's book invites comparison. The latter contains as a special feature a full list of the verb-forms of Old Persian, and in the vocabulary comparisons are given from a larger field than is the case with Spiegel, who restricts himself to the Aryan languages. In other respects Spiegel's work is far more complete. This in itself is not necessarily to the disadvantage of Dr. Tolman's grammar. For example, we have no serious objection to a boiling down of Spiegel's detailed account of the discovery and decipherment of the inscriptions, interesting reading though it be, but think it rather curious that the author finds space to cite the article of Dr. Beer in the *Hallische Allgemeine Literaturzeitung*, 1838, and yet has not a word to say of the labors of Rawlinson in this field. But it is in the body of the work, the grammar, text and vocabulary, where we have a right to expect a great advance over

Spiegel, that we are disappointed to find rather a step backward. Spiegel's work was always weak in many particulars, and, moreover, in the ten years which have elapsed since the publication of his second edition, no small progress has been made in the interpretation of the text and the grammatical explanation of individual forms. The articles on the subject are scattered in various journals, and it is the first requirement of a new work of a general nature that it should take account of all such investigations and incorporate their results. Unfortunately, these recent investigations seem to be wholly unknown to our author. The vocabulary contains all the mistakes of Spiegel, even such as have long been recognized on all sides as absolutely absurd; for example, the reading *tuvam* instead of *tuvam*. In the list of verb-forms and in the vocabulary we find a root *aj* = Skr. *aj* given, though the single form on the strength of which Spiegel sets this up—namely, *patiyajātā*—is to be referred to *jan* = Skr. *han*, and corresponds exactly to Skr. (*praty*)*ahata*, as was shown by Hübschmann, Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, 23, p. 397, and rediscovered by Friedr. Müller, *Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunde des Morgenlandes*, III, p. 148. Moreover, Dr. Tolman reads in his transcription of the text *Patiyajata*, as if it were a proper name, but we suppose this is merely a misprint. The existence of a root *khī* (*khī*) is as precarious as that of *aj*, for the form *patiyakhīaiy* is to be referred to the root *akhī* = Av. *akhī* 'see,' with *aiwi* 'oversee, rule.' It would require too much space to give all the instances in which recent investigations are ignored. In one case an old error which is corrected in Spiegel's second edition is retained by our author—namely, the reading of the name of Darius as *Dārayavu-š* instead of *Dārayava(h)u-š* (second element of the compound = Skr. *vasu*), as was first proposed by Lindner, *Literar. Centralblatt*, 1880, p. 358, and since adopted by both philologists and historians. With this reading the genitive singular (to be transcribed *Dārayavahauš*) ceases to be anomalous, and the note to declension III in the grammar might have been spared.

But the most reprehensible part of the book is the comparative portion of the vocabulary. Work of this kind must be well done if it is not to be more harmful than otherwise. We do not expect in these days every Sanskrit or Iranian scholar to be equally at home in the field of comparative philology, but we do have a right to demand that when one attempts a comparative vocabulary he should at least consult good authorities. The etymologies in Lanman's Sanskrit reader represented the best opinion of the time, and are so conservative that the number of changes necessary at the present time would be comparatively few. But how far back would one have to go to arrive at a period when such wonderful etymologies as the following would pass muster? *aita*: Lat. *iste*, Goth. *tha*, Eng. *the*. *aniya*: Lat. *alius*. *upa*: Germ. *ob*. *patiy*: Skr. *prati*, Zend *paīti*, "Lat. *re*, *red* as in *refero*, *reddo*; *prae*; *por*, *pol*, *pos* for *port*, as in *porrigo*, *pollus*, *possideo*." It would have been shorter and equally correct to say simply "every Lat. preposition containing either *p* or *r* or both." Under *bumi* 'ground, earth,' Skt. *bhūmi*, we find *humus* given as the Latin equivalent. To be sure, if one looks merely at outward resemblance, the connection of *humus* with *bumi* seems quite irresistible, with Av. *zemu*, Gr. *χαμαί*, or Gothic *guma*, on the contrary, incredible, yet it is the latter connection only which can be justified by the phonological laws. Under *band* we find Lat. *filum*, *funis*, *pendo*; under *darš* = Skt. *darś* 'e' is given Lat. *fortis*,

which, of course, can only be referred to Skr. *dṛh* 'make firm.' An interesting mosaic is the article "*aiva* 'one,' Skr. *eka*; Zend *aeva*; Lat. *aequus*; Goth. *ha* in compounds, as *haihs* for *haiha* 'one-eyed,' *halts* for *ha-lta*, 'lame,' *halbs* for *ha-lba* 'half,' Eng. halt, half." It would be useless to enumerate more such instances. I have noted over twenty words for which the cognates given are partially or wholly wrong, and for such a limited vocabulary this is an inexcusably large proportion. Errors of omission which do less positive harm are not wanting. For example, the author follows Spiegel in giving a root *ras*, and seems unaware of the fact, first pointed out by Bartholomae, that this is nothing but the inchoative form of the root Skr. *ṛ*, *ar*, the form *rasatiy* corresponding exactly to Skr. *ṛcchdti*. Under *didā* 'castle' (better 'fortification') no cognate is given, though the word occurs in another ablaut form in Sanskrit (*dehi* 'wall'), German (*deich*) and English (*dike*), not to mention Gr. *τειχος*, *τοιχος*, Osc. *felhiss*, Armen. *dēs*. The general impression made by the 'grammar' is that the author has undertaken the work without adequate preparation. However, the price is low, and in the hands of a competent teacher the book might possibly be made of use.

CARL D. BUCK.

## REPORTS.

REVUE DE PHILOGIE. Vol. XIII.

No. 1.

1. Pp. 1-24. Am. Hauvette discusses the method of Herodotus as a geographer, and his attitude towards the Ionian geographers. The article is chiefly a defence of Herodotus against the adverse views of Hugo Berger.

2. P. 24. In Plaut. Poen. 1415 Louis Havet proposes *ei minores* for *ei maiores* (MSS *eimiores*).

3. Pp. 25-31. Critical notes by Max Bonnet on Seneca De Remediis Fortuitorum.

4. P. 31. O. R. emends Tac. Ann. IV 40, *ad te invito te*.

5. Pp. 32-44. J.-B. Mispoulet investigates the turbot story, Juv. Sat. IV. He shows that the assembly called was not the senate, but the emperor's council. He doubts whether the story was an invention of the poet, or was current among the people, whether true or false. There is no historical reference to it extant.

6. Pp. 44-46. Henri Weil rejects the theories of Otto Crusius and Friedrich Spiro concerning the *σύμπτυκτοι ἀνάπαιστοι*, and reiterates his opinion (published in the *Revue Critique*, 1875, I, p. 150) that they are made up of anapaestic *monometers catalectic*.

7. Pp. 47-50. Émile Thomas discusses the causes of Ovid's banishment. He rejects the prevalent theory, seemingly on good grounds, and thinks Augustus may have desired to get rid of one whose life might, after all, not be so different from his poetry, and that an opportunity may have been offered by some connexion of the poet with a little escapade of one of the young princes.

8. Pp. 51-65. R. Cagnat produces convincing evidence that not only for Christian inscriptions on tombs were there formularies, as has been shown by Le Blant, but also such formularies existed for pagan Latin inscriptions.

9. P. 65. Louis Havet emends Plaut. Pers. 181.

10. Pp. 66-73. Paul Tannery discusses critically Clementis Alex. Stromat. I 104; Nicomachi Introd. Arith. I 1; Censorinus, De die natali, XVIII 10; Frontinus, De aquis urbis Romae, I 32; Scholia in (Eucl.) Elementorum librum IX (Heiberg, V, p. 412); Procli Diadochi in primum Euclidis Elementorum librum commentarii, five passages.

11. Pp. 74-78. C. Thiaucourt, in a letter addressed to O. Riemann, defends Tacitus against the charges based by Dubois-Guchan and others upon Agricola, ch. 45. The *nos* of this passage means *we Romans*. He was probably absent from Rome when Helvidius, Rusticus and Senecio were punished. In ch. 2

*legimus* means neither *we read* (pres.) nor *we have read*, but *we read* (past), that is, *learned from letters*.

12. Pp. 78–80. Th. Reinach, accepting the results of Louis Havet's investigation of Verg. Aen. VI 601 ff. (Rev. de Phil. XII, p. 145 ff.), points out a minor error. It was not Sisyphus that rolled the rock, but Pirithous. Vergil transfers the punishments familiar in Greek mythology to other characters. That of Ixion he could not change because he had referred to it in the Georgics (III 38 f.). Those err who find a contradiction between VI 122 (and 393) and VI 617 f. In the former an event before the death of Theseus is meant.

13. Pp. 81–84. J. Baillet gives a rhythmical analysis of the Menchieh Paean, published in the Revue Archéologique, 1889, No. 1, and compares it with the fragments of the Asclepieion Paean.

14. P. 85. O. R. shows that when *que* connects an adjective qualified by *tam* with a preceding intensive adjective, the usage of Cicero in his Orations is represented by these formulae:

- (a) Tot tam variaeque virtutes, *or* virtutes tot tamque variae.
- (b) Tantus tam immensusque, *or* tantus tamque immensus.
- (c) Tam insignis tamque atrox.

15. Pp. 86–87. O. R. corrects an inaccuracy in the notes of Madvig and of Holstein on Cic. De Fin. VI 19 ff., relating to minimum possible magnitudes.

16. Pp. 87–88. É. Boudroux makes further remarks on the preceding subject (15).

17. Pp. 88–96. Book Notices. (1). O. R. favorably criticises Liv. XXI–XXV, edited by Aug. Luchs, 1888. (2). O. R. gives an account of the progress and character of the revision of Neue's Formenlehre, by C. Wagener. (3). O. R. presents a table of contents of Mueller's Handbuch, voll. III, V 1, VII. He complains that in vol. VII many important French works are neglected, such as Charles Graux's Philon, Tournier's Sophocles, Croiset's Thucydides, etc.

## No. 2.

1. Pp. 97–117. Jules Martha, accepting the transposition made by Louis Havet in Verg. Aen. VI (Rev. de Phil. XII, p. 115 ff.), brings further proofs in its support, and discusses the origin of the Phlegyas episode, for which Vergil, or rather a painter whose picture misled him, was responsible.

2. P. 117. O. R. emends Q. Curtius, VI 10, 9.

3. Pp. 118–28. Alfred Jacob points out numerous instances in which there are inconsistencies in the dates of MSS, the error sometimes being in the number of the year, sometimes in that of the indiction, or the month, or the day of the month or of the week. It usually happens that the error can be detected and corrected.

4. P. 128. O. R. calls attention to οὐκ οἶδ' εἰ = ἰσως οὐ, as Plat. Rep. III 414 c, οὐ γεγρονὸς οὐδ' οἶδ' εἰ γεγόμενον ἄν.

## No. 3.

1. Pp. 129–32. Theodor Mommsen discusses an inscription excavated at Forum Clodii.



2. P. 132. O. R. remarks that *inter* = *between* is often put after the first noun, sometimes almost necessarily.
3. Pp. 133-36. J.-B. Dutilleul treats of the superlatives formed by *per*. They belong chiefly to the vulgar language.
4. Pp. 137-39. Louis Havet emends Cic. Nat. Deor. II 120 and Plaut. Aul. 423, 430, Bacch. 1082.
5. Pp. 140-41. Max Bonnet critically discusses Senec. Suas. 6 and Controv. 2, 3.
6. Pp. 141-42. L. Duvau makes critical remarks on Fulventius, Expos. Serm. Ant. 52; Tac. Dial. de Or. 1 and 9; and an old German glossary giving *imbreus* = *reginnuurm* (Regenwurm).
7. Pp. 143-50. Paul Tannery critically discusses the so-called Εὐδόξου τέχνη, which he maintains (with Latronne) was really the Οὐράνιος διδασκαλία Λεπτινίου, a didactic poem greatly modified by some one for his own use.
8. P. 150. O. R. adds a note on (*in*) *toto orbe terrarum* (cf. XII, p. 178 ff.)
9. Pp. 151-54. Critical notes by L. Duvau on the grammarian Virgilius Maro.
10. P. 154. Ruelle shows how ΦΝΑ got changed to ΧΝΑ in Olympiodorus on Plat. Alcib. I 113 c.
11. Pp. 155-58. Critical discussion of Cic. Brut. 119-21, by Jules Martha.
12. Pp. 159-60. Book Notices. (1). Dutilleul describes and commends Franz Fügner's Liv. XXI-XXII, 1888, but finds some defects. (2). A. J. briefly describes F. B. Jevon's History of Greek Literature, and (3) commends La lingua Greca antica, di Domenico Pezzi, 1888.

## Vol. XIV.

## No. 1.

1. Pp. 1-24. An article devoted to the memory of C.-G. Cobet (born Nov. 28, 1813; died Oct. 25, 1889). This article, written by an old pupil of Cobet, H. J. Polak, was first published in the Dutch review *De Gids*, and was translated by Hesseling and Tournier. Though written by a philologist, it is intended rather for general readers, and a *précis* here would not be useful, especially as the editor expresses the hope that the review will some day be able to publish a study of the great Hellenist's labors and influence.
2. P. 24. Note by Louis Havet on Gannius ap. Fest., p. 369.
3. Pp. 25-50. Critical notes on Ennius, by Louis Havet. Half of this valuable article is devoted to an investigation of the anapaests of Ennius.
4. Pp. 51-55. L. Quicherat discusses the 'hypermetric' verses of Vergil. He defends even those with short penultimate syllables (*arbutus horrida* = fifth and sixth feet), but makes no reference whatever to the question of synaphea with elision.
5. Pp. 55-56. S. Dosson corrects the *Antibarbarus* with regard to the use of *-que*, *-ve*, *-ne* after short *e*.

6. Pp. 57-60. Médéric Dufour shows that  $\delta\epsilon$ ,  $\omicron\iota\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\delta\omicron\omicron\varsigma$  are not very rarely used as indirect interrogatives.

7. Pp. 60-61. Alfred Jacob emends Plut. Sull. 28, 1; 35, 5.

8. Pp. 61-62. Joseph Chamonard emends Cic. Ad Fam. VIII 4, 2.

9. P. 62. Louis Havet emends Cic. Ad Fam. VII 4, 3.

10. Pp. 63-70. Remarks on various questions of Latin syntax, by O. Riemann (continued from XII, p. 43 and 176).

I. Est aliquid *argumento*, *damno*, etc. A large list of examples (but not exhaustive, except for Cicero's Orations and Cornelius Nepos) shows that the dative in this formula is *not* more frequently accompanied by an adjective (without adj. 126, with adj. 26); and when an adj. is used it always relates to quantity (*magnus*, *maior*, *maximus*, *summus*, *parvus*, *nullus*, *tantus*, *quantus*). Hence in 'esse frugi *bonae*,' *frugi*, despite its long *i*, was originally *frugis*.

II. The *Antibarbarus* incorrectly denies that there is any difference between *prohibere* with the simple abl. and *prohibere* with *ab*. (1) When the meaning is *exclude*, *debar* (a person from a place or a thing) the simple abl. is nearly always used. (2) When the sense is to *protect from* (*against*), we have (a) *prohibere aliquem* (*aliquid*) *iniuria* or *ab iniuria*, or (b) *prohibere iniuriam ab aliquo* (*aliqua re*).

11. P. 70. Louis Havet explains *Aeoliam* in Martial, II 14, 12.

12. Pp. 71-78. Paul Lejay shows that Guillaume Morel printed his edition of the *Aletheia* of Marius Victor *directly* from No. 7558 (*fonds latin*) in the National Library at Paris.

13. P. 78. Louis Havet repunctuates Juv. VII 99 f.

14. Pp. 79-85. Émile Chatelain points out that the *Regensis* 762 of Livy was written simultaneously by several hands, each having a certain part apporportioned to him, and was in turn copied by another set in the same way. Some interesting results of this fact are of importance in textual criticism, especially as other MSS were treated in the same manner.

15. P. 85. O. R. corrects Cic. Ad Fam. 8, 9, 1.

16. Pp. 86-106. Critical notes on Lucilius, by Louis Havet.

17. Pp. 106-7. H. Weil explains a passage in Theophrast. Charact. VII.

18. Pp. 108-10. H. Weil explains Thuc. VI 37, 2, and reads  $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}$   $\tau\iota\omicron\upsilon\nu$  in VI 17, 1.

19. Pp. 111-12. E. Audouin discusses the nature of the gen. with *damnare*.

20. Pp. 113-22. An interesting discussion of the inscriptions on the sarcophagi of the Scipios, by Ed. Wölfflin. He shows that not only in the case of the elder Scipio, but also in that of the younger, the inscription cut in the stone is more recent than the painted one above. It was modelled after the epitaph of Atilius Calatinus (cf. Cic. Fin. 2, 116; Cat. Mai. 61), and both may have been made just after the battle of Zama.

21. Pp. 123-26. C.-E. Ruelle critically discusses a passage of the Neoplatonist Hermias relating to music (Schol. Plat. Phaedr., p. 107 Ast.).

22. P. 126. Critical note on Oracula Chaldaica, v. 140, by C.-E. Ruelle.

23. Pp. 127-28. Book Notices. (1). L. D. mentions unfavorably Bastian Dahl's *Latinsk Literaturhistorie* and (2) ridicules Franz Wendorff's *Erklärung aller Mythologie u. s. w.* (3). E. C. pronounces Studemund's *T. Macci Plauti fabularum reliquiae Ambrosianae*, 1889, indispensable for Plautinian critics. (4). Ém. Chatelain severely censures P. Hochart, *De l'authenticité des Annales et des Histoires de Tacite*, 1890.

#### No. 2.

1. Pp. 129-34. Louis Havet continues his critical notes on Lucilius (see No. 1, p. 86).

2. Pp. 135-45. An account of the MSS of Damascius *περὶ ἀρχῶν*, by C.-E. Ruelle.

3. Pp. 146-50. Th. Reinach discusses the first record we have of a *legatus pro praetore*, Corp. Inscript. Lat. XIV 2218. The inscription relates to an event of the *third* Mithridatic war, not the first.

4. Pp. 150-52. In Theocr. Id. XI 41, *μνησφόρος*, proposed by Fritzsche, is accepted by Gabriel Colin, but interpreted as referring to incipient horns.

5. P. 152. Brief notice (by L. D.) of *Recherches sur l'origine de la fônière et des noms de lieux habités en France*, by Jubainville and Dottin, 1890.

#### No. 3.

1. Pp. 153-73. C. Thiaucourt presents a critical study of the history of Hannibal's invasion of Italy down through the battle of Cannae. He maintains that Polybius was among the sources of Livy, but not so closely followed as elsewhere, because his authority was not relatively so high.

2. P. 173. P. Thomas emends Senec. De Remed. Fort. 16, 8.

3. Pp. 174-78. Critical notes on Ennius, by Louis Havet.

4. Pp. 178-84. Book Notices. (1). O. R. gives a description of the following works: G. Landgraf, *Untersuchungen zu Caesar und seinen Fortsetzern* u. s. w., 1888.—C. Asini Pollionis *De bello Africo commentarius*. Recensuerunt, etc., Ed. Wölfflin et Ad. Miodonski, 1889.—G. Landgraf, *Bellum Alexandrinum* 48-64 (*Bericht des C. Asinius Pollio* u. s. w., 1890). The reviewer believes that Landgraf has shown only that Pollio *may* have written the *De Bello Africo* and the other parts of the continuation of Caesar ascribed to him. (2). O. R. praises O. Keller's *Xenophontis Historia Graeca*, 1890, though he would himself have adopted a slightly different course with the MSS. (3). Médéric Dufour (?) states the conclusions of G. Mayen, *De particulis quod, quia, quoniam, quomodo, ut* pro accusativo cum infinitivo post verba sentiendi et declarandi positis, 1889. A very meritorious contribution to the history of Latin syntax. (4). Médéric Dufour describes Goodwin's *Moods and Tenses*. He finds the contents of the work excellent, but objects to the confusion resulting from the combination of two methods, either of which might have been employed more successfully alone. (5). O. R. sums up the results of P. Schmidt, *Ueber den Ursprung des Substantivsatzes mit Relativpartikeln im Griechischen*, 1890.

No. 4 completes the *Revue des Revues*.

MILTON W. HUMPHREYS.

HERMES, 1890.

### III.

U. P. Boissevain (Groningen), Ein verschobenes Fragment des Dio Cassius. Dio Cassius, 75, 9, 6, has hitherto been assigned to 199 A. D., by Mommsen (R. G. V 410, 1) to 195. B. now argues that the fragment really gives operations of a much earlier date, in the time of Trajan and Hadrian; that it must be assigned to somewhere between 115-135 at latest. "Considering the extraordinary slenderness of our sources in the epoch both of Trajan and Hadrian as well as of Severus, where every '*Baustein*' available, no matter how insignificant, is of great importance, this fact appeared to me to be of sufficient importance to lay it before the students both of Roman and of Oriental history" (p. 339).

M. Rubensohn, Zur Chronologie des Kaisers Severus Alexander.

O. Hirschfeld, Zur Geschichte des Pannonisch-Dalmatischen Krieges, viz. the war in the last part of the reign of Augustus. Neither Velleius nor Dio Cassius presents a satisfactory statement of this war, so that Hirschfeld, while engaged in editing Dalmatian inscriptions for the C. I. L., has been prompted to review the whole matter. H. gives us the stations of the VIIth and XIth legions in Dalmatia, in places from which a number of inscriptions have come, whereas inscriptions referring to legions VIII, IX, XV, XX are rarely met with, the latter bodies of troops having been withdrawn from Dalmatia immediately after the war. The decisive engagement of Tiberius with the Pannonians probably occurred in 8 A. D. (*Bato* being the leader of the latter), on the river *Bathinus* (possibly = the Bednya, a tributary of the Drave, which enters the Drave S. E. of Warasdin). The triumph of Tiberius, it is true, was not celebrated until four years later, Jan. 16, 12 A. D. It remains impossible to fix precisely the date of the catastrophe of Varus.

O. Hirschfeld, Zur annalistischen Anlage des Taciteischen Geschichtswerkes. Tacitus felt the annalistic plan to be a fetter, though he did not dare to cast it off in the earlier period of his historical work. But, as Nipperdey has pointed out, in the later period he found the constraint unendurable, and in this paper Hirschfeld undertakes to show that the twins borne by Livilla, sister of Germanicus and wife of Drusus (Ann. II 24), should be put 20 A. D.

L. Herbst, Zur Urkunde in Thukyd. V 47, viz. the *σπονδαί* and *ξυμμαχίαι* (or *ξυμμαχία*) between Argos, Elis, Mantinea and Athens. A fragment of this document was identified some time ago in an inscription and published by Kumanudes, Athenaeion, V 333. These mutilated remnants were subsequently compared with the text of the historian by Kirchhoff, Hermes, XII 368 sqq. Noting various differences and discrepancies (omissions, transpositions, abbreviations, faults in the way of dialect, etc.), Kirchhoff advanced to the conclusion—a most grave one, if sound—that in all these matters we are confronted with a corruption of MSS, of very ancient date. The purport of Herbst's paper is, that Thucydides himself directly presented the treaty to his readers in the form now preserved, and that the historian maintained for himself a considerable measure of independence in presentation, and that, too, not in the speeches alone. We moderns, indeed (p. 389), in the reproduction of documents, would not rest content with anything short of being exact in each single letter and

tittle; such diplomatic accuracy as the inscription shows is *unknown* to Thucydides, who recognizes solely the postulates of his own work as a task of literary art.

E. Maas, *Kallimachos und Kyrene*. The hymn to Apollo implies a blending of Cretan and Arcadian myths in the treatment of Zeus Lykaeos, which fact Maas explains by pointing out corresponding elements of population in the body of citizens of Kyrene. The hymn to Artemis, too, was written for the native city of the poet: it glorifies not the Ephesian Artemis, but 'Artemis of the Islands.' The paper evinces great familiarity with those elements of literature from which our knowledge of that most elusive object of investigation, Greek 'religion,' is derived or derivable.

C. Robert, *Archaeologische Nachlese* (cf. vol. XXII, p. 445 sqq.) IV. Battle of Oinoia [Paus. I 15, 1; X 10, 3], painting in the *Στοὰ ποικίλη*. While it seems very difficult to choose between the 478-431 and the Corinthian war, 394-387, Robert concludes by assigning the painting, in honor of the victory, to 462-458 B. C. V. The killing of the suitors in the *Odyssey*. VI. Zum Fries des Erechtheion. VII. Die delische Archermosinschrift.

A. Piccolomini, of Rome (*Βίος Ὀμήρου*), publishes a life of H. from a MS of the Xth or XIth century of scholia on the first six books of the *Iliad*, a MS which formerly belonged to Muret. This vita resembles that in Westermann's *Biogr.* (No. 6 of Homer), but is fuller. The vita in the Madrid MS is evidently an abstract or epitome of the one published by Piccolomini.

#### IV.

H. v. Arnim, *Ein Papyrus der Herculaneischen Bibliothek*. von A. is engaged in preparing a collection of the fragments of the older Stoics. In the course of his labors, sifting the papyri of Herculaneum which are substantially of the Epicurean school, he found fragments of Stoic writings also. These von Arnim here edits as best he can, a task involving considerable supplementing. The fragments suggest a general survey of Stoic doctrine. As to the author, v. Arnim is inclined to believe that it was Chrysippus himself (p. 491). Among the characteristic terms of the Stoic school which occur in the fragments are the following: ἀμάρτημα, ἀξίωμα, ἀπροπτωσία, ἀσυγκατάθετος, ἀτεχνος, διάθεσις, δόξα, δοξάζειν, ἐμπειρία, κατάληψις, κατὰ φύσιν, κρατεῖν scil. τῶν ὁρμῶν or τῶν συγκαταθέσεων, λόγος, τὰ τοῦ λόγου μύρια, τὰ λογικά (scil. ζῶα), πιθανός, πραγματεία, συγκατάθεσις, σύνταξις (τῶν τοῦ λόγου μορίων), φαντασία, ὁ φρόνιμος = ὁ ἀστέιος.

B. Kübler, *Isidorusstudien*. The work of Isidorus of Seville (d. 636 A. D.) discussed is the *Origines* or *Etymologiae*, the articles of which, a kind of cyclopedia, were grouped not alphabetically, but by subject-matter. Kübler discusses particularly book V, which deals with Roman law, and produces readings from a Wolfenbüttel MS of the VIIIth century. Gaius has been worked up considerably; also Paulus, Ulpian, etc., although Kübler holds that these authorities were not used at first hand.<sup>1</sup> The second part of the paper deals

<sup>1</sup> A citation from Paulus liber Sententiarum in Isid. Et. V 26, 1 affords very valuable illustration of N. T. Acts 22, 25, and well repays transcribing: "Lege Julia de vi publica damnatur qui aliqua potestate praeditus civem Romanum antea ad populum nunc imperatorem appellantem necaverit necarive iusserit, torserit, verberaverit, condemnaverit inve publica vincula dari iusserit."—E. G. S.

with extracts from Tertullian de Spectaculis, illustrating by parallel quotation the possibility of textual emendation.

P. Trautwein, Die Memoiren des Dikaïos, eine Quelle des Herodoteischen Geschichtswerkes. The Dikaïos named is the Athenian exile who, in company with Demaratus, saw the column of dust in the Thriasian plain, Her. VIII 65, which he interpreted as an evil omen for the enterprise of their common patron Xerxes. On this, the most slender basis conceivable, Trautwein erects a very ample theory, viz. that a great number of subjects may have been derived from the memoirs of Dikaïos. This literary item *et ipsum* is a conjecture of Trautwein, who pursues his task with cheerful confidence. To this 'source' T. assigns e. g. those portions of the narrative in which Demaratus figures as interlocutor in dialogues with Xerxes, e. g. VII 209. The manner in which T. handles the phrase, VII 3, *ὥς ἡ φάτις μιν ἔχει*, on p. 543 sq., is characteristic. Wecklein and Duncker are depreciated in various ways, because the way in which they read and understand the narrative of Herodotus would render Trautwein's hypothesis precarious, and precarious it seems to be.

G. Busolt, Zur Ergänzung der Attischen Schatzmeisterurkunden, supplementing C. I. Attic. IV 179, A. B.; cf. Thucyd. III 69, 2; 75, 1; 85, 1; 80, 1, and filling in by computation of possible number of letters, etc. The inscription as supplemented is printed on p. 579 sq.

G. Kaibel, Xenophon's Kynēgetikos. A paper full of ripe knowledge and much combination, suggestive and instructive to students of Attic prose literature.<sup>1</sup> Kaibel, by-the-by, claims authenticity even for the Hiero and Agesilaos. The treatise on hunting is *not* a composition of Xenophon's younger years. The most notable part of the treatise is the defence of hunting, at the end, which is turned into an attack upon a class of hedonists: a veiled thrust, Kaibel thinks (p. 584), against Aristippos. K. brings in parallels from Plato, Phaedrus, 250 d, from Isocrates, Panathenaicus, 72, and suggests possible use by Xenophon of Antisthenes' dialogue entitled Heracles. K. also claims to be able to recognize strong resemblance between the conclusion of the Kynēgetikos and passages in Isocrates' *περὶ ἀντιδόσεως*, expressing his belief that Xenophon borrowed from Isocrates: consequently (p. 594), Xenophon did not write the Kyn. before 353 B. C.

B. Keil (Ein Silberinventar des Amphiaraios von Oropos) discusses in detail an inscription published in the *Ἐφημερίς ἀρχαιολογική* of 1889, ἀργυρώματα τοῦ θεοῦ Ἀμφιαράου. The language, apart from a few trifling traces, has abandoned the Boeotian or the Eretrian dialect, exhibits the κοινή. -ει for long ι is the usual mark of a later era. νεικητήριον and νικητήριον occur. The time was probably about 200 B. C. It is instructive to read that, in times antedating the era of this inscription, portions or limbs of the human body, imitated in silver, were presented to the sanctuary (p. 622), probably by those who believed to have been aided by the oracle.

P. Viereck, Das Senatsconsult von Tabae; cf. Bulletin de correspondance hellénique, XIII, p. 503 sqq. Tabae (mod. Dawas) was in Caria, near the frontier of Phrygia, east of Lagina. The community of T. (first mentioned as

<sup>1</sup> See A. J. P. III 199, note.—B. L. G.

opposing the Roman expedition against the Galatians, 189 B. C., Liv. 38, 13) is praised in the decree for its stout resistance to Mithridates (in the first M. war), for which loyal service was accorded them by the dictator, L. Cornel. Sulla (*αὐτοκράτωρ*), which act is ratified by the senate, probably in the first half of 81 B. C.

E. G. SIHLER.

ENGLISCHE STUDIEN. Herausgegeben von DR. EUGEN KÖLBING, Heilbronn. XV Band, 1891.

I.—Julius Zupitza, On Sir Torrent of Portyngale. Emendations and textual notes.

P. Holzhausen, Dryden's Heroic Drama (continued from Eng. Stud. 13, 414-45). This constitutes part of a second instalment devoted to literary criticism, which is here presented under four heads, namely:

1. The materials of Dryden's heroic plays and their sources.
2. The fundamental dramatic idea.
3. The motives of love and honor, and their decisive influence upon the action in the heroic plays.
4. Characterization—subdivided into a consideration of (a) Male characters, (b) Female characters.

Emil Koepfel, The Genuineness of the Visions of Petrarch and Visions of Bellay attributed to Edmund Spenser. Koepfel's conclusions are interesting, and ingeniously supported. The Visions of Petrarch were not translated directly from that author, as has commonly been supposed, but from a version made by Clement Marot. The translation of Du Bellay's Visions in Van der Noodt's volume of 1569 is so faithful that we cannot possibly believe in the theory of an intermediate Dutch translation, from which Van der Noodt professes to have rendered them. Koepfel quotes Grosart *in extenso* on the question of Spenser's authorship, and then resumes. In the Visions of Petrarch, both the version of 1569 and the slight revision of 1591, occurs a rime—that of *floure : endure*—which has not been found elsewhere in Spenser's minor poetry. The four sonnets added to the Du Bellay series in the edition of 1591, and which must therefore be by Spenser's hand, prove that Spenser was a free and sometimes a careless translator from the French. The same observation is confirmed by the examination of his Ruins of Rome, also translated from Du Bellay. But if he was a loose and inexact translator in 1591, how could he have been a faithful one in 1569, as he must have been did he translate the blank verse series in Van der Noodt's volume? Koepfel's words are (I translate): "Can an author at one time translate exactly from a language, with painful adherence to the original and correctly, at another time inexactly and wrongly? Is it credible that he should at one time display a good knowledge of the foreign tongue in question, while at another he reveals small command of it? We could only reply in the affirmative if the faulty work were performed in youth, and the better belonged to the period of his riper age. So far is this from being the case that the translations of 1569 form the basis of the revision by Spenser published in 1591. Hence it results that Spenser cannot be the same person as the translator of 1569. To this must be added that the poems of the Theatre for Worldlings, dated in 1569, show no

traces of the unmistakable coloring of Spenser's diction, while the Visions of Bellay, of the year 1591, reveal its presence quite as unmistakably. Spenser's name is accordingly to be stricken from the list of pre-Shakespeareans who wrote in blank verse, and the Shepherd's Calendar of 1579 is to be regarded as his first extant publication." Finally, Koepfel, after an investigation of the Ruines of Rome, is compelled to admit that the English version of this series is Spenserian, remarking that we are not to look for the 'philological virtue of accuracy' in a youthful and eagerly creative poetic soul.

G. Wendt, Dative and Accusative in English.

The Book Notices have reviews of Siebs' History of the Anglo-Frisian Language, Part I; of the third volume of the Wülker-Grein Library of Old English Prose; of Garnett's Elene, Judith, etc., and of Aitken's Life of Richard Steele.

In the Miscellanea there is a note by J. Ernst Wülfing, on O. E. *wyrðe* (*worð*) = *dignus* with the dative.

II.—F. Jentsch, The Middle English Romance Richard Cœur de Lion, and its Sources. The romance is found in Weber's Metrical Romances, Vol. II, and is a translation from the French. In Part I of the essay, Jentsch gives an analysis of the poem. Part II is concerned with the sources, which Jentsch discovers to be, in the first rank, the Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi (Rer. brit. medii aevi script., Bd. 38<sup>1</sup>, London, 1864), and, in a much inferior degree, the chronicles of Roger de Hoveden, Richard of Devizes, Walter de Hemingburgh, and John of Bromton. An earlier form of the romance was consulted by Robert Mannyng of Brunne in making his translation of Peter Langtoft's Chronicle. Other results are that the original romance, probably in the Anglo-Norman dialect, was translated into English in the reign of Edward I. A copy of this translation is in the celebrated Auchinleck MS, and it was in this stage that the romance was used by Robert of Brunne. The differences between the Auchinleck MS and the fuller form of the romance are due to a later redactor, who transposed and added in order to enhance the interest of the story.

E. Kölbing, Collations.

Gregor Sarrazin, The Author of Soliman and Perseda. Sarrazin compares Soliman and Perseda, which is printed in Vol. V of the Hazlitt-Dodsley Collection of Old English Plays, with Kyd's Spanish Tragedy, and reaches the conclusion that the former is a prentice essay of Kyd's. He then attempts to characterize Kyd and present the facts of his biography, scanty though these are. According to Sarrazin, Shakespeare is more under the influence of Kyd than of any other predecessor in the drama, not excepting Marlowe.

R. Thum, Notes on Macaulay's History, VIII. It is one of the inconveniences in the use of Englische Studien that the successive numbers of serial articles are so often separated by a wide interval. The preceding instalment of this paper was printed in Vol. IX, 1886. The next appears *five years later*. Nearly the whole of the author's twenty-two pages is occupied with a discussion of the word *civilisation*, the text of the article being the following quotation from Macaulay: "The scanty and superficial civilisation which the Britons



had derived from their Southern masters was effaced by the calamities of the fifth century."

The Book Notices are omitted.

The Miscellanea contains an article by H. Schuchardt on Indo-English, and Notes on Old English Homilies, Second Series, by F. Holthausen.

III.—E. H. Oliphant, *The Works of Beaumont and Fletcher*.

A. Rambeau, *Phonetics in the Teaching of Languages and German Pronunciation*.

H. Klinghardt, *Swedish Examinations*.

The Book Notices contain reviews of Skeat's *Minor Poems and Legend of Good Women*, by J. Koch; of Tyler's *Shakespeare's Sonnets*, by Max Koch; of Gaedertz' *Old English Stage*, by Ludwig Fränkel; of Bülbring's *Defoe's Compleat English Gentleman*, by Felix Bobertag; and of the *Century Dictionary*, by A. L. Mayhew. Koch complains that Skeat observes no fixed principles in the constitution of his text, and Mayhew has much fault to find with the *Century Dictionary*, though he admits 'that in comprehensiveness of vocabulary' it 'surpasses every dictionary of the English language already completed.' His criticisms touch especially two points: the quotations and the etymology. Of the former he says: "The quotations have the appearance of having been put in here and there rather for the sake of ornament, for the look of the thing, than for any real help they give to the understanding of the word treated. In truth, the supply of quotations is poor and meagre in the extreme. . . . All the quotations are undated, and most of them are furnished with references absurdly vague, and perfectly useless for the purpose of verification or of accurate study." Of the etymology he has this opinion: "To our thinking, it would have been a great advantage to the dictionary if all the comparative philology had been left out; it takes up an immense amount of room without adding one iota to the scientific value of the book. We find here no evidence whatever of independent investigation, and after a good deal of careful investigation we are unable to report one single instance of a successful original etymology."

ALBERT S. COOK.

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#### JOURNAL ASIATIQUE.

Vol. XVIII (July-Dec., 1891).

Pp. 13-16. M. Jos. Halévy offers some observations on the Phœnician inscriptions of Panémou and of Sidon, recently published by M. Renan in the *Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale*, II, No. 3. He also sends two more instalments of his transliteration and translation of the famous correspondence of Amenophis III and Amenophis IV (A. J. P. XII 254 and 380), consisting of thirty-nine letters of Rib-Addi, Arad-hiba of Jerusalem and others to the king of Egypt (pp. 134-85, 510-36).

Pp. 46-86. M. Max van Berchem continues his article on Arabic archaeology, with special reference to the monuments of the Fatimites and their inscriptions.

Pp. 87-133, 201-78, 382-440. The French Academy offered in the year 1891 the *prix Bordin* for the best work on the political history, the religious

development and literary activity of Edessa prior to the first crusade. The prize was won by M. Rubens Duval, and the *Journal Asiatique* has undertaken to publish it in a series of articles. The essay begins with a topographical description of the city and the origin of the Edessene kingdom. The first authentic mention of Edessa in Greek writers connects it with Seleucus Nicator, 304 B. C., who greatly increased its prosperity and was probably the bestower of the name Edessa, after that of the ancient capital of Macedonia. The etymology from Syriac Ḥaditha, or New-Town, cannot be accepted. The ancient name Καλλιρόη, found in Greek writers, undoubtedly alludes to its fountains; this, according to some authorities, was abbreviated into ῥοή, whence the Old Syriac name Urhoi ('Oppa), Er-Roha among the Arabs, and Orfa among the Turks and Modern Syrians; but this is very doubtful. The kingdom of Edessa was founded by Nabateans in 312 B. C. They were originally united with the Arabians, but allied themselves with the Parthians after their migration towards north. Following in the main the results of Gutschmid, Duval prints a list, chronology and history of the 33 kings from 132 B. C. to A. D. 244. Very little is known of the early religion of Edessa; there was no national god, star- and sun-worship prevailing. Duval then discusses the legend of Abgar, his letter to Jesus and Christ's answer, and Abgar's letter to Tiberius. The Apostle Thomas, whose relics are preserved in the city, sent Addai to Edessa to preach the Gospel; his successors were Aggai and Palout. The sixth chapter treats of the Jewish-Christian legends, which identified the city with the Erech of Genesis x. 10, while other local traditions make it the same as Ur of the Chaldees. Then follows an account of the early history of Christianity and the beginning of literature at Edessa. The Peshiṭṭa was written in Edessa, probably toward the middle of the second century of our era, at the same time when Tatian wrote his Diatessaron. To the same period belong the founder of the gnostic heresies in Edessa, Bardesanes (*Bar-Daiṣān*, 154-222 A. D.) and his son Harmonius. Bardesanes is said to have held a disputation with Apollonius, and is known to have written against the Marcionite and other heresies. Christianity had taken fast root in the city, the first church having been built toward the close of the second century. The spread of Christianity and that of Gnosticism as well gave rise to the development of Syriac literature, especially apocryphal writings and apologetics. After the conquest of Edessa by Lusius Quietus, Trajan's general, the kingdom became tributary in 116. Restored by Hadrian, it was finally abolished by Caracalla, and a Roman military colony was established, with the title of *Colonia Marcia Edessorum*. Many Christians were martyred during the persecutions of Decius, Diocletian and Licinius. By the time of Julian the wealth of the Christians was sufficient to attract his revengeful cupidity, and he allowed the Arians to persecute the orthodox church. The most celebrated father of the Syrian church, and one of its most voluminous and widely read writers, was Ephraem Syrus, the 'prophet of the Syrians,' who died in June, 373. Great theological schools were established, and the city became one of the chief seats of Oriental learning. Most famous of all was the *schola Persica*, or Persian school; but its professors having adopted the Nestorian heresy, were expelled by Martyrus the Bishop, and the building was destroyed in 349, and replaced by St. Mary's church.

Pp. 279-355. M. le Baron Carra de Vaux has an article on the treatise of

harmony in music, being the letter of Safi ed-dîn 'abd el-Mumin Albaghdâdi (about 1258 A. D.) to Sharaf ed-dîn, of which he gives a translation, with commentary.

Pp. 356-69. M. G. Deveria publishes some notes on the Lolos and the Miao-tze of China, with special reference to the recent excellent work of M. P. Vial, *De la langue et de l'écriture indigènes au Yün-nân* (Angers, 1890).

Pp. 440-509. The Sanskrit text of the *Vajracchedikâ*, or 'cleaver of the diamond,' was first published by F. Max Müller in the *Anecdota Oxoniensia* (1881); the Chinese and Mandchu versions are scarcely known in Europe. M. C. de Harlez now publishes for the first time a translation of the sutra in 32 paragraphs, with extracts from the commentary of Lü-tsu and a comparison with the Chinese and Mandchu versions. The main doctrines of the treatise are in accord with the teachings of Brahmanistic Buddhism.

#### Nouvelles et Mélanges.

Pp. 186-200. In vol. XVI, pp. 511-22, M. J. Oppert discussed an astronomical inscription, first published by Father Strassmaier as No. 400 of the inscriptions of Cambyses. Some of his remarks were directed against the results reached by Epping in his book, *Astronomisches aus Babylon* (Freiburg, 1889). Epping's answer to these objections (pp. 186-88) is replied to by Oppert (pp. 189-91).—M. le Baron Carra de Vaux recommends É. Lacoine's *Tables de concordance des dates des calendriers arabe, copte, grégorien, israélite, julien, républicain, etc., établis d'après une nouvelle méthode* (Paris, 1891, pp. 80, 8vo).—M. B. de Meynard calls Vital Guinet's book, *La Turquie d'Asie, géographique, administrative, statistique, descriptive et raisonnée de chaque province de l'Asie Mineure* (Paris, 1891), a good and useful book, for which the author deserves our sincerest thanks and encouragement. He also notices favorably Habib-efendi's *Debestân-ê-parsy, or Manual of the Persian Language*.

Pp. 370-80. M. L. Feer reviews *A Comparative Dictionary of the Bihâri Language*, by A. F. R. Hoernle and G. A. Gierston, pts. 1 and 2; Calcutta, 1885 and 1889, in 4to. "Voici une belle et grande entreprise . . . puissent les auteurs avoir le temps d'achever leur œuvre"! He also announces C. de Harlez' *Le Yi-King* (Bruxelles, 1889, pp. 155, in 4to), a work the interpretation of which has puzzled European scholars.—M. O. Houđas notices G. Delphin's *Récueil de textes pour l'étude de l'arabe parlé* (Paris and Alger, 1891, pp. iv, 363), a work on the Algerian dialect of the Arabic language, of which a second part will soon appear.

Pp. 537-60. M. B. de Meynard reads a communication from M. H. Pognon "On two bricks with Aramean characters found in Babylon." He also reviews C. de Harlez' *Les Religions de la Chine* (Leipzig, 1891), M. Margousian's *Balance de la poesie* (Constantinople, 1891), and C. Salemann's *Noch einmal die Seldschukischen Verse* (St. Pétersbourg, 1891).—M. Jos. Halévy discusses some Assyro-Palestinian names of persons and places which occur in the Gudea inscriptions and the El-Amarna find.—M. Sylvain Lévi presents a new interpretation of *Devânâmpriya*, an official title assumed by Açoka-Piyadasi in his inscriptions and only given to royal persons. Kâtyâyana's knowledge of the meaning of this word, which became obsolete soon after the reign of Piyadasi, points to his being a contemporary with that king or his immediate successors.

W. MUSS-ARNOLT.

## BRIEF MENTION.

Mr. E. C. MARCHANT, whose intelligent interest in Greek syntax is abundantly manifest in his *Andokides* and his various contributions to the *Classical Review*, has recently put forth an edition of the *Second Book of Thucydides* (New York, Macmillan & Co.), which is ominously dedicated to Dr. Rutherford, whose critical methods he admires and imitates. It would be as useless at this late day to lift up a voice against Rutherford's 'double Dutch'<sup>1</sup> criticism as it would be cruel to add another stone to the cairn that has been heaped over his first edition of Herondas, and so, for the present at least, I pass by Mr. Marchant's treatment of the text of Thucydides to pause for a moment on some of his grammatical notes. One of them has already borne fruit, and in a little book entitled *Rules and Exercises in Greek Conditional and Relative Sentences*, Mr. G. S. FARNELL, otherwise a devoted follower of Goodwin, departs from his guide in obedience to Mr. Marchant's dictum, contained in the *Classical Review* for July, 1890, p. 320, and repeated in his note to Thuc. 2, 2, 4. "In a protasis to a condition in *oratio obliqua*, probably only the future indicative is ever changed into optative, so that the optative in protasis in *or. obl.*, except with the future, represents either *ἴν* and subj. or *εἰ* and opt. of the Recta." This is, of course, in direct contradiction to M. and T., §689, 3, 2, where Goodwin gives perfectly cogent examples from Xenophon, *Hell.* 5, 2, 32 and *An.* 6, 6, 25, to which he might have added *Oec.* 9, 18. For this rule Mr. Marchant frankly acknowledges his indebtedness to Stahl. In his *Quaestiones grammaticae ad Thucydidem pertinentes* (2 ed., 1886) that distinguished scholar lays down the canon for Thucydides that *εἰ* with the opt. in *oratio obliqua* must represent either an original *εἰ* with the opt. or *ἐάν* with the subj., and says that the same canon applies to Greek generally, the only exception being the fut. opt. The reason given for this exception is that *εἰ* with fut. opt. is open to no such ambiguity as would arise if *εἰ* with the opt. of *oratio obliqua* could represent *εἰ* with the ind. of present and perfect. But a certain amount of ambiguity is inevitable even in these *oratio obliqua* *εἰ*'s with the opt., as Stahl himself acknowledges by allowing a choice in the resolution between *εἰ* with opt. and *ἐάν* with the subj., and the avoidance of that ambiguity by the retention of the *oratio recta* construction is not a matter of grammatical correctness, but a norm of style, and belongs to the general category of *repraesentatio*. Thucydides, as is well known, leans to *repraesentatio*, Xenophon leans the other way, and hence most of the examples cited are from Xenophon. Indeed, if one could trust a recent work by JOOST, *Was ergibt sich aus dem Sprachgebrauch Xenophons in der Anabasis für die Behandlung der griechischen Syntax in der Schule?* (Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung), p. 237, Xenophon uses the

<sup>1</sup> M. Rutherford qui a beaucoup pratiqué les philologues hollandais, fera bien de méditer le proverbe *to out-herod Herod*. Il ne faut pas qu'on lui reproche de *out-cobet Cobet*. T. R., *Revue des études grecques*, III 11, p. 335.

*oratio obliqua* opt. for the logical condition with great freedom, but most of Joost's examples show that he has an utter lack of right conception, and of his 21 instances, all but a few fall away. Still, examples enough remain unshaken to enable us to understand why Mr. Marchant is constrained to except Xenophon. As has been said, we should expect Thukydides to prefer the indicative in the dependent logical condition, and we are not surprised to find that the only two *ei*'s with the fut. opt. (6, 30, 2; 6, 34, 5) may fairly be considered interrogative. See A. J. P. XIII 124. But what of 8, 92, 3?: *οὐκ ἔφη ὁ Θηραμένης εἰκὸς εἶναι ἐπ' Εἰβοίαν πλεούσας αὐτὰς ἐς Αἰγίναν κατακολπίσαι καὶ πάλιν ἐν Ἐπιδαύρῳ ὀρμεῖν, εἰ μὴ παρακληθεῖσαι ἥκοιεν ἐφ' οἷσπερ καὶ αὐτὸς αἰεὶ κατηγορεῖ.* Here the condition must be *εἰ μὴ παρακληθεῖσαι ἥκουσιν*, for it is an argument based on an accomplished fact, as the context shows. Again, Kleon's sneer at Nikias (4, 27, 5) becomes much more effective, if *εἰ ἄνδρες εἰεν οἱ στρατηγοί* is put back into *εἰ ἄνδρες εἰσίν* than if we take the tamer *ἦν ἄνδρες ὥσιν*. The logical condition is the very form for personal argument (A. J. P. III 435, cf. 438). In Herodotos, 3, 28: *ἀπιγμένος εἰη* naturally represents *ἀπιγμένος ἐστί*, and Mr. Marchant, who understands Andokides so well and has edited him so well, seems to have overlooked a clear case in 1, 122: *ἔλεγε πρὸς τοὺτους ὥς εἰ ἐτι καὶ νῦν βουλοίμην ἀποστῆναι τῆς Ἐπιλύκου θυγατρὸς, ἔτομος εἰη παύσασθαι με κακῶς ποίῳν.* To be sure, there is a verb of will in the sentence, and that always complicates matters, but here we may confidently resolve into the indicative. Cf. §120: *εἰ μὲν σὺ βούλει ἐπιδικάζεσθαι, ἔχε τύχην ἀγαθὴν, εἰ δὲ μή, ἐγὼ ἐπιδικάσομαι.* At all events, it will be as well to postpone the 'simplification' of which Mr. Farnell speaks until all the evidence is in.

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Unfortunate in his reliance on Stahl, Mr. Marchant is not less unfortunate in his echo of Classen. In his well-known appendix to Thuk. 4, 63, 2, Classen calls the predicative use of the participle in 2, 49, 4: *μετὰ ταῦτα λωφθήσαντα* and 6, 3, 3: *μετὰ Συρακοῦσας οἰκισθείσας* an experiment, forgetting that he himself had cited nearly a score of examples in his *Homerischer Sprachgebrauch*, p. 59. And then he goes on to say: "Man darf billig fragen, weshalb diese leichte Structur, die im Lateinischen zu geläufigstem Gebrauche (post, ante urbem conditam u. dgl.) gelangt ist, im Griechischen wie es scheint völlig wiederaufgegeben ist." And so Mr. Marchant (c. 2, 1): "It is strange that this use, so common in Latin, dropped out of Greek." It is common in Latin, indeed, produces the impression of being much more common in Latin than in Greek, as the predicative participle generally seems to be much more common in Latin than in Greek (see my Pindar, Introductory Essay, cxiii), but this impression is due, in part, to the character of the Latin authors with whom we are most familiar. See Schmalz, *Lat. Synt.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 439, who traces the growth and the sphere of the construction in a way that stirs doubts as to its native Latinity. It would be too horrible if *post urbem conditam* were a Grecism, as Milton's 'since created man' is a Latinism. But when did the construction drop out? It seems to be grounded in the language. We have found it in Homer. It is familiar in Herodotos, who says *μετὰ Σόλωνα οἰχόμενον* (1, 34) with the same easy grace that he says *ἅμα κινῶνι ἐκδυμένῳ* (1, 8). Antiphon says, 5, 35: *τὸν μὲν ἐλεγχον τῆς ἀληθείας ἀπεστέρι δι' αὐτοῦ τοῦ σώματος ἀπολλύ-*

μένου, where Blass makes himself unnecessarily unhappy. Lysias 4, 10, whether Lysias or Pseudo-Lysias, has a construction that matches Antiphon's: ἐξὸν ἐκ τῆς ἀνθρώπου βασιανισθείσης τὸν ἐλεγχον ποιήσασθαι. Plato, Symp. 198 B, cited by Goodwin, M. and T., §829 b, is not a convincing example, but 183 E is not to be impugned: ἅμα τῷ τοῦ σώματος ἀνθει λήγοντι (cf. Tim. 37 E). Poor Xenophon is put out of court, as usual, with his σὺν τῷ φόβῳ λήγοντι (Cyr. 4, 5, 21) and the rest of his σύν's. But we cannot get rid of Demosthenes so easily, who says, 18, 57: ἀπὸ τούτων ἐξεταζομένων εἰρεθίησεται, even if some editors, not always the best, forsake Σ in §32 and read διὰ τούτους τοὺς οἰχλὶ πεισθέντας instead of διὰ τούτους οὐχὶ πεισθέντας, where see Voemel. Mr. Marchant counts ἐπὶ with gen. and part., under 2, 2, 1, and it is found in 5, 25, 1 also, but not in the passages cited by Kühner, II 430. It is familiar in Herodotos (I, 15, 65 and elsewhere). It is, in fact, a well-known legal formula and has not dropped out of Attic inscriptions any more than it has dropped out of Aristophanes, who has it, Ach. 67: ἐπ' Εὐθνημόνους ἀρχοντος. The principle is the same whether ἀρχοντος is used as a substantive or not. As for μετὰ, which is the special experiment, we find Isai. 8, 43: μετ' Εἰκλείδην ἀρχοντα (cf. Dem. 24, 134). But the matter is not worth pressing, except so far as it emphasizes the pious wish that we had a syntactical catena to bind the hands of grammatical mischief-makers.

Among other matters, the inevitable μή for οὐ comes up in c. 17, 2: τὸ μαντεῖον προῖδει μή ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ ποτε αὐτὸ κατοικισθῆσόμενον, and we are told by Mr. Marchant that "after οἶδα the regular negative is οὐ," and that "This μή cannot be explained by any distinction in sense, and is probably a colloquial license." If he had said an 'oracular license' he would have been nearer the mark, for μή may be called the oracular negative, and the participle follows the analogy of the infinitive. To foreknow is a manner of foreordainment, and the transition is easily understood. Comp. Herod. 6, 66 (of an oracle): ἐκρινε μή 'Αρίστωνος εἶναι Δημάρητον παῖδα (A. J. P. XII 388), and the solemn words of Dem. 6, 10: κέκρισθε γὰρ ἐκ τούτων τῶν ἔργων μόνου τῶν πάντων μηδενὸς ἂν κέρδους τὰ κοινὰ δίκαια τῶν Ἑλλήνων προέσθαι. It is a verdict, and carries with it a binding force. For another μή with participle after οἶδα see Thuc. I, 76, 1: εἰ ἴσμεν μή ἂν ἦσσαν ἡμᾶς λυπηροὺς γενομένους, which goes back to the principle laid down A. J. P. I 48 (comp. Morris's note) and which may be rendered 'we dare swear (from what we know),' or, as Mr. Cook-Wilson renders it, 'we warrant you'—a translation which helps us to understand the oracular case also. It is a manner of πίστωσης, and follows πιστεῖω. See also Jebb on Oed. C. 656, and Humphreys on Antig. 1064. To understand οὐ and μή a certain mobility is necessary, and particular and generic are often poor formulae. In the fresh period of the language a μή of will or desire is more apt to overleap mechanical barriers than is the generic to invade the particular, and the image of *oratio recta* οὐ is not unfrequently reflected in dependent discourse to the discomfiture of will and desire. The shift is of the essence of the negative in Aryan speech.

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Dr. JOWETT's *Translation of Plato* has appeared in a third edition, revised and corrected throughout (New York, Macmillan & Co.), and we are informed, with all the emphasis of a separate page, that the additions and alterations

that have been made, both in the Introductions and in the Text of this Edition, affect at least a third of the work. This will be sad news for some poor scholars—Jowett's Plato is a costly work—but good news for the world of letters, and the earlier editions will still have their value as a study in the progressive art of translation. An English classic in a certain sense Dr. Jowett's work was in its earlier form. How much better in this its third and haply final form it will serve its office of introducing the student to the mind of Plato is a matter for further consideration.

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The deserved success of the *Handbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, ed. by IWAN VON MÜLLER and published by Beck of Munich, has made new editions of several of the volumes necessary, and new editions bring with them enlargements as well as corrections. Some of these new editions have been noticed in these pages, such as *Brugmann's Greek Grammar*. *Schmalz and Stolz's Latin Grammar* was expanded at the same time. Of *Christ's Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*, a trustworthy compendium and the only recent work that covers the field from the beginning to Justinian, a second edition was soon demanded, and now we greet the completion of the second edition of the first volume, which contains the *History of Classical Philology, Hermeneutics and Criticism, Palaeography, Epigraphy, Chronology and Metrology*. This volume has not only been revised and enlarged, but in parts presents us with entirely new work. So, notably, LARFELD'S *Griechische Epigraphik*, which takes the place of HINRICHS' treatise, is an elaborate textbook, and not a mere outline. In HÜBNER'S *Römische Epigraphik* the only expansion permitted by the narrow space assigned to the treatise is in the chapter on the characters. A new edition of the first part of the fourth volume has also appeared, and BUSOLT'S admirable work, *Die griechischen Staats- u. Rechtsaltertümer*, comes out in an enlarged form. At the present rate of issue, the student of classical philology must learn to class his *Handbuch* among his periodicals, and to practise a certain philosophy as to the diminished value of back numbers.

## RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Thanks are due to Messrs. B. Westermann & Co., New York, for material furnished.

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Gomme (G. Laurence). *Ethnology in Folklore.* (Modern Science Series, No. 4.) New York, *Appleton*, 1892. c. 7 + 203 pp. 12mo, cl., \$1.

Ramsey (S.) *The English Language and English Grammar: an historical study of the sources, development and analogies of the language and of the principles governing its usages; il. by examples from writers of all periods.* New York, *G. P. Putnam's Sons*, 1892. c. 5 + 571 pp. 8vo, cl., \$3.

Sweet (H.) *A New English Grammar, Logical and Historical.* Pt. 1. *Intro.*, phonology and accidence. New York, *Macmillan & Co.*, 1892. 24 + 499 pp. 12mo, cl., \$2.60.

### ENGLISH.

Cicero. *Select Letters.* With English introductions, notes and appendices by Albert Watson. 4th ed. 8vo, 684 pp. *Clarendon Press.* 18s.

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## I.—ON DELBRÜCK'S VEDIC SYNTAX.<sup>1</sup>

Ever since the publication of this work, now four years ago, I have been desiring and planning to pass it in review, but have been unable hitherto to carry out my intention. Since, however (so far as has come to my knowledge), no detailed or penetrating criticism of it has yet appeared, the present attempt at one will not, I presume, be thought belated.

That the volume is an extremely valuable contribution to Vedic science, being unusually able, careful and accurate, full of sound knowledge conscientiously worked out and lucidly presented, does not require to be stated; the author's reputation, founded on earnest and successful labors, is a sufficient warrant of that. It is one which every student of the Vedic writings, especially of the Brāhmaṇa division of them, should have always at hand for consultation.

I speak of the work as a "Vedic" syntax, although the author calls it "Alt-Indisch"; we have no current English term corresponding to the latter; and, moreover, the author might himself perhaps have done as well to use the word "Vedisch." Though we speak in a looser and more popular way of Veda and Brāhmaṇa as opposed to one another, there is no doubt that "Veda" belongs just as much to the Brāhmaṇas as to the hymn- and *yajus*-collections to which we try to limit it. Properly, it is all Veda, with the subdivisions *mantra* and *brāhmaṇa* (and *sūtra*, which is not included in the plan of this work); and M for *mantra* and B for *brāhmaṇa* would have been in many respects preferable to

<sup>1</sup>Altindische Syntax, von B. Delbrück (Syntactische Forschungen, V). Halle, 1888. Roy. 8vo, pp. xxi, 634.

our author's adopted signs of V for Veda and P for "prose" (! as if there were not plenty of prose that is *mantra*, and so not included in "P"). Professor Delbrück speaks of *my* using the name "Alt-Indisch," in the title of my grammar, in a somewhat different sense, curiously overlooking the fact that it was not I, but the German translator, who employed it. If one is so fortunate as to have his translation made by a scholar of independent and high standing and repute, one willingly accepts the latter's decision on various points, whether one approves it or not.<sup>1</sup>

To the method of transliteration employed (p. viii), agreeing with that in the earlier parts of the series of Syntactische Forschungen, no one can take serious exception. It might be wished that for the vowel *r* we had *ṛ* instead of the gratuitously distorting *ri*; but there seems to exist hardly any traceable tendency among Sanskrit scholars to come to an agreement upon this point, or upon any other in the whole system; new elements of confusion are added by new scholars from time to time; and even such an utterly perverse feature as Aufrecht's later introduction of *ṣ* for the palatal sibilant finds imitators among those from whom better things were to be expected.

Beside the conveniently brief designations (AB., TB., etc.) for the other Brāhmaṇas, "Tāṇḍ.-Br." for that to the Sāma-Veda seems awkward; why is not PB. (for the equally correct title Pañcaviṇṣa-Brāhmaṇa), or TMB. (for Tāṇḍya-Mahā-Brāhmaṇa, as the edition calls it), altogether acceptable? This is another subject upon which agreement among Sanskrit scholars is more to be wished than hoped for; the example of RV., AV., SV., etc. (these being already nearly universal), might with great advantage be carried by common consent at least through all the limited records of the Vedic literature.

To the author's strictures (p. ix) on my preference of the *r*-form of a root (*kr* instead of *kar*, etc.) I have replied elsewhere (JAOS., vol. XIV, p. cxlviii, Proceedings for October, 1889). He was unfortunate in resting his objection to it on untenable ground; if he had had occasion to make a grammatical statement of the phonetic changes in inflection and derivation, he would certainly have found the *r*-form the truly "practical" one. The difference is happily of minor consequence.

<sup>1</sup> It is only in regard to the unwieldy and grammatically incorrect rendering of "descriptive," as applied to compounds, by *appositionell-bestimmt* that there was any serious question between us.

Considering that the work is not one to be read through and then laid upon the shelf, but rather to be turned to for frequent help, it is to be regretted that the author has shown himself so little thoughtful for the convenience of his public. The volume is most unreasonably difficult to find anything in—difficult to a degree that must interfere not a little with its usefulness. One is astonished—it is hardly too much to say, incensed—at discovering no running titles to the pages to facilitate one's search. There are, indeed, headings to paragraphs; but, besides that it is a vexatious waste of time to have to look into the body of the page for information as to what is under discussion, many of the paragraphs cover several successive pages, even up to twenty-six. Such omission, far too common in German books, ought to be made a hanging offense. Indexes, also, though not altogether wanting, are (ten pages in large type) quite insufficient. The author of a book so fitted out cannot complain if his views on points of detail pass unnoticed. The list of passages from the *Brāhmaṇas* translated or referred to is all that could be desired, and will prove of high value to students of that class of works; but we are disappointed at not being furnished with such a list for *Rig-Veda* and *Atharva-Veda* as well. It seems to be the author's modesty that deprives us of this; he does not claim to be in any such sense an authority in the exegesis of the *Veda* as of the *Brāhmaṇa*; but his self-depreciation will be generally pronounced misplaced; his moderation, sound judgment, and critical faculty make his understanding of a difficult Vedic passage well worth consulting by any Vedic scholar, be he who he may.

A laudable manifestation of the author's good sense is seen in his occasional abnegation of all attempt to use a Vedic passage as being too obscure or difficult to suit his purpose. He wastes his space on no long-drawn discussions of insoluble puzzles; coolness, directness, and absence of display are characteristics of his work from one end to the other.

One is a little surprised at the first sentence of the work proper (p. 3<sup>b</sup>),<sup>1</sup> declaring that "there are interjections that form a sentence"; in accordance with which we are later (33<sup>b</sup>) told of vocatives that constitute a sentence. This seems to imply a peculiar and indefensible conception of what a sentence is. Surely, speak-

<sup>1</sup> For convenience of reference, I designate by a superior *a*, *b*, and *c* respectively the upper, middle, and lower parts of a page, as roughly estimated with the eye.

ing grammatically, it is a combination of a subject with a predicate to make an assertion, a union of parts of speech into a significant whole; or, when incomplete, it is the suggestion of such a combination, susceptible of and calling for a filling out to normal form. Is that true, in any proper sense, of an interjection or a vocative? I think decidedly not; these are words that stand outside the structure of the sentences with which they are (often) associated, not as being other sentences, but because they are essentially non-sentence-making utterances.

A much more important offense against true grammatical theory is the author's classification and treatment of infinitives and participles as verb-forms. "*Verbum infinitivum*" is the heading under which (367) he places them, and the name by which (49\*) he first mentions them; and his whole discussion of them is in accordance with this title, as if what required to be specially accounted for in regard to them was the qualities of noun and adjective which they in part display! We do not find anywhere an intimation that an infinitive, for example, is not just as good a "verb" as the 3d singular present indicative. This takes us back to the pre-Boppian period of grammatical science, when it was as yet undemonstrated that an infinitive is merely an oblique case of a verbal noun. Perhaps the false classification is at bottom only a concession to the force of classical habit in Germany, where, as elsewhere, the writers of text-books appear to be unable to give up the old modes of statement, however antiquated they may have grown. But, if so, the surrender is a complete one; not a hint is dropped that there is a truer and better way of looking at the facts involved. And a Vedic syntax is precisely the place where the right view should be not only set forth but insisted on. The grammatical distinction of noun and verb is the most ancient and fundamental in Indo-European language-history. The cleft between them goes to the very bottom, and is insuperable, like the cleft between subject and predicate—which, in fact, it primarily represents. Excepting the verb, all the other parts of speech have grown out of the noun; and a noun can still be a pronoun, an adjective, an adverb, a preposition, or a conjunction; but it cannot be a verb, nor can a verb be aught but a verb. That certain kinds of nouns and adjectives should attach themselves to the fortunes of verbs, sharing their range of meaning, their combinations with prefixes, even their constructions with dependent cases (in regard to which there is, as between verb and noun, no ultimate difference of

principle, but only a developed difference of linguistic habit)—all this is natural enough, and gives good reason for the names “verbal noun” and “verbal adjective,” designating various degrees of closeness of verbal connection; but it does not justify our calling a noun or adjective by the name “verb.” A certain group of verbal adjectives, the so-called “participles,” have pretty clearly had that character ever since the period of Indo-European unity, and in most Indo-European languages they are held distinctly apart, in meaning and construction, from the general mass of adjectives; but in Sanskrit, which certainly in this respect represents an older condition of things, the line between ordinary adjective and participle is but uncertainly drawn, and transfers across it take place before our eyes during the historic period of the language. As for the infinitive, I think it extremely questionable whether any such outside appendage to the verb-system is of pro-ethnic age; the category is too obviously in the full career of development in earliest Sanskrit to allow the assumption. And here, even more strikingly than in the case of the participles, there is no distinct line to be drawn between infinitive and ordinary noun. The Vedic infinitive has nearly all the oblique case-forms of a noun, each used in its proper case-constructions; it includes a considerable variety of verbal derivatives, and a number of other derivatives approach it nearly in construction; certain others (as the formations in *-ana*, in *-in*, and in *-tar*) follow hardly less closely the verbal senses, and take as freely the verbal prefixes; and the list of nouns that admit an accusative object overruns considerably the borders of the so-called infinitive class. It seems to me utterly inadmissible to apply the title “verb” to words that have cases and genders and that do not predicate. What is a verb, then? One can but wonder what definition the author of this work would give. I have long been accustomed to maintain that any one who does not see that a noun is a word that designates and a verb a word that asserts, and who is not able to hold on to this distinction as an absolute and universal one (within the limits of our family of languages), has no real bottom to his grammatical science. And I have seldom been more surprised than to find Delbrück accepting and perpetuating the exploded category of the “verbum infinitivum.” It is worth noting, however, that he does not commit the crowning absurdity, as seen from the point of view of sound grammatical theory, of calling the infinitive a “mode” of the verb.

Though treating them under the same general head with the rest, the author almost allows (396) that the gerundives (or future passive participles) are nothing but verbal adjectives—one quite fails to see why, if the other participles are anything else, since they too possess the general characteristics of participles. But it is, in my view, a serious omission on his part not to point out their altogether modern formation, as not primary but secondary derivatives (perfectly obvious in the case of those in *-tva*, *-lavya*, and *-aniya*, wholly probable for the others); for this helps to the proper estimate of their syntactical character. It is yet harder to understand why he apologizes (382\*) for reckoning “the adjective in *-ta*” (what we call the past passive participle) to the participles, since it differs in no important respect from the others;<sup>1</sup> it does not, to be sure, take an object-noun as complement; but that is nothing essential. He defines (ib.) its character thus: “it is associated with a noun in order to indicate that on it [the noun] the action of the verb is exhibited.” This is one of those explanations that do not explain of which the work offers here and there a not inconsiderable number of instances. So the present participle exhibits the action of the verb *in* a noun; and the distinction between *in* and *on* is just that between active and passive; so that the definition means merely that the “adjective in *-ta*” is a passive and not an active participle.

It does not seem in accordance with the usual sober good sense of the author that (4\*), while acknowledging impersonal verbs to be in part the result of an indefinitizing and obliteration of the subject-element in personal ones, he yet maintains that others are original—that, beside the 3d personal form for use with subjects, there was one, identical with it, for expression of subjectless action. If it is easy to win subjectless expression from that with subjects, every language having its own examples and in part its own peculiar methods of arriving at them, why should not all have been won in that way? Because *it* in *it rains* designates nothing definable, we do not infer that there was an original *it* expressing indefinite non-subjectivity beside the same pronoun in its ordinary neuter sense. If the Indo-European tongue had impersonal expressions, they were doubtless of the same secondary origin with those of later date. Inflective speech does not begin with the incorporation of grammatical indefinitenesses.

It would at sundry points have helped noticeably the clearness

<sup>1</sup>At 77° it is even referred to as the participle *par excellence*.

of presentation if the category of the objective predicate, the adjective or noun made through a verb predicative to its direct object, had been recognized. That there is anything adverbial (79\*), either in the Sanskrit or in its translation, about an adjective qualifying the object of *kṛ* 'make'—"he makes them *faithful* to him"—is not to be conceded; nor do such cases as those treated in §122 (178-9) come for the most part properly under the head of a verb governing two accusatives.

The term "indirect question," as applied to an object-clause of a certain character ('I know not *whither I shall go*' is the author's example), is a common one in grammars, growing out of our conversion of an interrogative word to relative use; but it is always incorrect and objectionable, since, when once the word has been made relative, it no longer asks a question. But in Sanskrit, where the relative is not of interrogative origin, the term is peculiarly misapplied, and its introduction into Sanskrit syntax (as at 569\*) is altogether to be deprecated.

All these are matters which do not directly concern the specific subject of the work, but rather the grammatical theories of its author; yet they have a good right to be noticed, because theoretical error is always more or less detrimental to the best practical presentation of grammatical phenomena. We may go on now to take up certain points of general interest, in the order in which they occur.

Under the head of "accentuation of the members of a sentence," when treating of the vocative, the author makes the statement (34\*) that we find in the interior of the sentence (or verse) such accent as *viçve devāḥ*, not *viçve devāḥ*, if there is a noun with a preceding adjective. He gives no references, and no such rule is laid down by Haskell (to whom he refers for the general discussion of the subject: JAOS. XI 57 ff.); nor has it ever suggested itself to me. No instance of *viçve devāḥ*, except at the beginning of a sentence, is to be found in either RV. or AV. (on the other hand, the latter has, at VI 114. 3, *viçve vo devāḥ*), nor have I noted one elsewhere. The alleged rule must be, I think, either an out-and-out mistake, or founded insufficiently on one or two anomalous examples, of doubtful correctness.

Further on, after statement (35 ff.) of the facts touching the accent of the Sanskrit verb, the author takes up (50) for explanation the remarkable rule that in an independent clause the verb, unless standing at the head of the clause, is regularly accentless,



while the verb of a dependent clause is always accented. Already more than twenty years ago (1871), in the first part of his *Syntactische Forschungen* (pp. 96-8), the author treated of this rule, setting up in respect to it a theory which I was never able to find in any measure acceptable. It ran, briefly, thus: the dependent clause in Sanskrit is oftenest one of necessary condition, and oftenest precedes the clause on which it depends. In such a case, the practice of our own language shows that the verb of the dependent clause has the superior emphasis. This is to be inferred from such examples as the following: *was man nicht NÜTZT, IST eine schwere Last*, 'what one *uses* not *is* a heavy *burden*'—where *IST* (*is*) is unemphatic as compared with *NÜTZT* (*uses*). Now here, it is plain, the author deceives himself by failing to observe that his dependent verb is one which, owing to the content of the word, and not at all to the form of the sentence, is the emphatic predicated element, while his independent verb is the mere copula, unemphatic for that reason and for no other. If his line had read instead thus: *was uns nicht nützlich IST, BELASTET uns*, 'what *is* useless to us *burdens* us,' the relation of the two verbs in respect to emphasis would be seen to be reversed; the independent one would be obviously the one better entitled to the accent. And so, for aught I can see, in every other like case; the emphasis of the verb depends on the relation of its significant content to the sum of significance of the sentence, and not in the least on its occurrence in a clause of the one kind or of the other. The author goes on to maintain that, on the basis of such sentences as the one instanced, the Hindu learned men set up a rule that the verb of the dependent clause was to be accented, and, by contrast to it, the verb of the independent clause left accentless, and then proceeded to extend the rule rigorously to all cases, whether it applied or not. Now, altogether apart from the imaginary character of the foundation claimed for the rule, it seems to me that scholars in general will decline to admit that the phenomena of verbal accentuation as we read them in the manuscripts are the product of theories which ancient Hindu savants framed and carried out, "regardless," instead of being the (on the whole) faithful record, as they observed and understood it, of their actual utterance. To admit this would certainly be to take away most of the interest now belonging to the investigation of Sanskrit accent; and I can see no good reason for the admission, but abundance of reason against it. The whole aspect of the phe-

nomena is to me that of a historic verity, which those who have handed it down to us did not themselves understand, or, for the most part, even try to understand—much less try to regulate on such shadowy principles as our author thinks to recognize.

In his later work, which we are now criticizing, he neither repeats nor explicitly rejects his former explanation, but gives, rather, one new and essentially different, though not less unsatisfactory than its predecessor. He takes up the subject this time from the other end, dealing first with the unaccented verb of the independent clause. Its accentlessness, he says (50\*), is "merely the external sign of the fact that the verb appears as a relatively dependent member of the sentence, attaching itself to a noun, a pronoun, a preposition, in such a way as to limit these ideas." I cannot refrain from pronouncing this statement little short of absurd, and maintaining that no theory built up on such a foundation can possibly be anything but a failure. The sentence consists of subject and predicate, and each one of these is just as primary and just as secondary as the other. A subject, noun or pronoun, is even more meaningless without a verb to tell what it is there for than is a verb without a subject, since a subject can be on the whole much more easily inferred for a verb from the circumstances than the contrary. But not only a preceding subject, even a preceding object, or adverb, or prefix, takes away the accent from the verb in the Sanskrit sentence; and that a verb is a "relatively dependent" word as compared with these its own modifiers, that it is "attached to a preposition" in order to limit the meaning of the preposition, is a doctrine which, in my opinion, no reasonable person can be expected to accept on our author's authority. He adds that "the verb has only in exceptional cases a primary value for the sentence," and that then it is moved back, toward or to the head of the sentence. That is hardly an acceptable account of the difference between *āsīd rājā* 'fuit rex' and *rājā 'sit* 'rex fuit.' A certain order of the clause having been established as normal, any deviation from it becomes a means of the different distribution of emphasis, to the members moved either backward or forward. But the Sanskrit verb, however it may change position, gets no accent unless it be placed first of all; nor do the other members, even though moved to the very end, lose their accent. That the sentence is naturally a *diminuendo*, beginning strong, to attract the attention of the listener, and then toning gradually down to the end, as our author

goes on to claim, might at best be allowed a certain questionable measure of truth in a first direct address, but seems wholly out of place as applied to continuous discourse—as, for instance, a hymn, or a piece of exposition.

As regards the accented verb of the dependent clause, a double explanation, viewed as a single one in two parts, is offered. First, if the dependent clause precede the other, the *diminuendo* of the whole sentence has not become complete when the dependent verb is reached, and hence that verb has not become entirely toneless. And then this partial non-tonelessness, originally a result only of the position of the clause, becomes historically generalized into a means of distinction of all dependent clauses, which express an incomplete sense or involve a suspension of sense as compared with the main clause. Thus, we see, a verb in general is not accented because it is a dependent member of its clause; but, if this clause becomes a dependent member of another clause, the verb in it attains independency and gets an accent. A result, too, quite the reverse of that in German, where the dependent verb, instead of being made emphatic, takes its position at the very end, which signifies tonelessness!

The whole explanation, both in its earlier form and in its later, appears to me not so much ingenious as artificial and forced, and altogether wanting in plausibility. As its author abandoned the 1871 form, so we may feel sure that he will hereafter abandon this of 1888. It is better to acknowledge that the law of verbal accentuation in Sanskrit is thus far an unexplained puzzle than to try to content our minds with any such unsatisfactory solutions as are offered us in these volumes.

When discussing (37-44) the accented verb in quasi-dependent or antithetical clauses, the author shows much ingenuity in accounting on internal grounds for the discordances between different texts or between different passages from the same text; but here also it appears to me that the explanations are in no small measure forced. The accentual usage itself seems to have been a progressive and in part a wavering one. As the accent of the verb in this class of cases is especially a rule of the *Brahmaṇas* (there are numerous instances in both *Rig-* and *Atharva-Vedas* where the verb, now accentless, would certainly have gotten an accent in any *Brahmaṇa* text), so the line of division is somewhat variously drawn in different parts of the mass of Brahmanic material; and in the case of some treatises (particularly the

Māitrayaṇīya) defects of the accentual tradition count for a good deal.

One is a little surprised to find the formation and value of compound words among the matters discussed at some length (55-59, 62-69, 72-75) in this work on syntax; the subject is not ordinarily classed as syntactical. There is, indeed, something to be said for the inclusion, since, but for their composition, the compounded words would have to be put together into syntactical phrases, equivalent and yet not precisely equivalent. But then, upon similar grounds, the subject of derivation ought not to be omitted; a derivative also, especially a secondary one, is a sort of abbreviated phrase, the equivalent of two or more words having syntactical relations. The author (perhaps as feeling that he is off his proper ground) does not allow himself to go far enough into the investigation of compounds to bring to light anything that is particularly new, not already to be read in the grammars. The repetition of things familiar, expanded with more illustration than their importance calls for, is a little tedious. Copulative or *dvandva* composition (55) of course commences with pairs of persons or things familiarly and closely associated; but, like the other varieties of composition, it at once begins to be extended to even casual combinations; it involves *or*- as well as *and*-relations, and draws in more than two members. That the possessive or *bahuvrīhi* compounds stand on the border-line between noun and adjective (61<sup>a</sup>) is hardly to be admitted; their possessive character, the 'having' which they all imply, makes them distinctly adjectives and nothing else. One does not see what is gained by such an elaborately obscure definition of a simple thing as is given us (62<sup>b</sup>) of a possessive with passive participle as prior member (like *hatābhrātā* 'having a slain brother'). Such, we are told, "usually signify that the noun to which they belong is found, so far as concerns the idea which constitutes the last part of the *bahuvrīhi*, in a lasting condition which results from the past occurrence of the action expressed in the participle." It might be of more legitimately syntactical interest to point out how such a compound is made the equivalent of a dependent clause, 'whose brother is slain,' with a passive verb-form taking the place of the participle. We are reminded (62<sup>a</sup>) that the possessive compounds have been repeatedly explained as by origin appositive nouns that have later taken on an adjectival character. This can hardly be questioned: and in the same way, as I presume, came into being in our family

of languages the whole category of adjectives as distinguished from substantives. But both these are pre-historic questions, altogether antedating the whole period of Sanskrit syntax proper. What stands decidedly nearer to the latter is the question how these adjectivized substantives came to be so almost exclusively possessive in character; and then, what traces there are left in the language of a character other than possessive as belonging to them. These are the points which seem to me both the most interesting and the most important to discuss in the theory of Sanskrit *bahuvrīhi* ('much-rice') compounds (they are briefly treated of in my grammar, §1294); and I confess myself to have been a good deal disappointed at reading on in our author's pages about compounds and finding that he not only failed to cast upon them any new light, but even did not acknowledge their existence. There is an inviting opportunity still for some one to write an instructive paper on that queer fabrication of the Hindu grammarians, the *dvigu* class of compounds: *dvi-gu* 'two-cow,' not as 'having two cows,' like an ordinary "possessive," but as 'equal to, or worth, or bought for, two cows.' It ought to be possible to extract from the native grammars and the native commentaries on them something more than the scanty array of material, gathered out of the literature of the language, with which I had to content myself in my grammar (2d ed. §1294 b).

Under the next head, of dependent compounds, we are told (62°) that "in composition the second idea is determined by the first in such a way that a new idea is the issue"; and we have given us as an example *ācārya-jāyā* 'teacher's wife' (literally, 'teacher-wife'), which is declared to signify, not the wife of this or that teacher, but a member of a certain class of wives; so that, when a particular person is intended, a *svā* 'his own' has to be added, just as it might be to *mātar* 'mother' or the like; and thus the consciousness of two individual ideas is lost. As for the *svā*, it might also be omitted equally well with *ācāryasya jāyā* 'the wife of the teacher,' the connection in all the three cases alike pointing out who is meant. But how, in a compound like that instanced, which, in common with a great proportion of the Sanskrit compounds, is made only once, the two ideas are integrated into one so as to lose their separate identity, is altogether unintelligible. Such integration might at the utmost be claimed for a current and familiar compound like our *housewife*, in which, moreover, the received sense is very different from the literal one;

or like *alewife*, where the application is fantastic and obscure. Is the individuality of *Lehrer* any less present to the mind in *die Lehrersfrau* than it is in *des Lehrers Frau*? A compound is essentially an abbreviated designation, and by its aid a slightly different shade of expression is won, as in *goat-milk* (*aja-kṣira*, 63<sup>b</sup>), compared with *goats' milk*, *a goat's milk*, *the milk of goats*, and so on; but *goat* and *milk* are present alike in them all, and cannot be ignored—and the three pages of examples which the author proceeds to give might well be spared, as well as sundry pages of like material which follow later. The author unconsciously exaggerates and distorts a little the peculiarities of composition in order to justify his expenditure of space upon the subject.

It is doubtless by an oversight that (70<sup>a</sup>) *asuraghñt* 'demon-slaying,' etc., have slipped in among the descriptive compounds.

I can see no more reason for distinguishing (99) an anaphoric dual than an anaphoric plural. If "Agni and Vishnu" are an example of the one, so are "Tom, Dick, and Harry" an equally important example of the other. In the setting up of the classification seems to be involved the doctrine that the dual number was created for natural pairs of things, like one's two eyes, two hands, etc.; and this I think just as much a mistake as that the plural was created for natural trios and quaternions, etc. The distinction of numbers had to stop somewhere, and it was not carried beyond three.

Under the head of noun-cases (103 ff.) is especially noteworthy how generally unwilling the author is to commit himself in regard to their original and fundamental meanings. Even the ablative he cannot bring himself frankly to define as the *from*-case, but takes respecting it this curiously uncertain position (106<sup>c</sup>): "It is now generally assumed, in accordance with Indian [that is, doubtless, Hindu native] grammar, that into the ablative enters that idea of the noun forth from which the action of the verb follows." So also, under locative, we find (115<sup>b</sup>) only the admission that so-and-so may be right in defining it as denoting "the space within which"; though the author himself adds that we have to render it sometimes by 'at' and 'on' and 'by.' The quoted definition evidently tries to put too fine a point upon it; "place where" is quite exact enough, whether of the kind expressed by 'in' or by 'on' or by 'at.' But it is very remarkable that, when he comes (121) to the second grand division of the use of the locative in Sanskrit, that of denoting place whither, he does not spend a word

upon its relation to the other division, although this relation has been the subject of considerable dispute and misapprehension. Considering that the two uses pass into one another by so many avenues, it being not infrequently difficult to classify a particular case as belonging under the one head or the other, and that the transition is so easy that in English *there* has crowded *thither* entirely out of familiar use, we should have expected some recognition and illustration of it, with an acknowledgment that the two values are originally one, and not independent senses forced together under one form.

Of the instrumental, we find (122°) an explicit statement of the author's opinion that it is the *with*-case. But the paragraph in which he treats of its various shades of meaning and application is to me quite obscure. It seems as if he were claiming the uses of the case to be but one, their apparent variety depending only on the substantial sense of the noun itself and of the verb on which it depends. Why is this any more true of the instrumental than of the other cases? There are certain well-marked differences in its value, the others naturally derived from the sociative sense, but by no means identical with it; and not the brute sense of noun and verb alone, but the general circumstances, the requirement of the connection, determine which. So, in *atrim muñcātho gaṇena* (123°), *gaṇena* might mean '[him] together with his troop' or '[you] by means of your troop'; it requires the help of the subject of the verb as well, of the situation depicted, to settle the question. And there are instrumental uses so special that it is not altogether easy to connect them with the fundamental sociative sense. One wishes that the author had given us his view as to how the instrumental of extent of space or time originated. To me it seems probable that it started from the road or track: 'by means of such a track; by way of the desert, of the river, of the air,' or the like; and hence 'through the air,' from one end or side to the other of the tract or medium traversed. *Nayathā . . . rjunā pathā* (129°) is not strictly 'lead *upon* a straight path,' as rendered, but 'cause to go *by* a straight path'; our preposition *by* incorporates and illustrates the transition. Further, the account (132°) of the instrumental of separation seems unsatisfactory. I should think rather of the prior, or the desired, association of the things now parted; "let me not be separated from (parted with) him" is properly "let me with him (= me and him) not be separated or parted." The rare instances of the instrumental with a compara-

tive (137-38) are probably of kindred character: "taken (or compared) with him, I am the better."

As for the more difficult dative, the author has at present no confident opinion, but is inclined (140\*) to follow another authority in regarding it as "grammatical," as never having had any local character at all. Here is, I believe, the sole appearance in this work of the category of grammatical cases, which we might otherwise hope to have been abandoned by the author. To pronounce a case originally grammatical is simply equivalent to saying that its ultimate character lies beyond our discovery; and the statement might much better be made in the latter form. For to postulate such a value at the very beginning is to deny the whole known history of language, which shows that all forms begin with something material, apprehensible by the senses, palpable (*handgreiflich*). If the intellectual values of terms are anterior to the physical; if the tense- and mode-uses of *have* and *will* and *would* and their like are the original ones; if *be* began with being an expression of the copula; if the *-dom* of *wisdom* and the *-wise* of *likewise* and the *-head* of *godhead* were derivative suffixes before they were independent nouns—then, and not otherwise, was a case originally grammatical. Such an explanation simply betrays a false philosophy of language. There was a time when our author (in Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, XVIII, 81 ff.) favored the view that the dative first indicated "a physical inclination toward something"; that is a genuine attempt at an explanation; none better, so far as I know, has been suggested; and it is perhaps even to be accepted as satisfactory. The chief objection is that a *to*-case (the accusative) and a *toward*-case might seem too nearly akin, making a virtual repetition; but, after all, this is hardly to be accounted more strange than the presence among the prepositional prefixes of so many words as we find all signifying 'to' with different shades of application: thus, in Sanskrit, *ā*, *abhi*, *upa*, *api*, *acha*—even *prati*.

Again, no attempt whatever is made (151) to give any account of the genitive. Even its general character as adjectival or adnominal is not alluded to—not so much as to be mentioned as a view widely held and regarded as satisfactory. This is so strange as to seem well-nigh unaccountable.

It is less to be wondered at that the author takes no notice of the fact that the accusative has been explained as the *to*-case, since this is a view which has a much less general acceptance. The



accusative is treated last of the series of cases, and is defined (164) as signifying those case-relations which are not signified by the rest of them. The same method, it is obvious, might have been applied to the definition of any other case; each takes those relations which the others do not take. It is, then, altogether to be disapproved—unless it may be held to involve the theory (nowhere distinctly stated) that the accusative was the original “grammatical” case of limitation of a verb, and that, when the rest had arisen and trenched here and there upon its sphere of use, it was finally left with a remainder, which is therefore composed of applications having no genetic relations with each other. That would be, of course, a theory having a right to present itself as such; but it would involve the (above rejected) theory of a “grammatical” case, and would make the accusative quite different in its origin from the other cases—both of them very objectionable implications. There is surely no difficulty in deducing all the accusative uses from the *to*-relation, the most variable of all those of local origin. Especially, when the natural step from *to*-relation to direct-object-relation is taken, the way is prepared for a great and various array of secondary applications to follow.

In the scheme of uses given on p. 165, it may be remarked, the accusative of extent of space ought plainly to precede that of extent of time.

The suggestion (182<sup>c</sup>) that the (quasi-primary, but really secondary) derivative adjectives in *-in* are allowed sometimes to govern an accusative “because the slight future meaning which they contain places them in a nearer relation to the verb” seems to me quite fantastic. Is a future sense more characteristic of a verb than a past, or than a present? Moreover, the future sense in these derivatives, at the best, is so slight and rare as to count for nothing, and in the instances quoted by the author is derived rather from the accompanying verb *bhavati* ‘comes to be.’ And the nouns in *-tar* in the Veda govern an accusative freely with their present signification, before they change it to a future and form a periphrastic future tense.

We have reason to be much surprised that the author turns entirely aside from his proper subject to treat, at the length of several pages (188 ff.), of the different methods in which adjectives are compared. What under the head of comparison belongs to a Syntax is obviously the sense attaching to those derivative adjectives which we call the comparative and superlative, and their

constructions (by the way, no reason is given us why the ablative is the case that usually follows a comparative). That there are two different sets of suffixes of comparison, applied (with minor irregularities) to different classes of primitives, is a matter that no more concerns syntax, so long as the value of the two formations is the same in practical use, than the different modes of forming the genitive case, or the 2d singular imperative, or the aorist. If, indeed, there were something strikingly new in his view of the subject, if the relation of the two formations (that in *-iyas* and *iṣṭha*, and that in *-lara* and *-lama*) had been hitherto misunderstood and needed to be set in its true light, there would be more excuse for the author's thus dragging a matter of pure inflection or derivation into the midst of his syntactical discussions; but so far is this from being the case that the whole passage might be taken for an extract from my Sanskrit grammar, so close is the agreement in regard both to the views held and to the manner of combining and putting them forward. I do not in the least accuse Delbrück of having borrowed from me without acknowledgment; such a charge would be absurd; he has doubtless by his own study arrived at conclusions according with mine (which are of very old standing; the substance of them may be found communicated to the Oriental Society away back in 1855: JAOS. V 210-11); and I take satisfaction in the accordance. But I cannot help thinking it in a high degree strange that he should have felt himself called upon to treat the subject at all, and should then have overlooked the already long-published views of others upon it (he is in general extremely conscientious about making acknowledgments), thus giving himself the aspect of one who brings out something quite new.

In speaking of denominatives and causatives (222-23), the author, when he mentions that some *-aya*-stems fluctuate between causative and denominative accent (*-āya-* and *-ayā-*), strangely forgets to add that many obviously denominative verbs take in use only the causative accent—as some of his own examples plainly show. He declines (223<sup>b</sup>) to express any opinion as to the development of causative meaning, because that is a subject involving an investigation in comparative philology, although not a few of the opinions and explanations given elsewhere rest, and can rest, upon no other foundation. Certainly, the evidence of Vedic language is wholly in favor of the view that the causative is by origin a denominative.

Among the tense-stems of the causative, the author (223<sup>c</sup>) forgets to mention the half-dozen *iṣ*-aorists that occur in the older language (V. B.).

Under the desiderative (227-28), I miss the statement and illustration of the fact that desiderative and future show a natural relationship by shading into one another, even to the extent of occasionally seeming to change places.

As regards the formation (273) of only a part of the tenses of a given meaning from one root, and the quasi-association of different roots to form one verb-system, I cannot see any degree of probability in the theory (lightly hinted at here, more distinctly stated in Synt. Forsch. IV, p. 80 ff.) that it is because of an inherent non-adaptedness of a certain root to certain varieties of the expression of time. It is, I think, simply and purely one of the accidental results of the vagaries of linguistic usage—as destitute of deeper significance as is our combination of *go* and *went*, or *be* and *am* and *was*, or the French *vais* and *allai* and *irai*.

The subject of variety of present stem-forms (274 ff.) appears still to call for a considerably more careful and penetrating examination than is given here by our author, or elsewhere by his predecessors. But it is, in my opinion, a very important omission that he makes no mention, in connection with this subject, of the intensive and desiderative, as being also properly present systems, although, after their establishment with well-marked specialties of meaning, occasionally and tentatively extended into other tense-systems. He does not, to be sure, even refer to the passive stem here, and the way in which he speaks of it further back (268<sup>a</sup>: “das Passivum liegt nur im Praesensstamme vor”) gives rather the impression (which, however, must surely be a false one) that he regards it as a once more general formation, now reduced to such modest dimensions. With the prevailingly intransitive *ya*-stem, the passive *yá*-stem, and the intensive and desiderative stems, we have the basis of a more systematic and fruitful discussion of the subject than is here furnished us. Such forms as *gamati* and *karati*, it may be further remarked, if mentioned, ought to be noted as purely sporadic. We miss sundry familiar stems from the list given: for example *tyate*, which it is simply absurd to regard as intensive, and *pávate*, an expression of the author's view of which would have been welcome, and so on. The relation of *tirati* to *tarati* is rather like that of a causative to a simple verb, and is therefore extremely curious; *tarati* is not excluded from figurative uses.

It does not seem to help our comprehension of the imperfect much to be told (279<sup>e</sup>) that "it is the tense of narration, by means of which the hearer is summoned to transfer himself with his fancy into the past"; precisely the same is true of any other past tense, and something very like it of the future. That the imperfect denotes simply past action, without implication of anything else, is, in my opinion, both a truer and a more enlightening definition.

Few things in the theory of tenses are more difficult to define satisfactorily than the difference between preterit and perfect, between *I did* and *I have done*. The ordinary description of the latter, as signifying "completed" action, is of no value whatever, and the word "completed" ought to be banished out of the grammars; all past action is completed action, or it would not be past. But in English (as in German, French, and so on) we are guided to a better account of the perfect by the etymology of the form itself; *I have done* means literally 'I possess at present the result of a past doing,' and so contains a peculiar mixture of past and present time; it designates a state of things as now existing which involves as a condition the previous doing or occurrence of something. Then this expression of the present consequence of past action assumes more or less the character of an expression for the past action itself, and so enters into a rivalry with the other preterit tenses; and they compromise on a division of the territory among them. The division is not always made on a systematic and consistent plan, and the line is differently drawn in different languages: for example, as between English and French and German there are marked, though minor, discordances, the perfect of the one being by no means always correctly rendered by the perfect of another, as the adult learner of any of them knows to his cost. In some South-German dialects the perfect has mainly driven out the preterit as general expression of past action; the Swabian peasant does not say *i' that*, but *i' hob g'tha*<sup>n</sup>. The one office of the perfect in regard to which there is something nearest to an agreement among the several languages is that of designating the proximate past, of defining the action as having happened or been done within the limits of the still current, the present, space of time—though even here there remains plenty of room for minor variations.

Now this composite perfect-sense, as has become generally known since our author himself brought it clearly to light in the second part of these *Syntactische Forschungen* (1876), is repre-

sented in the Vedic Sanskrit, of both *mantra* and *brāhmaṇa*, by the tense which is called the aorist. It is not too much to say that the rendering 'I have done,' etc., fits the Vedic aorist closely throughout; the perfect tenses of English, French, and German do not agree in value any more closely with one another than this Sanskrit tense with them all. The constraint of meter, and the pervading obscurities of meaning and construction, in the hymns make its distinctive character in part less obvious and undeniable in *mantra* than in *brāhmaṇa*; and there are even good Vedic scholars who (much to the detriment of their versions) are careless of the distinction, or even seem to make it a principle not to acknowledge the special aorist signification.<sup>1</sup> But there is no real difference between the aorist of *mantra* and that of *brāhmaṇa*; and the distinction laid down by our author in his former work, and here (280<sup>a</sup>) reported rather than repeated—namely, that in the former the aorist denotes what has just taken place, while in the latter it is the tense of personal experience—seems to me of no account; it is a difference in the circumstances of use, and not in the value of the tense itself. Especially does this appear when there is taken into account what the author in his comparative examination of the tenses has failed to notice (see the Am. Or. Soc.'s Proceedings for May, 1891: Journal, vol. XV, p. lxxxv ff.; also Trans. Am. Philol. Assoc'n for 1892): that the imperfect is the tense of personal narration in *brāhmaṇa* not less than the aorist, the two being in such use related to one another as are our preterit and perfect.

The author notes that there are exceptional cases, in both divisions of the Vedic literature, which do not fall strictly under the definitions given (certainly they are not more frequent than is the case with our modern perfects with *have*); and he asks after a wider definition, which shall include all. This seems to me a mistaken quest, like that which should seek a formula inclusive of all the various uses of the accusative case, and which could issue only in some such worthless bit of indefiniteness as that the accusative is "a complement or nearer definition of the verbal idea." So here, in like manner, we get as result the following (280<sup>b</sup>): "the aorist informs us that an action has made its appearance" (dass ein Vorgang [or eine Handlung] in die Erscheinung getreten ist). This is valuable solely and alone in virtue of the

<sup>1</sup>A curious recent example is Hillebrandt, in his *Vedische Mythologie*, I, 1891.

verb-tense, *has made*, which is used in it: and just so an imperfect informs us that an action *made* its appearance, and a future that it *will make* its appearance. The "making its appearance" of an action (like the "coming in" or *Eintreten* of an action, the phrase which, after the example of others, he conjures with in Synt. Forsch. IV, p. 101 ff.) is really nothing more than an awkward and pretentious equivalent for simple predication, and something positive has to be added in order to make it descriptive of a tense. The author expresses, with good reason, his dissatisfaction with the phrase, nor does he attempt to lay it at the basis of the illustration that follows. A tense needs to be defined and illustrated according to its leading and prevalent sense, and not according to its rarer and exceptional applications—unless, indeed, some one of these can be shown to have been historically older, and the others derived from it; and the "making appearance" or "coming in" of the action can certainly never have that value. The 'coming in' element is twice made use of later in defining aoristic forms, and plainly without any advantage whatever as regards our comprehension of their value. If (590<sup>b</sup>), in *yadā . . . āsahiṣṭa* 'when he has overpowered,' *yadā* has the virtual meaning 'as soon as,' it is simply because the verb-form indicates proximate action: 'when he has just overpowered' is the same with 'as soon as he has overpowered.' And if (what is extremely questionable) *bhīyānā* (381<sup>b</sup>) signifies 'having been frightened,' as distinguished from *bhāyamāna* 'being in a state of fear,' it is because the participle is associated with a tense which means 'I have come to feel fear'; the "in-coming action" has nothing to do with it. Again, the aorist sense is once (279<sup>c</sup>) referred to as "constatirend," 'recording a fact'; and this is obviously one of the secondary applications of the *have*-perfect in every language that possesses such a tense, and calls for no resort to any peculiar mode of explanation.

While the Vedic aorist is thus in the sum of its uses equivalent to our auxiliary perfect with *have*, it must, of course, have had a quite different history of development of meaning, since it is the combination of present auxiliary with past participle that gives our tense its distinctive union of present and past time. And I see nothing in the way of our assuming that the proper "perfect" sense came in Sanskrit out of that of proximate past, as in our modern formations the latter out of the former: the two are so related that either passes naturally into the other. As for the prior probable transition from simple indefinite past action (such

as belongs to the Greek aorist) to proximate past, that is not at all, it appears to me, out of reach of the differentiating and adaptive action of a language that has a certain redundancy of expression for past time (impf., pf., and aor. tenses). Perhaps the Greek imperfect of continuous action got its characteristic quality in no other way. Or, if continuousness be proved to be the original character of the proper imperfect, then its loss in the Sanskrit imperfect (which certainly, from its earliest period, shows not a trace of it), and the shift of the former indefinite past or aorist to the designation of proximate past action, may have been two parts of the same adaptive process.

As regards the Sanskrit reduplicated perfect, I may refer again to the paper quoted above (on p. 290), in which I have discussed in considerable detail the use of this tense in the Brāhmaṇas. Of its three *mantra*-senses—1. that of our auxiliary perfect (= the Vedic aorist); 2. that of an indefinite past (= imperfect); and 3. that of a present—it has (except in the participle: see below) quite lost the first; for the signs of this which our author thinks to find (§170, pp. 298–300) in Brahmanic use seem to me not to require to be interpreted as such, but rather to be examples of the narrative use; even the last passage quoted (TS. VII 3. 1<sup>3</sup>), though most nearly approaching the true “perfect” meaning, is best to be judged in accordance with the rest. Both the other senses are retained, and, in part of the texts, in proportions not far from equal: in PB., for example, there are even twice as many occurrences of the present sense as of the preterit; in MS., an equal number; in TS., hardly fewer; but, apparently by a later and rapidly growing usage, the perfect as simple preterit wins the upper hand, and comes to be employed on a very large scale, partly in whole narratives in place of the imperfect, partly mixed with the latter as a co-ordinate tense. And at the same time the imperfect exhibits a tendency to be used in personal narrative, or by one speaking in his own name, to the exclusion of the perfect; so that the later Hindu grammar clearly lays down that distinction between them. It is a curious and interesting piece of syntactical growth thus laid before us in the existing records of the language.

The story is not complete, however, without bringing in also the fate of the perfect participle. In his treatment of this form as it appears in the Brāhmaṇas (377–81), the author appears to me to overlook the fact that it has not simply a past or “preterital” sense, but that variety of past sense which belongs to the aorist

as a tense: namely, present result of past action; it has become, in short, the corresponding participle to the aorist. It will be seen on examination that he is obliged to use the auxiliary *have* in translating every one of his "preterital" examples with one exception (ÇB. IX ii 3. 30: 378<sup>a</sup>); and in that the meaning is the same as in the rest; and in one example (AB. V 34. 1: 378<sup>b</sup>) the participle is actually co-ordinated with a series of aorist tenses. As for his exceptional or non-preterital cases, they all either admit of or require a different explanation. The unreduplicated *vidvāṅs* is of course no proper exception; it goes with its tense, which, through the whole history of the language, is present and only present. Of the two instances of *suṣupvāṅs*, the one from TS. (VI 1. 4<sup>1</sup>: 377<sup>b</sup>) is certainly misunderstood: *dīkṣitāt suṣupvāṅs* does not mean "from him who lies asleep as one consecrated," but 'from him who has slept during his consecration'; the analogy of various parallel passages (e. g. TS. V 6. 3<sup>1</sup>; VI 6. 7<sup>1</sup>) clearly shows this. And the other instance may be taken in the same way, and must be, because otherwise it would be a single unsupported case: not "the eyes are moist of one who sleeps," but 'of one who has been sleeping,' i. e. 'has just waked up,' and who therefore does not at once 'see clearly' (*vi-ikṣ*). Even at RV. I 161. 13 (375<sup>a</sup>) the true meaning is evidently the same; it is people who 'have been sleeping' (*suṣupvāṅsas*) that ask "who has waked us up?" Under the head of the middle participle, *anūcāna* is the only exception recognized by our author; and that too is plainly no real exception: *brāhmaṇāḥ ṣuṣruvāṅso 'nūcānā vidvāṅsah* (quoted 379<sup>a</sup> from ÇB.; like combinations are found repeatedly elsewhere) means literally 'Brahmans who have heard, who have repeated, who know,' i. e. who have been under the instruction of a teacher, who have learned to reproduce the sacred texts, and who consequently possess the true knowledge. That both *ṣuṣruvāṅs* and *anūcāna* then come to be used substantively (especially the latter, which becomes a kind of synonym for 'learned') is only what is liable to happen to any adjective frequently employed in a technical sense. So far as I have observed (and my attention has been particularly directed to the subject), the perfect participle, whether active or middle, is always used in *brāhmaṇa* in a sense corresponding to that of the aorist in the same texts.

When giving an account of the future in RV. (290<sup>a</sup>), the author might well, I think, have noticed its remarkable rarity in that text



(personal forms from only nine roots), and its rapid increase in frequency later, as the subjunctive goes out of use; and a similar statement is true, and equally called for, in regard to the optative (302).

Coming next to the modes, the author repeats (302 ff.) the doctrine taught by him in the first part of the *Syntactische Forschungen* (1871), and hence widely known to students of syntax: namely, that the fundamental distinction between subjunctive and optative is the expression by the former of an action *willed*, by the latter of an action *wished*. To this doctrine I have never been able to give my assent, especially for these reasons:

1. I do not find a sufficiently well-marked difference of sense of the kind asserted between the two modes, but only such a preponderance, on the whole, of the sense of wishing on the side of the optative as might easily come about by gradual differentiation of usage between two originally equivalent formations;
2. because there is yet another mode, the imperative, to which, if to anything, the expression of an action *willed* properly belongs;
3. because the proposed explanation takes no heed of one marked formal distinction between the two modes—namely, that the subjunctive has primary personal endings, but the optative secondary; and no explanation that does not account for this feature along with the rest can have any right to be regarded as more than conjectural and provisional; while it looks very far from probable that such a difference has anything to do with a distinction between willing and wishing.

Delbrück denies (353<sup>e</sup>) to the 2d pl. and the 2d and 3d du. of the imperative any true imperative character, because they agree in form with the augmentless imperfect persons, or the "injunctive," as he joins with Brugman in calling them. The unmistakable occurrence of a 2d and 3d sing. and a 3d pl. of real imperative formation, and the occurrence in the other allied languages of a 2d pl. to match the 2d sing., seem to me sufficient to make overwhelmingly probable that the accordance in form between imperative and "injunctive" in the persons in question (at least in the plural, for we may leave out of consideration the dual, as of minor consequence) is simply accidental, a result of the leveling forces of linguistic change. If we had only the evidence of English to infer from, we might think that the preterit and participle of our New conjugation (as *loved* and *loved*, *sent* and *sent*, and so on), or our possessives singular and plural (*horse's* and *horses'* and the

like), were identical; but the belief, even in the absence of proof to the contrary, would be a crude and hasty one, to be rejected by all prudent scholars.

Of the present participle we find (368\*) another of those curiously unedifying definitions already instanced above: it "is associated with a noun in the sentence in order to express that the noun occurs in an action (action taken in the widest sense) which falls into the action of the sentence." Students of a Vedic syntax perhaps hardly require to have a participle defined for them; but no one who did not know beforehand what it was would be likely to recognize it from this description—which, moreover, for aught that can be seen, applies to any kind of a verbal adjective (e. g. to *active* as well as *acting*), and not to that kind alone which we call participle.

In treating the absolute constructions (386 ff.), it would seem to be the more instructive method to put first the transition-cases, those which admit of being understood as either the ordinary case-construction or the absolute, in order to illustrate the way in which the latter originated. That transition-examples for the genitive absolute as well as for the locative are to be found in the *brāhmaṇa* is so much a matter of course that our author hardly needs to fortify himself (389\*) with another's opinion to that effect; the only question is whether there is not to be found an example that oversteps the line, and requires to be viewed as a real absolute construction; and such seems to occur at AB. VII 27. 4: *teṣāṃ ho 'tliṣṭhalām* 'as they rose up.' It is strange that Saussure, in his discussion of the genitive absolute, wholly ignores this item, the most interesting of all from the point of view of comparative syntax—its origination out of an ordinary possessive genitive. One wonders whether the beginnings of an instrumental absolute may not also be found in the earlier language, as they are in the later (cf. Speijer, *Sanskrit Syntax*, p. 290)—beginnings which, having never been developed by usage into a customary construction, are of as little account in Sanskrit as in English (e. g. "we should be much better off *with him gone*"). A noun and agreeing participle can hardly be put together in any way without creating the possibility, if not making the suggestion, of a dependent clause or quasi-clause.

I have elsewhere in this Journal ("On Böhlingk's Upanishads," vol. XI, p. 411) remarked upon the curious obstinacy of the Jena Sanskrit scholars in adhering to the accentuation *-lārya* (instead

of *-lavṛā*) for the gerundives quoted from ÇB. The author explains his action in the note to p. 398: "In this work, in passages from ÇB., I have retained the accent *-lavṛā*, chosen by Weber, because the [native] grammarians also authorize it." This is trifling with the subject. As between two admissible interpretations of the same accent-marks of the MSS., Weber, in the first published Brāhmaṇa text, did indeed "choose" the wrong one; but, when all the other accented texts had given their testimony against it, he long ago saw his (wholly natural and excusable) error, and had even retracted it publicly in 1886, in the second volume (p. 70) of his Catalogue of the Berlin manuscripts; so that Delbrück's vain attempt to save the credit of the Hindu native grammar rests solely upon his own authority.

In treating (401 ff.) of the gerunds (or absolutes, as he prefers to call them), the author unaccountably fails to point out that the one in *-am* is nothing but the adverbially used accusative of a derivative verbal noun in *-a*; and he laboriously avoids the use of the name "adverb" in explaining its value and use. The "verbum infinitum" in Sanskrit really includes adverbs as well as nouns and adjectives. Nor does he take any notice of the current and acceptable explanation of those in *-tvā* and *-ya* (earlier *-yā*) as also case-forms of nouns; and he impliedly denies them that origin by including in his definition of their fundamental character the designation of past action. Now it may be true, as he claims (405<sup>c</sup>), that the gerund always admits of being rendered as past; but certainly in nearly all cases it also admits of being rendered as present. Its past value is, in my opinion, akin with that of the passive participle in *-ta* (of which his definition, quoted above, p. 276, says nothing of past action); it is not inherent, but, though predominant, only given by the circumstances of each case.

Under the infinitives (410 ff.), it would have been interesting to know what the author's present opinion is in regard to the quasi-modal uses of those in *-dhyāi* and *-sani*. They are very peculiar conversions of the constructions properly belonging to such case-forms, but doubtless only that; that they show any pro-ethnic connection between infinitive and imperative is not to be credited.

I fail entirely to see why the perfectly natural construction of an ablative infinitive with *purā* tends (418<sup>b</sup>) to support the assumption of an ablative rather than a genitive with *madhyā*.

The chapter on the prepositional prefixes (432 ff.) is very good and instructive, and the determination of their grades of nearness

to the verb has much that is new and worthy of attention. Under the head of two or more prefixes with the same verb would have been welcome a plainer distinction between those cases in which the prefixes are added to the verb as it were on equal terms, and those in which there has been an integration of the verb with the nearer prefix, and another is then added somewhat as it might have been added to a simple verb. Thus (to take an extreme instance), *upa-viç* having won the special meaning 'sit down,' it becomes possible even to add the same prefix a second time in more casual connection, and we find (in the later language) *upa-upa-viç* 'sit down beside.' So, in Vedic use, *abhi-sam bhū* is not at all made by adding *abhi* and *sam* to *bhū*; but, *sam-bhū* having obtained in familiar use the sense 'come into being,' the addition of *abhi* gives it power to take an accusative object of the condition or the form of being 'into' which anything comes: e. g. *janitvam abhisambabhūtha* 'thou hast entered into wifehood,' i. e. hast become wife. The variations in character of combination even of a single prefix with a verb are very considerable, according as it purely modifies the verbal sense or makes a connection between this and adjuncts—in other words, according as it is more adverbial or more prepositional in value; and this is especially true of a second prefix.

To note a few details: Under *adhi* with the sense of 'plus' (441<sup>b</sup>), the curious example at ÇB. X iv 3. 8 might well have been quoted; and, further down, *ah* might have been added to *brū* and *vac* as used with *adhi*; the explanation of how these compounds arrive at the sense 'bless' (so rendered 559<sup>b</sup>) is not at all satisfactory. The pregnant sense in which *anu* is used in *brāhmaṇa*, as 'along with and in consequence of,' is (445<sup>b</sup>) quite insufficiently recognized. Under *apa* (446–47), *apa umbh* would have been worth notice; it is rendered at 370° simply 'bind,' which is obviously inexact. The close analogy of *api* (447) as prefix with Gr. *ἐνι* might well have been pointed out. *Hinzu*, 'unto or on to,' would, I think, have better represented its sense than *herzu* or *hinein*; nor is it from the sense of 'on,' but rather from that of 'to,' that the adverbial value as 'too, also, even' appears to be developed (as in the case of our own *too*). It is a curious question whether any remnant of the apparently original sense of *ἀμφι* or *umbe* belonging to *abhi* is to be traced in its derivative *abhitas* 'roundabout,' or whether this value comes purely from the Sanskrit value of *abhi*, in which, certainly, no shade of 'about' is

discoverable. I see no difficulty about *ava-tar* "overpower" (450<sup>a</sup>); it is *ava-tirati*, and means properly 'drag down.' Osthoff's suggestion (453<sup>a</sup>) that the preposition *ā* is a mere strengthener of the proper meaning of the case with which it is used seems to me hardly worthy of the respect with which it is here mentioned. That *ud-gā* (453<sup>b</sup>) means "begin singing" cannot, I think, be shown; *ud* denotes conclusion rather than commencement. For *ud-man* (453<sup>b</sup>) read *ud-mad* 'go crazy.' *Upa-vad* (455<sup>b</sup>) perhaps rather 'impute (something) in words'; and *upa-stor* 'spread under' as something to be lain upon, in accordance with the proper meaning of *upa*. *Ni-pad* has also the special sense 'lie with.' A peculiar use of *vi* with *hū* or *lvā* and two or three other roots, as meaning 'severally, on the one side and the other,' is omitted in the account of this preposition (464-67), though observed by the author in translating—not, however, at 568<sup>b</sup>, where *vi-ṣap* evidently has the sense of 'swear severally,' and is mistranslated as "quarrel." Omitted, too, is *sam-viṣ* 'turn in, lie down.'

Respecting the particles (471 ff.) one is tempted to make the general criticism that many of them are treated at rather excessive length in comparison with their importance and with the results attained. The author also almost seems to have laid it down as a principle that he will neither mention nor have any regard to the etymologies of the words, even to the make-up of the compound ones: thus, in briefly noticing *tvāi*, *tvāvā*, etc. (491<sup>b</sup>), he does not say that they are contracted combinations of *tū vai*, etc., and so might naturally have the united value of their two constituents; and neither under *id* nor under *ned*, *svid*, *kuvīd* is any reference made to their relationship, although, by an exception, *ced* is fully explained (596<sup>o</sup>) as *ca + id*; that *ed* (184) belongs to the same group, notwithstanding the author's exclusion of it, I think I have satisfactorily shown in the Proc. Am. Or. Soc. for October, 1888 (Journ., vol. XIV, p. xi); further, it is hardly made to appear (514 ff.) that *nu* in its ordinary use is nothing more than a weakened 'now.' The special use of *iti* in PB., as pointing forward instead of back, might well have been pointed out on p. 533: examples are found at IV 6. 17; VI 3. 11; 5. 16, 21, etc. (always *yat tv ity āhuḥ ṣaḍbhir ito māsāir . . . iti*, and the like).

I do not see that the accentuation of a verb after *kuvīd*, any more than after *hanta*, marks the clause as dependent (551<sup>a</sup>).

It is unnecessary to say that the versions given by the author

of the illustrative passages which he quotes in abundance on every page are extremely good, especially those from the Brāhmaṇas. In dealing with the latter, no one has shown in the same measure as he the ability to combine accuracy and readableness. He sometimes renders the same word or phrase, now and then even in the same passage, differently in different parts of the volume—instances are *svad*, "fruchtbar machen" 30<sup>a</sup>, "schmackhaft machen" 286<sup>a</sup>, "angenehm machen" 523<sup>a</sup>; *upa-jñā*, "Sorge tragen" 329<sup>b</sup>, "nachdenken" 349<sup>b</sup>; *sarvam ājim i*, "das ganze Spiel ausspielen" 385<sup>a</sup>, "jede Anstrengung bestehen" 537<sup>b</sup>; and so on—but in general the variation only represents fairly the uncertainty that clings to much of the language of these works; "Lied," however, for *sūnṛtā* at 371<sup>a</sup>, while it is rendered "Freundlichkeit" at 375<sup>a</sup>, is more serious, the former translation being a false one, taken from the native commentators. Also, such loosenesses as "Zeit" for *saṃvatsara* (13<sup>b</sup>), "beissen" for *han* (182<sup>a</sup>), "essen" for *pratigrāhi bhū* (182<sup>b</sup>), "Zahlwort" for *vāc* (320<sup>a</sup>), "verlieren" for *rudh* (343<sup>a</sup>), "Weg" for *kṣetra* (383<sup>a</sup>), "Loch" for *prāṇa* (71<sup>a</sup>), are of little account, being mainly adaptations to the circumstances of each case. A real oversight is a rare and accidental occurrence. There is one at 498<sup>a</sup> (from MS. III 2. 5), where the second *iti*-clause is wrongly connected with what precedes instead of with what follows: the sentence means '... he should take [the grain] from its direction, saying "I have taken from them food and refreshment."' So also (253<sup>a</sup>: like Müller before him and Böhtlingk after him), in a Bṛhad-Āraṇyaka passage (ÇB. XIV iv 2. 18), he connects the first *evam* incorrectly with the succeeding clause, instead of taking it as by itself the whole apodosis. This value of *evam* is noticed by him at 534<sup>b</sup>, and is not rare; his explanation of it does not satisfy one; the particle represents simply an abbreviated clause, and has no special analogy with the use of *iti*. Another decided oversight is found at 370<sup>a</sup>, where *kaniṣṭham prajāyate* 'has least progeny' is translated as if it were *kaniṣṭho jāyate* 'is born the smallest'; the former may be true of the ass among domestic animals, but certainly the latter is not. One more example (29<sup>b</sup>), of another kind, from the Rig-Veda, may be noticed, because our author repeats in regard to it an error which is committed by a whole series of translators and dictionary- and chrestomathy-makers (though the minor Pet. lex. has corrected it). It is the word *ayoddhār*, occurring in vs. 6 of the spirited Indra-hymn I 32, and rendered "coward," as if literally 'non-

fighter.' But this interpretation, according to ordinary rule, would imply the accent *áyoddhar*, while *ayoddhár* is the accentuation belonging to a possessive compound, and the word should mean rather 'not having a fighter': that is (compare *indracátru*, etc.), 'not finding any one to fight him,' or 'unmatched.' The accent, to be sure, could not be absolutely relied on to settle the matter, if the connection also did not plainly demand the normal sense. To call *Vṛtra* a coward because he dared to challenge *Indra* to combat is evidently the height of injustice; the act exhibits rather a foolhardy courage—which is precisely what the epithet (*durmada*) in the verse attributes to him.

That in *praçnam i* (167°, 441°) the *praçnam* is to be understood as infinitive I have pointed out in the article last quoted (JAOS., vol. XIV, p. x); and also (ib.) that *prāiṣam ich* (237°, 403°) means 'send out and seek, seek earnestly.' In connection with this last passage (403-4) it should be mentioned that the author appears to misunderstand the sense of *prāiṣāis* and *pariyāyāis* in AB. III 9. 1 and IV 5. 3; they signify 'by means of the *prāiṣas*' and 'by means of the *pariyāyas*': i. e. of the sacred utterances called by these names; then, in each case, there is a word-play made by putting alongside them the gerunds *prāiṣam* and *pariyāyam*. At 483° he renders *vralā* by 'Beschäftigung'; this looks rather as if he agreed with me in deriving the word from the root *vṛt* (Proc. Am. Or. Soc. for Oct. 1884; Journ., vol. XI, p. ccxxix); I am very confident that this is its true etymology; the various derivations from *vṛ* are not more discordant with one another than they are together forced and unsatisfactory.

We may now look through the text in order, raising here and there a question, or offering a suggestion, on matters of translation of greater or less consequence, for the possible benefit of a second edition of the work. *Çriyāi sthā* (7°, 143°), rather 'support the majesty' than "be under the command." "Spirit" (*Geist*) is a new sense for *çaritra* 'body' (16°). *Kam* (32°) is not "why" (*was*); but this is perhaps meant only as a conveniently (but unnecessarily) loose translation. "Protect against" seems further from the natural meaning of *uruṣya* (110°) than is called for. Why should the locative *daçame māsi* (117°: of the birth of a foetus) mean "after the tenth month" rather than 'in' it? The explanation given (143°) of *ā vrççya-* seems far from satisfactory, especially as the verb takes also, and oftener, a locative case; and at 248° it is rendered quite otherwise; the original sense of the phrase is to

me very obscure. *Bhandiṣṭha* (189<sup>b</sup>) is, I think, clearly the superlative corresponding to *bhadra* 'excellent'; I see in it no meaning of noisy exultation. *Vi.bhaj* in the middle voice (201<sup>c</sup>) signifies 'share among themselves' rather than "cut to pieces." *Bhū* with *kva* (255<sup>b</sup> et al.) has the sense 'what has become of?' as the author himself translates *as* with *kva* at 337°. *Vi.sṛj* (256<sup>b</sup>) is perhaps rather 'let go, release.' I find it very difficult to admit the rendering "überlassen" (256°) for *pra-su*, which regularly means something very different; nor is *parā-as* 'throw away' well represented (260°) by "shove aside." "Devise" (*erfinden*) for *vidān kṛ* (299° et al.) seems to connect the form with the root 2 *vid* 'find.' At 316° and some other places, it would be better to bring out the more original sense of *satya* as 'real, actual'; *tāt satyām it tāva* (RV. VIII 93, 5 and I 1. 6: 579°) means doubtless 'that on thy part actually takes place'; it 'comes true,' rather than 'is true.' *Pra-mī* (334°) hardly means "liegen bleiben," nor *pari-ā-dā* (343°) "abwendig machen." *Bhūta*, as contrasted with *bhavya*, *bhaviṣyat*, etc. (345° et al.), means, I think, 'the present' ('what has come to be') rather than "the past": cf. ÇB. II iii 1. 24, where the two are co-ordinated with 'what is born' (*jātā*) and 'what shall be born' (*janīṣyāmāṇa*), with the 'arrived' (*āgata*) and the 'expected' (*iṣṭā*), with 'to-day' (*adyā*) and 'to-morrow' (*śvās*). *Adadivāṇs* (352°) has not the general sense of "stingy," but is specifically 'he who has not given.' *Añcu* "drop" (371°) looks like an oversight. The radical sense in *jaritar*, *gṛṇīmasi*, etc. (374°, 414°, et al.), cannot be "implore." Nor is *abhiṭaḥ pari sthā* (383°) "zur Seite treten," nor *pracyutaḥ parastāt* (394°) "verschwunden," nor *tanaya* (395°) "Heerden." I should regard *asmiṇ jāyamāne* at 387° as the normal rather than the absolute construction of the locative. Why should the sense of *puṣyan manye* 'I think to see' (395°) be doubtful? I do not apprehend (ib.) any peculiar construction of the participle with *akāṇiṣam*. *Gūḍhrī* (misprinted *yūḍhrī*: 405°) is certainly not "having driven away"; nor can I find "lie" in *abhi-druh* (476°), nor "seize" in *nī-yam* (478°). For *iti vāi vayān vidma* (481°), 'this is what we know' seems to fit both the expression and the connection decidedly better than "so können wir es." In the translation of ÇB. I ix 1. 19 (495°) the words *weniger* and *mehr* have been transposed by an oversight. *Arātīy* (ib.) has a more positive meaning than "grudge," I think. At 536° we have *uttara* rendered as "high," as "higher," and as "highest," without any sufficient reason. "Rever-



ence" for *sac* (557<sup>b</sup>) is too far from the proper meaning; and in *tap* (563<sup>a</sup>) it is, as usual, rather the heat than the radiance that is intended. Why should not 'Parjanya' (*parjanyaḥ*) as well as "the cloud" bring water (573<sup>b</sup>)? At 582<sup>a</sup>, *āminās* is translated as if it had no accent; the apodosis does not properly come until the following line. *Ā-kṣi* (584<sup>a</sup>) must mean 'dwell upon,' not "rule over." "Church" (*Kirche*) for the Brahman caste (585<sup>a</sup>) seems quite too modern and Occidental. How is the accent of *ānṛta-deva* (586<sup>a</sup>) to be explained if the word is made to mean "one who plays falsely"? 'one who has false gods' is surely the better rendering.

There are a few cases where it appears to me better to question the reading and suggest an emendation than to try to deal with the text as it stands. The most noteworthy, perhaps, is at ÇB. XI v 1. 1, where, for the only time in the language, so far as my knowledge goes, we have the prohibitive *mā* with a subjunctive, and where we also much need a *mā* pronoun; I can hardly think it doubtful that we are to change *akāmāṁ sma mā nī padyāsāi* to *akāmāṁ sma mā nā nī padyāsāi* 'thou shalt not lie with me against my will' (33<sup>a</sup>, 316<sup>b</sup>). Since *bhāvant* 'your worship' is construed in all ages of the language, as its sense demands, only with a verb in the 3d person, we doubtless have, at ÇB. XIV ix 1. 5 (83<sup>a</sup>, 204<sup>b</sup>), to emend *avocas* to *avocat*. In ÇB. III ii 3. 1 (30<sup>a</sup>) *iyus* should evidently be *iyus*, optative (so also ÇB. I vii 4. 12). At ÇB. XI vi 1. 3 (404<sup>b</sup>), *vibhājamanāu* must be, I presume, a bad reading for *vibhajyāmānau*. At 448<sup>b</sup> we are hardly called upon to admit such a compound as *paścātprāñcas*; *paścātprāñcas* would be not even an alteration of the reading, but only of the transcription. In AV. XII 4. 3 (269<sup>b</sup>) *diyate* as passive of *dā* 'divide' is extremely unsatisfactory; I should prefer to understand *ā diyate* (*kāñyā* "diyate") 'is taken away.' On the other hand, the author's alteration (269<sup>a</sup>) of the *pada*-reading in AV. XII 5. 25, *api-nahyāmāne*, to *-nā* seems quite uncalled-for; *mūkhe* 'pinahyāmāne' is locative absolute.

A few more minor matters of a general character may be noticed before bringing this criticism to a close. To lay it down as a principle (17<sup>a</sup>) that the predicate noun comes first in a sentence and the subject later is, in my opinion, to put the case too strongly; numerous and important errors have followed from its adoption by some translators. *Are* (35<sup>a</sup>), it seems clear, is by origin vocative of *ari* 'enemy,' which has become *ari* and then into a word

of chiding or of *de haut en bas* address. The expression (49<sup>a</sup>) "less often *apagalê*" (instead of *āpagale*) does not do justice to the rare and exceptional character of this accentuation of the passive participle with prefix. On p. 50, third and second line from below, *Hauptsatzes* is an erratum for *Nebensatzes* (the work is, on the whole, so carefully and correctly printed that errata, though not entirely absent, are very uncommon and almost always of insignificant importance). A more philosophical account of the agreement (83<sup>a</sup>) of a verb in the 1st person with combined pronouns of 1st and 2d or 3d, and in the 2d person with those of 2d and 3d, would be that 'I and you' or 'I and they,' etc., are equivalent to 'we,' while 'you and they,' etc., are summed up in 'you,' and that they take their verbs accordingly. Among words of two genders (94<sup>b</sup>) *div* chances to be overlooked; also (95<sup>a</sup>) the curious masc. accus. *mātṛn*. Would it not be more proper to say of *nī-ī* (110<sup>a</sup>) that it had become mixed up with *nīl-i* for *nir-i*? One does not quite see why the cases of two ablatives with a verb (111<sup>b</sup>) are not put under the head of attraction (89). *Cirê* (117<sup>b</sup>) belongs rather to the adverbial locatives (122<sup>a</sup>); and in like manner *kṣamā* is rather adverb (129<sup>a</sup>) than requiring to be treated as a normal instrumental case. Why should we have *Vāyus niyutvān* (145<sup>a</sup>) instead of *Vāyu niyutvant*? and why, yet worse, *dyāus asura* (522<sup>a</sup>)? This latter has won a degree of currency which is to me, at least, altogether unaccountable and very offensive. Why *Dyāus* any more than *Indras*, *Agnis*, *Vishnus*, and so on? And by adding to it *asura* we obtain not only a discordance with all other names, but even, into the bargain, an inconsistency with itself, since we ought at least to say *Dyāus asuras* if we do not say *Dyu asura*. No one, I am sure, can give any good reason for using the (highly irregular) nominative form of this particular word, instead of the stem-form as everywhere else, and the senseless practice ought to be frowned summarily out of existence. The genitives with *pra-han* and *ni-han* (161<sup>a</sup>) seem to me to call more distinctly for the subaudition of a governing noun than other cases in which the author is ready to assume such; but *rakṣāsas* with *prati-han* is undoubtedly accus. pl; the RV. reads *prāti daha* instead of *prāti jahi*. To 163<sup>b</sup> the author is obliged to add in a note (600) a genitive dependent on *ihā*; I long ago pointed out in this Journal (III 405) like constructions with *yātra* (see now my Skt. Gr., §299 b). The reason given (183<sup>b</sup>) for such a construction as *agrcṇa ṣālām* does not seem to

me of any value whatever. In the explanation of the adverbial suffix *-vat* (186°), the author overlooks the fact that in the Veda *-vant* is a suffix also of resemblance: *manuvát* is like the accus. *indravát* 'what is like Indra.' Such adverbs as *yathākāmam* (188°), or rather the adjectives of which they are originally the adverbially used accusatives (though the adverbial use has come to be far more common than the adjectival), are, it appears to me, modeled on such as *tathākratu*, *tathāvidha*, etc., which do not violate the rules of ordinary Sanskrit composition. The analogy between *tathā* and *yathā* as part of speech is stronger than their discordance as demonstrative and relative. *Praçām* (197°) was hardly worth mentioning so briefly and slightly; it is the sole quotable example of a whole type of declension as stated by the Hindu grammarians, and is a puzzle as regards both form and value. That such words as *çirgatas* should be called (199°) "nouns in *-tas*" seems rather queer. As regards the curious addition of a pronoun repeating a noun (subject or other: 215°), it is doubtless to be regarded simply as a pronominal redundancy, such as is not uncommon in our modern languages (e. g. 'this man, he said'), and is especially frequent in French, even in standing constructions ('the man, is he here?' etc.). A further striking example is seen at ÇB. I vi 3. 16: *tād v evā khālu hatō vṛtrāḥ sà . . . çigye* 'so forsooth Vṛtra, being slain, he lay,' etc. And at XIV iv 4. 1-3 there is even a double repetition: *tēṣāṁ nāmāṁ vāg ity etād eṣām ukthām* 'of these names speech, so called—it was their hymn' (and so in two following sentences). That the idiom is not entirely restricted to ÇB. is shown by the occurrence of a similar case in Ch. U. V 1. 12: *atha ha prāṇa uccikramiṣant sa yathā suhayaḥ . . . sam akhidat* 'so then the breath, being on the point of going out, it . . . tore up,' etc. At 309°, *achānta* should be written *achāntta*, and, at 315°, *āyudhvī* in like manner *dyuddhvī*, according to their etymological value; what the manuscripts, even if unanimous, may write in such cases is not of the slightest consequence; to the grammarians and the scribes, *nt* and *nl*, and *dhv* and *ddhv*, and the like, are equivalent combinations, interchangeable under all circumstances (see my Skt. Gr., §232); editors of texts merely waste their time and space by noting differences of reading in regard to such points. At 315°, the "verse" which the author rightly surmises is RV. X 38. 5, with some differences of reading. I do not see on what ground forms like *yeṣam* (see my Skt. Gr.<sup>2</sup>, §894 c) are simply reckoned (356°)

as "injunctive"; something in real explanation of them would be very welcome. I have not struck out *vakṣi* from the list of imperatively used 2d persons, and see no good reason for doing so (365<sup>a</sup>). In AV. XII 4. 42 (553<sup>a</sup>), the second *pluta*-sign is not wanting in the *pada*-text: see AV. Prāt. I 97 and note. I do not understand why the proper aorist meaning is assumed to be normal for *bhūt* (576<sup>b</sup>); an augmentless form has no tense-character.

Here and there the author raises a question or suggests a correction concerning statements made in my Sanskrit grammar, and of these I take notice in conclusion. *Gāulamabruvāṇā* (76<sup>a</sup>) I find myself unable to support by a reference, and I presume that, as he surmises, it comes from a mistaken apprehension of the vocative *gāūlama bruvāṇa* in ÇB. *Paristubdhā* (201<sup>a</sup>) was an error, and, as such, already struck out in my second edition. *Avāci* (267<sup>a</sup>) occurs twice in KB. XIV 3 (also repeatedly in Sātras, as ÇCS. VII 9. 6). *Vibhajyāmāna* in the AV. Index Verborum is an erratum for *-bhāj-*, as found in the text. As regards the Brāhmaṇa usage of active and middle verb-forms, the few discordances between his observations and mine (§§147-52, p. 229 ff.) come in part from the differences between his classification of 'V' and 'P' and mine of 'V' and 'B'; my 'V' includes only RV., AV., and SV., and my 'B' does not exclude *mantra*-material occurring in the other earliest texts. *Sac* as active, then, is found in VS. XXXVIII 20 and elsewhere; *svad* as active in VS. and TB. (see the Pet. lex.); and *asṛpta* at AB. VII 3. 4. Of *ikṣ* as active, *abhivyāikṣat* occurs in AA. II 4. 3. 10; the text there gives *-āikhyat*, but this must be a false reading for *-āikṣat*, which the Upanishad has in the corresponding passage, III 13. For *jṛmbh* the one active form from AB. is all that I have also; but it is sufficient. *Plu* is active at ŞB. V 12; see the Pet. lex. *Akṣ* is middle in MS. IV (p. 32. 8). From *an*, *prāṇeta* as 3d sing. occurs more than once in JB. II 57. *Kūj*, active, is found in VS. (XXII 7) and elsewhere; *bhū*, middle, in TA.; *vidmahe* in MS. II (p. 119. 7); *śṛṅgyantas* in RV. From *ās* we find the active participle *āsīṣyānt* in TS. VII 1. 19<sup>2</sup>. Middle forms of *mā* are not attributed by me to the Brāhmaṇa. I have a middle person of *sā* credited to TB., but I am unable to find the reference, and suspect that it is an error. My ascription of active to *edh* was made solely upon the basis of a bad reading in TA. (VI 7. 2), which I regarded as meant for *edhyāsam*; but this was insufficient, and the item

should be struck out. From *bhṛ* and *yudh* I have no middle forms from Brāhmaṇa noted, but, as these are found both earlier and later, I assumed their occurrence there also; in such specialties of Brāhmaṇa usage, the author's observations are more to be trusted than mine.

I should add that I was unfortunately unable to make any use of this work in correcting my grammar for its second edition, as it did not come to my hands until the printing of that edition was completed, and I was preparing its index.

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## II.—THE SONG OF SONGS.

The following observations are the outcome of a recent study of the Song of Songs, in which the writer seemed to himself to gain a clear view of some passages which have formed a stumbling-block to many interpreters. He therefore wishes to lay his conclusions before critics and seeks their judgment. It must, however, be remembered that an article like this is not exhaustive of the subject. When the translation and notes are published in full, they will give the key to anything which is left obscure here; while the author gladly seizes the opportunity of an article in this learned periodical, to explain the reasons for some dealings with the text that require justification and yet could not be suitably inserted in the notes of a book intended for general use. It will be seen in the following pages that the author does not hold a brief for the exact transmitted text, masora and all, but detects the same sort of corruptions as are found in all books that have been transmitted from a great antiquity by handwriting; of which the varying readings of the Greek and other ancient versions afford sufficient proofs. In not a few manifestly corrupt passages it appears possible to recover the original text by conjecture, involving the alteration of only a few letters, yet substituting good sense for manifest nonsense.

We have here a conversation between several persons, carried on through the whole piece. The constant occurrence of the first and second person pronoun and verb proves this: i. 3, 4 "girls love *thee*. Take *us, we* will run after *thee*"; i. 5 "Black am *I*." The use of the first person pronoun in the plural (as in the above passages) shows that besides the individuals there is also a chorus of several persons; and we know what they are, for they are addressed as "ladies of Jerusalem" (i. 5, etc.). The individuals who are discovered at once are two: 1) the girl, called in vii. 1 [Eng. vi. 13] a Shulammite, or inhabitant of Sholam or Shulam, and probably in the original text at vi. 12, vii. 2 [1] daughter of Amminadab. She is generally present and speaking; she tries to interest the chorus in her fate: i. 5, 6, 12, 14, ii. 3-9, v. 2-8, 10-16, vi. 2, viii. 4, and speaks amorously of the charms of her

lover, both to the chorus in the above passages and in dialogue with him: i. 7, 16-ii. 1, 15-17, iv. 16ef, vii. 12 [11]-viii. 2, 6-12. (2) her lover, who speaks in dialogue with her: i. 8-11, 15, ii. 2, 10-14, iv. 7-16d, v. 1a-d, vi. 4-7, vii. 7-10 (6-9), viii. 5c-e, and to himself: vi. 8-9, vii. 1cd. No name is given to him in the text; we only gather that he is a shepherd i. 7, and that he has a garden full of spice-bearing shrubs and vines, iv. 4, v. 1, vi. 2, 11. The chorus is almost if not quite constantly present; it speaks and is addressed in the plural, and is feminine, being always described as "ladies (literally *daughters*) of Jerusalem" i. 2-4 (emended), v. 9, vi. 1, vii. 1ab [vi. 13ab], vii. 2-6 [1-5]. The only other speakers who seem to be required are some persons who may be conjecturally designated citizens of Jerusalem, who observe Solomon's palanquin approaching, and describe it in iii. 6-11, and those who speak vi. 10abc and viii. 5ab, who seem to be the lover's friends.

Of the various kinds of poetry consisting of dialogue—reported dialogue or narrative (epic), direct dialogue (dramatic)—or the very limited dialogue between two persons (bucolic), it is not difficult to see that this poem belongs to the second. The speech is not reported by a third person, but direct. The change of speaker in i. 8 is not introduced by "And the shepherd answered and said," nor in i. 12 have we "And the Shulammitte turned to the ladies of Jerusalem and said." In only one place are such words inserted, in ii. 10 "My beloved answered and said to me"; and here there seem to be sufficient reasons for regarding them as spurious.<sup>1</sup> Besides this, there are manifest changes of scene. The earlier part, as the appellation "ladies of Jerusalem" sufficiently shows, and the mention of the city police in v. 7 more strongly proves, has its seat in the capital; but a removal into the country is announced in vii. 12-14 [11-13] and accomplished at viii. 5.

It will perhaps conduce best to a clear understanding of the plot of this little drama and the problems in it that await solution, if it is here described in as few words as possible, with the divisions of scenes and names of speakers attached according to the judgment of the present writer.

Scene I, i. 2-ii. 7: at the king's residence in Jerusalem. Ladies of his harem call to him as he passes to cheer them with amorous

<sup>1</sup> If genuine context we should have not ענה but יען, and not ואמר but יאמר.

caresses, i. 2-4. The text of these verses exhibits manifold corruption, which may have been introduced through the unwillingness of scribes to allow a chorus of ladies (plural) to claim such intimate relations with the king. I adopt most of the emendations of Rabbi Kohler, of Chicago,<sup>1</sup> with one or two of my own, which together make the speech read thus:

Kiss us from the kisses of thy mouth!  
     for thy caresses are better than wine,  
     and the fragrance of thy mouth (?) than all balsams.  
 Like oil of myrrh are thy kisses;  
     therefore girls love thee.

Take us, we will run after thee;  
     bring us, king, into thy chambers,  
     we will exult and rejoice in thee;  
 We will make merry with thy caresses more than with wine,  
     with thy love more than with strong drink.

There is nothing here to identify this king. But it appears from iii. 11 that Solomon is meant. He passes out, and the Shulammite girl comes in, and addresses the ladies in i. 5, 6, her very first words being skilfully chosen by the writer to exhibit her as a rustic maiden inured to the labors of the fields under a hot sun, contrasting with the luxurious habits of the fine court ladies whom she addresses. The shepherd enters here, and the Shulammite addresses to him i. 27—a verse which exhibits the modesty of her character, while the shepherd's reply shows his confidence in her: no harm can come to one so pure and discreet while seeking him among the shepherds. The lover addresses to her i. 8-11, verses full of affection, to which she responds by speaking to the ladies of his charms in i. 12-14. Then follows an amatory dialogue, the lover speaking i. 15, the girl i. 16, 17, ii. 1, and the lover ii. 2. The Shulammite's words,

“Our couch is green,  
 the walls of our houses are cedars,  
     our beams cypresses,  
 and I am a crocus of Sharon,  
     a lily of the valleys,”

seem to indicate that they live largely in the open air, with trees for their walls and roof; and that she is a lovely flower from the

<sup>1</sup> In his German edition published at New York in 1878; it is full of very ingenious corrections of the text and transpositions, most of which, however, appear to me too wild guess-work to be adopted by a sober critic.



valley (or low land) of Sharon, on the sea-coast between Joppa and Caesarea. The shepherd is elsewhere assigned to En-gedi. Both therefore belong rather to the south than the north of the land. Verses ii. 3-7 are of a very different character; they are spoken to the ladies, and show that the Shulammitte is now exhausted with the excitement produced by the interview with her lover, and desires refreshment and repose. This forms a natural end to the scene; as similar words do also in viii. 4.

The second scene is ii. 8-17. It commences with a speech of the Shulammitte, who has recovered from her fatigue, and now sees her lover running to the house where she is staying. At *v.* 10 he exhorts her to come with him into the country and see the beauties of the spring, the flowers, the birds, etc., thus making it certain that she is not already in the country, and but rarely at Jerusalem as in the previous scene. This speech is introduced by the words "My beloved answered and said to me," which, if the poem is dramatic, cannot possibly be used to indicate a change of speaker; and the absence of any similar expression in other places where a change of person is proved (even by change of gender) as between i. 15 and 16, makes it certain that they are spurious.<sup>1</sup> The lover ends his speech by praising the charm of her voice and asking her to sing him a song (*v.* 14). This she does in *v.* 15; the difference in the subject and rhythm show these lines to be a song; after which she assures him of her affection, but refuses his other request to go away with him, and tells him to go back to his hills before it is too dark (*vv.* 16, 17). The reason for the refusal is not distinctly given, but it may surely be nothing more recondite than the time-honored principle in fiction that the maiden ought not to yield too soon to the entreaties of a lover, but should try him well first. Let it be noted that this scene gives absolutely no countenance to the theory invented by commentators, that the Shulammitte was picked up for her beauty in the country by some of Solomon's people, brought up to Jerusalem and lodged as a prisoner in his harem. For here in Jerusalem her lover gains free access to her, asks her to come (not to *fly*) with him, and she does not reply that she is a prisoner and cannot move. The king is not exhibited as a lover at all; the few verses (i. 9-11, 15, ii. 2)

<sup>1</sup>Grammatically they are hardly justifiable. We desire a particle of connexion (וְעַתָּה or וְעַתָּה); and וְיִאמֶר for וְיִאמֶר is scarcely ever found in Biblical Hebrew, except in the very peculiar language of the book Ecclesiastes, and never in this poem.

sometimes assigned to him form quite naturally a part of her lover's discourse with her.<sup>1</sup>

We now reach the little scene iii. 1-5, which is full of difficulties. The Shulammite tells how she sought her lover in her bed at night, and not finding him, went out into the streets in search of him, and was met by the watchmen, but afterwards found him and would not let him go till she had brought him to her mother's house (far away in the country, vii. 12-14). As she says "I seized him (past tense), and now will not let him go (future tense)," we expect to find him constantly with her; yet in v. 2 she is alone in bed and he trying in vain to be admitted. This leads to the discovery that the scene commencing at v. 2 is closely similar to this, in fact a kind of duplicate of it. Both scenes occur at bedtime; here she is thinking of her lover, there he is calling and asking to be admitted. In both she rises and goes out to find him and meets the watchmen, who in v. 7 beat her. This is the end of the story in ch. v.; whereas here it is added that afterwards she did find him. Thus the story is identical, and so are several of the lines: iii. 1c = v. 6d, iii. 3a = v. 7a, and v. 6e = iii. 1d + 2f in LXX (omitted in the Hebrew). But the scene in ch. iii. begins with the verse which all the commentators wish away and none can justify, in which she says that she used to seek her lover *on her bed in the nights* (plural, and therefore not once only but in many nights). This is incredible of a girl who is shown to be perfectly virtuous and modest: see i. 7, iv. 12, and especially viii. 1, 2, where she wishes he were her brother, as then she could kiss him without impropriety; which she must not now, as they are only lovers; and she cannot in any case be so immodest as to tell such a story of herself. The duplication of the scene of itself raises the suspicion that one of the versions is a spurious repetition; and the other difficulties make the suspicion almost a certainty. Comparing the scenes together, we find that the offensive words in iii. 1a "Upon my bed in the nights" are absent from v. 2a, and that those in iii. 1c "I used to seek him but found him not"

<sup>1</sup>The line i. 9a seems to have occasioned this misunderstanding, being interpreted "To my mare in Pharaoh's chariots"—absurdly, since one mare cannot pull many chariots. הֲדָר must be collective "horses" (Vulg. *equitatus*). וְהָדָר is a peculiar form of stat. const. (Ewald, §211, b. 1) used before a preposition, so that the sense is "To the horses in Pharaoh's chariots," words which need not be attributed to the king, but may be spoken by any one.

are in another place in v. 6d, where they are unobjectionable, being said not of seeking of him in the bed, but of looking for him in the city; and that even in ch. iii. they occur again, naturally, in v. 2e. The reason for her going to seek him in the city is credibly given in ch. v.: he had come in the night and asked to be admitted; she refused and he went away; then she was sorry and went out to bring him back, and met the watchmen, who took her for a vagrant and illtreated her. This is clearly the true version of the story. An interpolator has made iii. 1-5 out of it and spoiled it. For the first line "While I was sleeping, though my mind was awake" he has substituted "Upon my bed in the nights," apparently without perceiving the scandal these words would raise in connexion with the next lines "I used to seek him whom my soul loves; I sought him, but found him not." He omits the lines at the beginning which account for her conduct v. 2-6c, and yet carelessly allows iii. 1 to stand. He mentions her question to the watchmen, but omits to say that they beat her (v. 7cde), probably deeming it either unlikely or unnecessary to the story. Here the original story ends; but the interpolator, thinking that it wants a dénouement, adds the remark that afterwards she found him, and that she seized him and will not let him go till she has brought him to her mother's house. Surely it was not for her to insist on bringing him there, but for him to go and demand her in marriage. Thus all the contents of this little scene are impossible, either as being a repetition of what is better given in ch. v., or as involving statements inconsistent with her character or with the plan of the piece. The final verse (iii. 5), a duplicate of the last of the first, is adopted by the interpolator simply to terminate the scene. There is, therefore, every reason to condemn this scene as a spurious interpolation.

The third scene, iii. 6-11, presents a new picture, also in Jerusalem, though probably not in the royal residence. A procession is seen coming up to the city from the desert of Judah, the central part of which is Solomon's chair or palanquin, in which he himself is sitting. It is described by onlookers, whose names are not given, but who may be taken to be citizens of Jerusalem, the first speaking iii. 6, the second vv. 7, 8, the third vv. 9, 10, and the fourth v. 11. The ladies of Jerusalem (also called ladies of Zion, and probably from this double designation intended to be ordinary female inhabitants, not the ladies of the king's em) are exhorted to come out and see King Solomon and his wonderful pageant.

The connexion of this scene with the plot of the piece is not immediately obvious. But on reflection it becomes evident that it is intended to present a moral lesson, by showing us Solomon as a luxurious coward, who requires sixty armed men to attend his litter to preserve him from fancied dangers; in contrast to the brave Shulammite girl keeping watch alone in the vineyards (i. 7), and going alone at night through the streets of the city (v. 6, 7), and to her lover ready to scale the highest mountains and incur risks from wild beasts (iv. 8, 9). This is the only scene without any of the usual speakers. It must be located on the walls of Jerusalem, whence a view is obtained of the surrounding lower land. No interval need be assumed between this scene and the preceding; indeed it might very naturally be placed on the evening of the same day. In one passage only is the text faulty in two or three letters, but the emendation of these (which belongs mainly to Graetz) restores this excellent sense:

- iv. 10. its (the palanquin's) pillars he made of silver,  
                   its floor of gold,  
           its seat of purple,  
                   its interior tessellated with ebony.  
 11. Daughters of Jerusalem, come out,  
                   and look, daughters of Zion, etc.<sup>1</sup>

We now reach the verses iv. 1-6, which are entirely occupied with words of admiration addressed by the lover to the Shulammite. But scarcely a word of them is original. "Thou art fair, my friend, thou art fair, thine eyes doves" iv. 1ab = i. 15. "Thy hair is like the herd of goats that are smooth, from the mount of Gilead," iv. 1de = vi. 5cd. "Thy teeth like the flock of shorn ones that have come up from the washing, all bearing twins, without a barren one among them," iv. 2 = vi. 6. "Like the cutting of a pomegranate thy brow behind thy ribbon," iv. 3cd = vi. 7. "Like David's tower thy neck," iv. 4a, resembles "thy neck like an ivory tower," vii. 5 [4] a. "Thy breasts like two fawns, twins of a gazelle," iv. 5ab = vii. 4 [3]. "That pasture in the lilies," iv. 5c = ii. 16b. Now we cannot indeed decide from our superior and colder wisdom how many of these extravagant expressions a lover might be allowed to employ; but from a poet we have a

<sup>1</sup> For רָצוּף הַבָּנִים: בָּנוֹת יֵר' read רָצוּף אֶהְיֶה מִבָּנוֹת יֵר' Mem had become prefixed to בָּנוֹת instead of being the last letter of the previous word, and hence all the misunderstanding.

right to expect no stale repetition of fantastic phrases, one utterance of which is as much as an audience could tolerate. If one of the passages be spurious, undoubtedly it is iv. 1-6; because in those verses are brought together phrases culled from many passages where each is appropriate, and there are also several words of doubtful correctness. The action is of course better without this scene. And if vv. 1-5 are cast out, verse 6 must go with them, as no reason appears why the lover, after coming in to eulogize his lady through five verses, should suddenly say that it is getting so late that he really must go.

Scene four is iv. 7-16, consisting of an amatory address of the lover to the Shulammite, vv. 7-15, and a song in which he sings 16a-d, and she responds in 16ef. If we were right in the excisions, this immediately follows scene 3, in which neither of the present speakers were present, and they were last seen in scene 2 (ii. 8-17), where the Shulammite parted from the lover in the evening and he went home. Here therefore we have probably the morning of the next day, and he comes again to talk to her of his love, with the courage and brightness that come naturally with the morning. There is, however, an important change in the mutual relations of the lovers. In scenes 1 and 2 she addressed him as "my beloved," i. 16, ii. 16, 17, and "thou whom my soul loveth" i. 7, and he her as "my friend" i. 9, 15, ii. 2, 10, 13, "thou fairest among women" i. 8, "my fair one," ii. 10, 13.<sup>1</sup> In this scene he begins with the accustomed epithet "my friend" iv. 7, but immediately exchanges this for the new one "bride" iv. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, which is generally preceded by "my sister" iv. 9, 10, 12. We may with probability conjecture that they have in the interval been formally betrothed, which seems to be promised by the words in her last speech, "My beloved is mine and I his," uttered in answer to his request in ii. 14. Some slight corrections of the text are necessary in this scene, but none very serious. In v. 16 the lover sings a song of four short lines about his garden (for we know from v. 1 that he had a garden), and the Shulammite answers in two, that she hopes he will go to his garden and enjoy its fruits.

The fifth scene contains the one verse v. 1, before which a considerable interval must have occurred; for in the preceding verse the lover was exhorted to go to his garden; and here that is

<sup>1</sup> In Hebrew respectively הַנָּשִׁי, הַדָּרִי, כֶּלֶה,

יָפִתִּי, הַיָּקָה בְּנָשִׁים

already past: "I *did go* into my garden"; hence this verse must commence a new scene. But it stands alone, for the next verse commences a very different scene, beginning with a long story told by the Shulammitte about her lover, who therefore cannot be present. Yet this verse v. 1, though isolated, stands in the only possible place. We have seen that it cannot be placed earlier, since an interval is required before it. It cannot stand later, for at vi. 1 the ladies ask the Shulammitte where her lover went, and she answers: To his garden. She must have known this from his declaration in this verse, wherefore v. 1 must stand before vi. 1. But there is no gap or pause from v. 2 to vi. 1 in which it could possibly be inserted. One unsatisfactory point still remains, and would remain whatever transposition of verses we might make. If here at v. 1 the lover comes to his lady and tells her that he has been to his garden, he is no longer there, and she ought not at vi. 2 to say that he was gone there. We can apparently explain it only by supposing that the Shulammitte meant that the last she had heard of her lover was that he had gone to his garden. It is a weakness inherent in the text, which cannot be removed by any shifting of verses.

I have now to speak of the three verses vi. 10-12, which seem to have had a curious fate. Verses 11 and 12 manifestly cannot belong to the lover's speech in vi. 4-9; and for verse 10 a much more suitable place can be found. None of these three verses have any connexion with each other, yet they can all be restored to the places from which they have evidently been torn. Here we are concerned only with v. 11ab, which may follow v. 1a, to which it forms a suitable parallel, and gives with the rest of v. 1, two equal three-line verses, thus:

- v. 1a. I did enter into my garden, my sister, bride,
- vi. 11a. to the walnut-garden I went down,
- b. to look at the fruits of the valley;
- v. 1b. I plucked my myrrh with my balsam,
- c. I ate my honey-drippings with my honey,
- d. I drank my wine with my milk.

The two lines vi. 11cd occur almost identically, and in better context in vii. 13 [12] bd, and may therefore be cancelled here as useless duplicates. The words which follow next—"Eat, friends, drink and get drunk, fellows"—can be spoken only by the same person (the lover) who in the preceding lines addressed the

Shulammite; his friends are mentioned also in viii. 13, and they very probably speak vi. 10 and viii. 5, and may be the shepherds who are called the lover's companions in i. 7. These words surprise us as being addressed to persons of whose presence there has been no intimation. We must take them as showing that the lover is here attended by his comrades, and that while the refined and ethereal pleasures provided by his garden satisfy his tastes, their grosser natures enjoy coarser delights of the table, even taken in excess. These lines are among the most important in the Song as giving a motive, or pointing a moral, derived from the contrast between the elevation of spirit produced by pure love, and the low tastes of those who have no such sentiments.

After this minute but important scene, we find that another, the sixth, commences at v. 2. Here the Shulammite narrates her experiences, not to her lover, who is not present, but to the chorus of ladies. It continues without break to vi. 3. She tells what happened to her when she was in bed, "While I was sleeping, though my mind was awake." This curious expression may well describe a dream, in which the mind is active (awake) in sleep. If this be so, then what follows is the dream—that the lover comes in the night, knocks, and asks to be admitted, as he is all wet with dew, v. 2b-4. However this be, it was not at the time understood by the Shulammite to be a dream; for she says that she rose to open to her lover, found that he was gone, and then actually went out to look for him in the city, was arrested by the police and beaten by them. All this hangs very well together; the only doubtful point being whether v. 2b-7 is meant to be all real, or the first part is a dream. For the former speaks the difficulty of believing that a dream is not on waking recognized to be such, an argument which loses much of its force from the fact that the whole thing is fiction and may admit improbabilities; for the latter, the interpretation of the first line, v. 2a. She then in v. 8 expresses the hope that the ladies whom she is addressing may succeed in finding the truant lover. This leads the ladies, who have not spoken a word since the beginning (i. 2-4), to show interest in the Shulammite's troubles and ask what her lover is like, v. 9. This leads her to give an enthusiastic description of him, v. 10-16; and this works so powerfully upon the ladies that in vi. 1 they offer to help her to look for him, and ask where he is gone; which she answers by saying (as we have seen before) that he went to his garden, vi. 2. The next verse, vi. 3, is almost identical with

ii. 16. There it is suitable: here, where she has only to give a direct answer to a question of fact in vi. 1, it is not wanted, and may be declared spurious.

The seventh scene consists of the few verses vi. 4-9, all spoken by the lover, *vv.* 4-7 to the Shulammite, and *vv.* 8, 9 to himself. After the love-sick maiden's praise of her lover, it is suitable that we should hear her charms described by him. It seems to be implied that the Shulammite and the ladies had been successful in the search for him; for which an interval must be allowed between the two scenes. In iv. 1-3 we had verses identical with vi. 4-7, and found those to be spurious and these genuine. But two lines iv. 3ab, which do not occur here, seem essential; for when the hair, teeth and brow are mentioned, why not the mouth, which is much more expressive? We will therefore insert them (with Graetz) after vi. 6, and thus gain three equal verses of three lines each: (1) vi. 4, 5; (2) vi. 6; (3) iv. 3ab, vi. 7. In vi. 8, 9 the lover no longer addresses the Shulammite, but speaks in praise of her in the third person, showing her as immeasurably superior to the degraded women of the court, who, nevertheless, cannot but admire her. These words must be spoken by the lover to himself, as they have quite the tone of a soliloquy, and the only other persons shown to be present are the chorus of court-ladies, the very class with which he contrasts his own lady. The climax of the encomium is formed by *v.* 9, which must be the end of the scene, as *vv.* 10-12 cannot belong to it, and vii. 1 (vi. 13) commences a new and very different one. Verse 10,

"Who is this (*fem.*) that is looking out like the dawn,  
fair as the moon,  
pure as the sun,"

might indeed appear to be the words of praise implied in *v.* 9 "Daughters saw her . . . and praised her"—in the words "Who is this," etc. But in this case the words of praise would be quoted by the lover from what he had heard these ladies say among themselves—a very strained position, which we are fortunately not obliged to adopt, as vi. 10 finds a suitable place before viii. 5, where it is parallel to another "Who is this." Verse vi. 11 has been already placed elsewhere; *v.* 12 clearly cannot belong to this context; and we shall find a very suitable one after vii. 9.

The eighth scene comprises vii. 1-10 [vi. 13-vii. 9] and vi. 12, 4c, 5ab. The Shulammite enters in dancing costume (shoes and



splendid drawers, vii. 2 [1], whereas she ordinarily goes bare-foot, v. 3), and dances before the chorus, who call her back, vii. 1 [vi. 13], and admire her figure and features, vii. 2-6 [1-5];<sup>1</sup> but their speech is very prettily interrupted by her lover, who expostulates with them for treating his lady as if she were a common ballet-girl (vii. 1 [vi. 13] cd). As she is dancing, the spectators look first at her feet and then survey her from below upwards, which is the order observed in the ladies' description here. The reason for this dance by a virtuous girl, who must not be looked on as a hired ballet-dancer, is not distinctly given. We must assume that it formed part of the ceremonies of the betrothal, which had taken place between the third and the fourth scene, as is proved by the epithet "bride" first bestowed on her by her lover in iv. 8. She and her companions formed a double company for the dance, as appears in vii. 1 [vi. 13] cd. The occasion also accounts for the splendor of her attire in vii. 2 [1]. Verses 5 and 6 require a slight transposition. I read :

- vii. 5 [4] a. Thy neck like an ivory tower;  
 6 [5] a. thy head over it like Carmel;  
       b. and the ringlets of thy head like the purple robe of a king,  
       c. tied up in folds;  
 5 [4] b. thy eyes, pools in Heshbon, etc.

We thus obtain two verses of four lines each, instead of one of five and one of three; and by correction of one letter get "over it," i. e. over thy neck instead of the senseless "over thee," and have

<sup>1</sup> The purity of the Shulammitte being attested by all the rest of the poem, the license used in these verses is striking and difficult of explanation. If Solomon were really one of the persons in this drama, he might utter words possible only to a voluptuary; but his presence would spoil all the plot. Besides, it is the ladies of the court who have already encored the performance of the Shulammitte in vii. 1 [vi. 13], and it is clearly their part to continue their outburst of admiration for the dancer which we find in vii. 2-6 [1-5]. They are themselves voluptuaries at a polygamous court, and the language assigned to them here and at the beginning (i. 2-4) is no worse than we ought to expect. And the words are not nearly so objectionable as some critics have made them. In vii. 2 (1) the parallel to shoes on the feet is "the encirclements of thy thighs in the dances, the handwork of an artist"—by which (*ambitus*, what goes round) some sort of gorgeous drawers must be meant. The navel is compared to "a round cup in which mixed wine will not be wanting," i. e. a cup such as was used for wine and water. The word denotes navel alone, as is proved by its use in Ezek. xvi. 4, and not *pudendum mulieris*.

neck and head named first, and followed by the parts of the head—hair, eyes and nose. After these verses we come to a very different speech, which must be assigned to the lover, as the Shulammitte is addressed as "beloved one" in *v.* 7 [6] and the speaker speaks of himself in the first person singular; it consists of *vii.* 7–10 [6–9], *vi.* 12, 4c, 5ab. Verses 7 [6] and 8 [7] which describe her stature and breasts, are quite simple. The rest of the scene I take thus:

- vii.* 9 [8] e. and the scent of thy nose is like apples,
- 10 [9] a. and thy mouth like the best wine.
- 9 [8] a. I thought I would mount up into the palm,
- b. that I might seize upon its branches.
- vi.* 12a. But I knew not my own self;
- b. thou didst make me timid,
- c. thou daughter of Amminadab,
- 4c. terrible as towers!
- 5a. Turn thy eyes away from me,
- b. for it is they that have driven me wild.

The encomium of the nose and mouth can only accompany that of the other parts of the body; hence the last line of *v.* 9 [8] must precede *v.* 10 [9]. Of the second and third lines of *v.* 10 [9] no sense has been made in accordance with grammar ever since the Seventy tried their hands at them; they must therefore be given up as hopelessly corrupt. Next come the first four lines of *v.* 9 [8], which introduce a new subject, quite unexpected and somewhat revolting, yet essential and leading to a dénouement of the highest beauty and importance. Having compared the Shulammitte's stature to that of a palm-tree, the lover now resumes the figure and confesses that he felt a desire to "mount up into the palm and seize its branches." In other words, he contemplated doing some violence to her; and how was this averted? She looked at him with a reproachful gaze, which proved her purity and her power: "but I knew not what I was doing; thou didst frighten me off from it, daughter of Amminadab." Here the second half of *v.* 9 [8] must be declared spurious, being a repetition of *v.* 8 [7] b, introduced without sense; and the verse *vi.* 12, which was thrown out there as quite foreign to the context, is here absolutely necessary, and with Graetz's emendation gives the best imaginable sense. Very curiously, three other lines which could not be tolerated in a description of the Shulammitte's peaceful charms, seem actually made for this place, where she appears in a new character, as

powerful and terrible to her lover, vi. 4c, 5ab: "Terrible as towers," etc. The transposition restores the two-line rhythm which subsists in this scene from vii. 7 [6] onwards: vi. 12ab; 12c and 4c; 5ab. In all this we recognize the crisis of the drama, and its justification as a picture not of trifling love-making, but of strong female virtue. Nothing can immediately follow this. A pause must be allowed before we can go on to the following verses.

The ninth scene, vii. 11-14 [10-13], viii. 4, is spoken entirely by the Shulammite. The first verse, vii. 11 [10], is out of place, being spoken by her *of* (not *to*) her lover. It seems to be suggested by ii. 16, which was spuriously repeated in vi. 3, and to be inserted here by some one who wished to show that the lover's conduct in vii. 9 [8] did not produce any estrangement. Moreover, it is too short to form a verse by itself. It may therefore safely be condemned as spurious. In the verses vii. 12-14 [11-13], viii. 1-2 the Shulammite's words show that she forgives her lover's dastardly conduct, of which he has expressed himself ashamed, and she cannot show this more sweetly than by remembering his request in ii. 10-13, that she would go out into the country with him and enjoy its delights of flowers and fruit, which she then declined but now accepts. This speech is peculiarly grateful after the portraiture of her austere virtue. Here we see how warmly she can love:

vii. 13 [12] e. There will I give thee my caresses—  
 14 [13] d. my caresses which I have preserved for thee,

and at the same time how dignified her behavior is; she wishes he were her brother, so that she could kiss him freely without scandal, viii. 1, 2. It will be observed from the above quotation that the single line vii. 13 [12] e must be removed from the end of v. 13 [12] and placed before the last of v. 14 [13], to which it clearly belongs; which has the advantage of bringing together two other lines that should not be separated—

13 [12] d. the pomegranates are flowering,  
 14 [13] a. the mandrakes have given forth fragrance.

Verse viii. 3 is a repetition of ii. 6, and appears to be inserted because it was believed proper to introduce the words of viii. 4, as it stood before the closely similar words of ii. 7. Here it is unquestionably spurious. There seems, however, to be no reason for condemning v. 4 addressed to the ladies, on account of its

close similarity with ii. 7; it may be used to close both scenes. At the same time the words have no obvious appropriateness here, where no weariness is mentioned, and I should prefer to see them expunged.

Now we come to the tenth and last scene, comprising vi. 10, viii. 5-14. Here the action seems to be removed, as was indicated in the previous one, from Jerusalem to the country-place where the Shulammite's mother lives. Some onlookers notice the Shulammite and her lover coming up from the desert (viii. 5). If the scene be at Jerusalem, this must doubtless be the desert of Judea; if far away in the north, probably the plain of Esdraelon, unless the reading is wrong; which is very possible, especially as the Septuagint has something different. This verse, announcing the approach of persons interrogatively by the words "Who is this?" (as also in iii. 6), enables us to insert the only verse of vi. 10-12 that has not yet been placed. The verse vi. 10 begins with "Who is this?" and clearly refers to the Shulammite, so that different onlookers may quite naturally utter vi. 10 and viii. 5ab, the latter coming second because it mentions the lover and thus leads on to viii. 5cde. But the description in vi. 10 of a person beaming with brightness and beauty like the sun or moon, is spoiled by the line, "terrible as towers"; which may be cancelled as an unintelligent repetition of vi. 4c (which with vi. 12 I inserted after vii. 10 [9]). As they enter, the lover says, "Beneath this apple-tree I waked thee up" to the power of love; "there thy mother travailed with thee, there she travailed and brought thee forth"—a poetical conception; here thou wast born, and here thou wast *born again* to the new life of love. The punctuation of viii. 5cde must be emended so as to make the pronouns feminine, and put the speech into the lover's mouth. This does not affect the text. Otherwise the mother would be the lover's mother, who is never mentioned, and the Shulammite, having witnessed the birth of her lover, would be considerably older than he. Then the Shulammite winds up the whole, as is fitting, by an eloquent declaration of the power of love, for which she has suffered much. She asks her lover now to take her to his heart and seal her to him, for love is stronger than death, or outlives life itself; it dashes into the heart like a missile, and burns, itself unquenchable; and true love is not to be had for money; those who try to gain it in this way are only laughed at for their pains. Next come the two verses viii. 8, 9, obviously spoken of the Shulammite and therefore by

her brothers (who were mentioned in i. 6), but spoken many years before, since she is treated as a child. Hence the brothers are not actors in the drama, speaking these words where they stand. The words must have been overheard by the Shulammite, and be now quoted by her from memory, for the purpose of giving a suitable answer to them in v. 10. This would be clear if the writer had prefixed to them some such words as "I heard my brothers saying." She then contrasts the helplessness of Solomon with his immense vineyard, which he could secure from plundering only by paying enormous sums, with her own modest possession, which was within her grasp and did not depend on mercenary servants. This is the moral lesson of the piece—the worth of strong and virtuous character, that relies on itself alone and is not dependant on others who may be capricious or faithless. This would be a noble conclusion; and I believe it is the end: for verses 13 and 14 represent the lover as suddenly asking her (in the name of himself and his friends) for a song, which merely repeats a similar request in ii. 14. There, ii. 15, she accedes to the request for a song, but sends him away; here she refuses, and sends him away, with essentially the same words. Thus it is mainly a repetition of what had some sense and beauty in the former place, but here has none; for if she is to be always sending him away, when can the end come? and how can he appear to care much for her when he makes himself the mouthpiece of his companions?

The above exposition has given reasons for the chief emendations and new interpretations of the text which appear to be imperatively required. On one point, however, it is necessary to add something. The title "Solomon's Song" suggests a connexion with that king. The words "which is by Solomon," appended to the real title "The Song of Songs," no more belong to the original text than similar formulas in the titles of the Psalms, and are therefore absolutely without authority. The obvious contempt with which Solomon is treated in the Song must effectually debar us from supposing that he could be the writer, or even that it was written in his lifetime. But while giving up the authorship by Solomon, most commentators have nevertheless admitted Solomon as a person in the drama. His function there could only be as lover (either in the character of a king, or in disguise) of the Shulammite. If she has also the shepherd-lover whom we have assumed, there seems to be no room for another; *for how are the two to be distinguished?* If the king is the only

lover, and woos her in the disguise of a shepherd, what are we to make of the bitter satire expressed in the end (viii. 11, 12) by the Shulammite against her accepted lover? The idea that the king is required as an actor rests on misapprehensions. First, it is said that the words in i. 9 A. V., I have compared thee, O my love, to a company of horses in Pharaoh's chariots, R. V. to a steed in Pharaoh's chariots—Or, to my steed, must be spoken by the king, because no one else would be likely to have horses and chariots given him by the king of Egypt. But this conclusion depends entirely on the alternative reading "*my steed*," which is probably incorrect (Ew. Gram. p. 532); without the pronoun the words may be spoken by any one. If Solomon held this dialogue with the Shulammite, we should have with Ewald to suppose that he addresses to her i. 9, 10, 15, ii. 2, and that she says not a word to him, but turns aside and says to herself or to her absent lover i. 12-14, 16, 17, ii. 1, 3, which is really tantamount to an avowal that the *lover* is the person present with her; the so-called Solomon's words suit the shepherd equally well. Then again we are told by several commentators (Ewald, Ginsburg, Stickel) to assign vi. 4-9 to Solomon, and by Renan to give vi. 4-7 to him, and vi. 8, 9 to the lover; the latter avoiding the most obvious absurdity, by giving to the lover the sentence contrasting the countless women belonging to the king with the one whom the speaker loves, while the others pronounce their own condemnation by giving it to the king, the only person who could not utter it except as a lie. Here again I ask, if Renan is right in breaking off from his leaders and assigning vi. 8, 9 to the lover, is there any reason to give vi. 4-7 (the expression of a lover's admiration) to any one else? There is none, and the king disappears here also. Again, the king is supposed to be implicated (though not as speaker) in the verse vi. 12: A. V. "Or ever I was aware, my soul made me [like] the chariots of Amminadib"; R. V. "— set me [among] the chariots of my princely people"; Ginsburg, "Unwittingly had my longing soul brought me to the chariots of the companions of the prince"; Ewald, "Ich weiss nicht meine lust hat mich gebracht—zu den wagen meines Edelvolkes"; Renan, "Imprudent! voilà que mon caprice m'a jetée parmi les chars d'une suite de prince." How can they persist in repeating this nonsense? The text is clearly corrupt, and there is really neither prince nor chariots, but only the verse "I knew not my own self: thou didst make me timid, daughter of Amminadab," for which we have found a suitable place after vii. 10, 9 [9, 8]. Thus the king disappears here again.

He comes up again, however, in vii. 6 [5]: A. V. "the hair of thine head [is] like purple: the king [is] held in the galleries"; R. V. "—the king is held captive in the tresses thereof"; Ginsburg, "—the king is captivated by the ringlets"; Ewald, "—ein könig gefesselt in flechten"; Renan, "—un roi est enchaîné à leurs boucles." Here Ewald and Renan alone recognize the elementary truth that not one definite king but only *a* king is mentioned; but all agree in putting this clause out of all grammatical connexion, although the Vulgate showed the obvious syntax, "sicut purpura regis vincta canalibus," which demands a disjunctive accent after, not before, *king*. Here again the king disappears from the stage.

We are now in a position to consider the age of the Song. Our predecessors, who have generally had Solomon before their eyes, have commonly assigned it to a very early period, which it is difficult to justify by the evidence of the language. The mention of Tirzah and Jerusalem, the capitals of the two kingdoms (the former only from B. C. 952–923 till Samaria was built) in vi. 4 is plausibly enough held by some to prove that the Song was written when Tirzah was capital of Israel; though any probability which such a statement seems to have loses all its weight if any facts of language, customs, etc., are incompatible with that age; moreover, Tirzah is not here stated to be a capital at all, but only a beautiful place.

We must, then, look for internal evidence of the age and conditions of the origin of the Song; and first consider the peculiarities of its language. Its vocabulary contains a remarkable number of curious words. Of course many are legitimate forms from known or probable Hebrew roots, and only remarkable because they happen not to occur elsewhere. But there are some which tell a very different tale. The relative  $\text{שֶׁ}$  for  $\text{שֶׁנִּי}$  is generally a clear mark of the post-Exilic language, and occurs mainly in some late Psalms, Lamentations, Jonah, Chronicles, and especially Ecclesiastes. The theory that it specially characterizes the dialect of Northern Palestine rests chiefly on the belief that it is a Phœnician form (but the Phœnician inscriptions have  $\text{שֶׁנִּי}$ ), which is not tenable for an ancient time, as we have no specimens of Phœnician till after the Exile. We only know that it supersedes the older relative and  $\text{כִּי}$  (because) in the latest Biblical books, the Mishnah, and in Syriac. In the Song it is used to the exclusion of  $\text{שֶׁנִּי}$ , and in New Hebrew forms like  $\text{שֶׁנִּי}$  *meus*,  $\text{שֶׁנִּי}$  *ne*,  $\text{שֶׁנִּי}$  *antequam*. In ii. 9 the lover is  $\text{שֶׁנִּי}$  looking in (at the window), a New Hebrew

word used in the Talmud in this sense, but not in Hebrew, Syriac or Arabic. There are several truly Aramaic forms which cannot possibly be Hebrew; so especially *גְּרוֹת* for *גְּרוֹשׁ* *cypress*, with the Syriac change of *שׁ* into *ת*; see others in Graetz, p. 45. So *חֲבַצְלֵת* *crocus* (ii. 1) cannot be Hebrew, and Graetz must be right in identifying it with the Syriac *חַטְצִילֵת*, with an interchange of the labials *ב* and *ט*. But there are also words which overstep the Semitic area, and are clearly of Greek origin. The word *פָּרְדֵּס* *park* or *orchard* (iv. 13) is found also in Neh. and Eccl., and therefore almost certainly belongs to the time after the Captivity; it is the *παράδεισος* which Xenophon uses of the parks or preserves of the kings of Persia (B. C. 401). The word is of course not Greek but Persian; but I am not aware that the Persian original has been found, and the attempts made by orientalists to discover an Indian (Sanskrit) original must be pronounced absurd. It is much more likely that the Hebrews obtained the word from the Greek form, which it accurately transcribes. More unquestionably Greek is *אֶפְרִיִן* *litter* or *palanquin* (iii. 9) = *φορείον*, apparently used first by the orator Dinarchus about B. C. 312. Again, *מֶצֶן* vii. 3 [2], LXX *κράμα* must be *mixed wine*, but it is a *ἀπ. λεγ.* and has no Hebrew root; we are, I think, safe in deriving it from Gr. *μίσγην*, even in the absence of an identical Greek substantive. Again, *כֶּפֶר* i. 14, iv. 13, LXX *κύπρος*, is the shrub with sweet-smelling flowers, the Arabic *henna*, used to paint the nails; it has no satisfactory etymology in Hebrew, and is probably Greek, called from Cyprus where it grows. A puzzling word is contained in the sentence "Thy neck is like David's tower, built for תְּלַפְיֹת" iv. 4. Graetz explains it from *τηλωπός* seeing (or seen) to a distance. It is an epithet of the tower (not of the neck), according to the prevailing style of this book. This seems more suitable in sense than anything else we might invent. And the form is correct: *τηλωπός* would produce a subst. *τηλωπία*, Heb. in *תִּי*-, pl. *תִּיֹת* "a tower built for *lookings-out*." If the Greek word is at all correctly retained, the correct punctuation would be *תְּלַפְיֹת*, but if either *η* or *ω* were treated as movable vowels, might be *תְּלַפְיֹת* or *תְּלַפְיֹת*. Graetz notices that *עַם* is used in a very un-Hebrew manner, like Gr. *ἄμα*, for *together with*, where we should expect *and*; see iv. 13, 14, v. 1.

But if Greek words could be so freely used, we must expect to find also Greek habits of life, arts and customs. And there are several very remarkable things described in the Song which can scarcely be referred to any other than a Greek source. Marble (v. 15, where the lover's legs are compared to pillars of marble)



occurs nowhere else in the Old Testament except in 1 Chr. xxix. 2 and Esther i. 6, two of the latest books. The city police strike an intelligent reader as singularly modern, and certainly quite un-biblical. This impression is confirmed and corroborated by further investigation. Such patrols were unknown not only in Hebrew history to a late date, but even in the Greek history, with slight exceptions. The watchmen "who make their rounds in the city" are clearly the *περίπολοι*, who in fortified places with sentinels (*φύλακες*) went round with a bell to see that the sentinels were at their places and not asleep. But this evidence is no earlier than a scholiast on the Birds of Aristophanes; and a passage is quoted by Athenaeus from the comic poet Epicharmus of Syracuse, about B. C. 500, which shows the *περίπολοι* *arresting and beating* persons whom they suspected (Becker, Charicles, scene 9, note 2). Still, this seems to have occurred in the Greek world only in time of war or under a tyranny, like that of Syracuse when Epicharmus wrote. But during the Macedonian period there was constant use of force, with garrisons in all the towns; so that the *περίπολοι* became a regular institution, as they are in the Song. Even the slight mention of the king at his dinner (i. 12) yields some important evidence. The old Hebrew custom was to *sit* at table (1 Sam. xx. 24, 25; 1 Kings xiii. 20; in 1 Sam. xvi. 11 the meaning is "we will not *turn to go away* till —"). But here (i. 12) we have *סבב* (from the verb *סבב* *to be or to go round*), the technical term for lying on sofas round the dining-table, three to each table, *τρίκλιος* = triclinium, which is distinctly a Greek custom, adopted from the Greeks by the Hebrews in the Macedonian period. Solomon's gorgeous palanquin (iii. 6–10), made or decorated with cedar, gold, silver, purple and ebony, is unique in the Old Testament.<sup>1</sup> But such luxurious chairs were common among both Greeks and Romans. Graetz quotes from Athenaeus a description of one with silver feet like this in the time of Mithridates (about B. C. 250), and from Polybius an account of some with feet of gold or silver under Antiochus Epiphanes (about B. C. 170). It is probable that some such sight, seen in Antioch or Alexandria during the Macedonian age, suggested the picture in the Song.

<sup>1</sup>Or is only equalled by the priestly writer on the Temple in Ex. xxv.–xxvii., and the historian who describes the same in 1 Kings; with which may be classed Ps. xlv., which is in many points very similar to this Song. Ezekiel xxvii. is very instructive on the merchandise with which various nations traded with Tyre. Purple was the produce of Syria.

The nature of the poetry itself yields a stronger argument against its native Hebrew origin. No other book or poem can be called purely bucolic. Bucolic poetry appears first in the writings of Theocritus. He was a Greek of Sicily, where there was much sheep-farming; and he naturally preserved the local coloring of his native country by adopting its Sicilian Doric dialect, making his lovers discourse on their rustic life as shepherds and shepherdesses, and sing to the shepherd's pipe. In his age (about B. C. 270) and country all this had the charm of recurrence to nature, and yet of the foundation of a new style of literature. He soon found imitators, both in Greece and Rome; from Vergil, the noblest of his Latin followers, springs the whole school of French bucolic poets. What wonder that Theocritus, the most recent Greek poet since the commencement of the literary eminence of Alexandria, should be studied and imitated by an Alexandrian Hebrew? It is difficult to see whence the bucolic character of the Song could be borrowed, if not from Theocritus. The similitude in words and phrases is sometimes so close that it is difficult to believe in accidental coincidence. Some instances must be given; the original being in unfamiliar Doric Greek, I give it in Andrew Lang's version: i. 5 (Black am I . . . because the sun hath *browned* me). Theoc. x. 27, They all call thee a gipsy, and lean, and *sunburnt*. ii. 14 (Thy voice is *sweet*). Theo. x. 37, Thy voice is *drowsy sweet*. ii. 5 (*Foxes* . . . that *ruin vineyards*, while our vineyards are in bloom). Theoc. v. 112, I hate the *foxes* with their bushy brushes, that ever come at evening, and *eat the grapes* of Micon. ii. 16 (who pastureth in the lilies). Theoc. v. 128, 9, My goats eat cytissus, and goats-wort, and tread the lentisk-shoots, and lie at ease among the arbutus. iii. 9 (King Solomon made himself a *palanquin* from the trees of Lebanon). Theoc. xxvi. 43, his sword that he kept always hanging on its pin above his *bed of cedar*. vii. 2 [1] (How beautiful are thy feet in shoes). And I in fair attire, and new shoon on both my feet. Theoc. x. 35 (But one meaning of *σχήμα* is the figure of a dance, or a dance. Perhaps he (like the Shulammitte), is going to dance, and therefore has shoes on? Wordsworth very unreasonably scouts this as unpoetical, but the coincidence is striking). viii. 6 (Its [love's] darts are *darts of fire*). Theoc. xi. 16, With the direst hurt beneath his breast of mighty Cypris' sending—the *wound of her arrow* in his heart! and Theoc. xxiii. 4, 5, She knows not Love, how mighty a god is he, and what a bow his hands do wield, and what *bitter arrows* he dealeth at the young. viii. 7 (Its [love's] *flames great waters*

*cannot quench*). Theoc. xxiii. 16-26, He could no more endure so fierce a *flame* of the Cytherean . . . I am going . . . where . . . is . . . the common remedy of lovers, the River of Forgetfulness. Nay, but were I to take and drain with my lips *all the waters thereof*, not even so shall I *quench my yearning desire*. And with viii. 6 (*harsh* as the grave is *jealousy* [or love]) may be compared Bion, Frag. 12, Mild goddess, in Cyprus born, . . . why wert thou thus bitterly wroth . . . as to bring forth Love, so mighty a bane to all, *cruel and heartless Love*. The more these passages are studied, the closer will appear the similarity. Especially is the personification of Love, and the comparison of its vehemence with the power of fire and of arrows inconceivable except as a loan from the Greek lyrics.

If these be so, we have little doubt about the place and age of the Song of Songs. It must have been written at Alexandria; for where else was there a literary capital with a Greek school of its own in arts and letters, and also a resident Jewish colony formed of the wealthiest and most enlightened Jews of the age, ready to receive this new Song into their literature; which they had only shortly before made known to the whole world by the translation of their scriptures into Greek?

And the joyous tone of the Song makes it impossible to conceive it to have been produced in an age of tyranny, oppression and despair. Hence the time before B. C. 247 and that after B. C. 220 are equally out of the question, leaving the peaceful and prosperous reign of Ptolemy Euergetes (B. C. 247-221) as a probable one. It may be added that during this period Joseph, a Jew, was the farmer of the taxes of Judea, Samaria, Phenicia and part of Syria, and managed the finances so skilfully as to restore prosperity and wealth to these previously oppressed countries, while he gained and maintained great influence with Ptolemy (see Josephus, Ant. xii. 4, 10, and Graetz, pp. 78-83). This age of opulence was one of notorious and wide-spreading immorality, which from the example of Joseph himself invaded the Jewish community at Alexandria. This period (say from 230 to 218) thus seems to give, as no other does, the conditions requisite for the composition of the Song of Songs. As Graetz says, "the writer knew the Greek language, the Greek literature and art, the Greek's manners and vices, and desired to neutralize at its source the poison of the corruption of morals in Judea by the antidote of a seemingly erotic poem."

RUSSELL MARTINEAU.

### III.—VERBALS IN -ΤΟΣ IN SOPHOCLES.

#### II.

##### ON THE NEUTER FORCE OF THE VERBAL.

That the neuter force of the verb very often lies close to the passive is an established fact (cf. e. g. Delbrück, *Syntaktische Forschungen*, IV, p. 79). This is most clearly seen in cases in which the two forces of the verb exchange constructions; e. g. *πάσχειν τι ὑπό τινος*; vapulare ab aliquo. But it is especially in the participles of the Indo-European languages that these two forces approach one another. It is well known that the Sanskrit 'perfect passive participles' in *-ta* and *-na* are very frequently not passive at all, but neuter (cf. Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*, §952 a). So in Latin: the participles in *-tus* are regularly neuter, when derived from deponent verbs, and not infrequently so when derived from other verbs; e. g. *concretus*, *cenatus*. In Greek this neuter force is seen, not alone in verbals derived from deponent verbs, but also in those derived from *middle* (or *passive-middle*) verbs: thus it comes that certain verbals in *-τος* correspond to the *present middle participle* of their verb. The neuter verbals in Greek have been very much neglected by philologists: our chief authority on them is Frederick Mehlhorn, in an excursus on pp. 239–43 of his edition of the 'Anacreontea' (Glogaviae, 1825). One chief cause of the ignorance and confusion which have prevailed concerning these verbals lies in the fact that—apart from the prejudice against adjectives in *-τος* being considered as being anything other than passive—the *active*, *neuter* and *passive* forces of the adjectives have not been accurately distinguished. On the other extreme we must avoid considering an adjective like *δυνατός* passive in e. g. the sentence *δυνατός ἐστι πάσχειν τι*, but active in *δυνατός ἐστι ποιεῖν τι*. Surely the *neuterness* of the verbal is not made passive by the passiveness of the dependent infinitive (cf. Schmidt, *Synonymik der griechischen Sprache*, III, p. 694).

After discussing the simplicia, in which discussion Mehlhorn brings us nothing of material value, the composita are taken up (pp. 241–42) and discussed according as they are compounded

"cum *nomine*, aut cum *adverbio*, aut cum *praepositione*." "Cum nominibus denique," he observes, "haec adiectiva ita componuntur, ut nomen praepositum aut subiectum, aut obiectum sit. Prius si est, significatio fit passiva, posterius activa." In both of Sophocles' compounds with nouns, χρυσόρρντος and ἀλίπλαγκτος, the noun stands in the relation of a casus obliquus to the rest of the adjective. Of the compounds with adverbs by far the majority—some 20 out of 30—are compounds with a priv. "Longe plurima autem," he observes, "praebent cum adverbio aut cum nomine composita. Quid autem valeat compositio ad activam vim efficiendam, apparet maxime si adiect. verbb. cum a priv. composita percenseas, quorum simplicia *nunquam* active usurpantur. Sic nusquam βρωτός et γευστός eum denotat qui gustavit, sed ἄγευστον et ἄβρωτον, ita ut ἄπαστον usurpari notissimum est," etc. The composita with prepositions show much less frequently the neuter force; in fact Mehlhorn cites only four cases: we have thus explained περίφαντος, ἀπώματος, ἐπώματος, περιβόητος, ἀναμπλάκτης, διώματος, ἐπίφαντος, and probably ξυνετοί. Mehlhorn's summa summarum is expressed thus: "His igitur demonstratum esse arbitror primo hoc: verbalia in τος exeuntia quae a deponentibus deriventur, posse activam vim accipere, quae a mediis mediam, quae a neutralibus neutralem, sive composita sive simplicia illa: deinde vero quaecunque verbalia a meris activis deriventur, nonnisi composita active usurpari." Cf. Kvičala, Beiträge. I, p. 32: "Kein einziges Verbaladjektiv auf τος hat active Bedeutung, wenn das demselben zu Grunde liegende Verbum entschieden transitive Geltung und nur diese hat: Verbaladjektiva auf τός (*sic*) ohne passive Geltung sind nur bei solchen Verben möglich, die intransitive Geltung haben oder die, wenn sie auch häufig bereits als echte Transitiva behandelt werden, doch auch daneben einen an und für sich abgeschlossenen Sinn haben können, so dass sie der Hinzufügung eines Objects nicht bedürfen." Of Sophocles' simplicia all are derived from deponent verbs, except the doubtful σπανιστός. Moisisstzig thus introduces a chapter on this subject (I, p. 68): "Significatio participii praesentis activi, quae non solum in simplicibus et parasyntheticis, sed etiam in syntheticis inest, nisi tam saepe legeretur, formis latinis Participii Perf. Pass. speciem exhibentibus, vim autem eiusdem modi activi sortientibus, sicuti: pransus, osus, pertaesus et similibus, quae Zumpt §663 [should this not be §633, of the 8th edition?] affert, comparari posset. Horum similia autem pauca modo inveniuntur

exempla . . . Utrum numerus adiectivorum in τος terminatorum, quibus Part. Praes. Act. subiectus est intellectus, intra firmos ac stabiles coercitus sit terminos, sicuti formarum latinarum, quas modo commemoravimus, an certis potestas adnexa sit verborum generibus, an denique ea uti ex lubricitate pependerit hodie non iam constitui posse videtur. Discrimina enim in exemplis, quae sunt in promptu, inveniri nequeunt quare, si iudicium ferendum est, in sententiam ultimo loco positam pedibus est eundum. Magnopere quidem rationibus quibusdam investigandis sum discruciat, sed frustra, nam omnes, quae animum subibant, opiniones, usus pertinacia infringebantur." We think the distinction of *time* in these neuter verbals should be insisted on more rigidly than has generally been done. So far has the tense-force of the participle as such been weakened in the adjective as such that it has quite escaped the notice of not a few writers. Mehlhorn makes no mention of the time-force at all. With the exception of some eight verbals, to which he ascribes the signification of the pf. act. part., Moisisstzig (I, p. 73) ascribes timelessness to nearly all neuter verbals. So far is this from being correct that these verbalia can refer to *past* time (cf. Kopetsch, p. 27; "Iam eo deductus est sermo, ut etiam *participii perfecti activi* significationem nomina in τος formata nonnunquam sibi vindicasse dicamus. Verum hic usus apud Platonem paucitate exemplorum continetur . . . Neque ab Homero hunc usum seiunctum fuisse, his exemplis comprobatur . . ."), as well as to *present* (cf. Kopetsch, pp. 24-26) and *future* act, just as the passive adjectives do.

The great majority of such adjectives refers to an act contemporaneous with that of the verb of the context on which they depend. The futures are, as usual, to be explained either modally (e. g. βροτός, ἄβροτος, etc.) or by prolepsis. Sophocles seems to have used these neuter verbals, referring to contemporaneous act, some forty-odd times, as against nineteen other cases. Distinguishing between *specific* and *general* contemporaneousness, we see that in about half of the cases in Sophocles this contemporaneousness has grown to be general, indefinite, timeless; here the participial nature has quite died out, and the action or *condition* expressed by the verbal is considered a *characteristic* of the subject. Not a few of these verbs express a *condition* rather than an act. Now, where there is action there is motion, and hence limits are generally involved, hence time also. Where, however, there is no action, but a mere *condition* or *state*, the limits are

indefinitely extended, and hence there is, in effect, no time in the verbal. This timelessness is most clearly seen in those cases in which the verbal has been crystallized to a noun, as e. g. in ἀνόητος.

We find it generally stated that neuter verbals are 'often' or 'generally' associated with a negative, and Mehlhorn says (p. 239) that Ruhnken hesitated to explain ὑβριστός as a neuter in Xen. Mem. II 6, 21, "quia grammaticorum in compositis cum *a* priv. tantum id fieri docentium auctoritatem verebatur"! Of Sophocles' sixty-odd neuter verbals, not quite the half are compounds of *a* priv.; nor do the others show that tendency—which was observed in the modal passives—to associate themselves with negatives. Schambach's statement (I, p. 26) that the number of adjectives "praeter vulgarem usum active a Sophocle usurpatorum permagnus sit" is certainly not to be emphasized too strongly for the forms in τος; Sophocles shows fewer examples of this use than e. g. Aischylos does.

The examples now to be cited have been divided into two general classes—I, those in which the adjective is joined to the name of a *thing*; II, those with *persons*. Each class is further subdivided according as the verbal is derived from a A) *neuter* or B) *middle-passive* verb. The last subdivision is that of *time*, according as the act of the verbal is a) *prior*, β) *contemporaneous* (1. special, 2. general), or γ) *subsequent* (by 1. modality or 2. prolepsis).

I. Associated with *things*. A. Derived from *neuter* verbs.

α) *Prior act.*—Trach. 743 ἀγένητον ποεῖν (τὸ φανθῆν). Schol. τὸ ἀπαξ πραχθῆν . . . πῶς ἂν τις μὴ γενέσθαι ποιήσειεν;

β) *Contemporaneous act.* 1. *Real, definite act.*—Trach. 985 ἀλλήλοισι δόναται. We derive the adjective (which stands for \*ἄσληκτος) from the more common neuter force of the verb. Ai. 197 ἀτάρβητος (ὑβρις). V. LL. ἀτάρβητα, ἀταρβῆτα, ἀταρβήτα, ἀτάρβητος. Whether the verbal be specific or general in time depends on the time of ὁρμῆται, which *may* be a universal present. Ai. 1006 δυνατόν (μολεῖν). El. 894 νεορρότους πηγὰς. Suidas' νεωστί ρέουσι fits nicely here, as the milk was still freshly dripping. Ant. 1006 παμφλέκτοισιν (βωμοῖσι). We hesitatingly derive the verbal from the neuter sense of φλέγω (= fulgere), which Sophocles not infrequently uses, thus preferring Stephanus' omni ex parte *ardens* to his omni ex parte *incensus*.

2. *Timeless, good for all time.* 1) 'Geographically' present, and the like.—O. C. 469 ἀειρύτον . . . κρήνης. Ai. 884 ῥυτῶν . . . ποταμῶν. O. C. 1598 ῥυτῶν ὑδάτων.

2) Other examples.—O. C. 1662 ἀλάμπετον βάθρον. With the Scholiast (γρ. ἀλάμπετον) and many recent editors (e. g. Reisig, Musgrave, Brunck, Wunder), we depart from the tradition of the Laurentianus, ἀλύπητον. Ἀλάμπετος occurs in Hymn. Hom. XXXII 5. Fg. 856 ἄφθιτος βίος. Ai. 162 δυνατὸν . . . προδιδάσκειν. El. 1139 παμφλέκτου πυρός. Again it is difficult to decide if the verbal refer to definite or indefinite act. Fg. 856 πλωτῇ γένει. O. C. 4 σπανιστοῖς . . . δωρήμασιν. We derive the adjective from the middle, σπανίζομαι. Or is it merely a -τος formation from the noun σπάνις? O. C. 1081 ταχύρρωστος πελειὰς.

3. *Subsequent act*; these adjectives exhibit either prolepsis or modality.—O. R. 157 ἄμβροτε φάμα. O. R. 159 ἄμβροτ' Ἀθήνα. Ant. 1134 ἀμβρότων ἐπέων. Ant. 338 ἄφθιτον (Γῶν). Fg. 258 ἀφθίτου (γέννας). Reading uncertain. El. 1420 παλῖρρυτον . . . αἶμα'. παλῖρρυτον, Bothe; πολλύρρυτον, L; πολύρρυτον, Γ.

B. Derived from *middle* and *neuter-passive* verbs. a) *Prior act*.—Phil. 297 ἄφαντον φῶς. Schol. ἀπροσδόκητον, ἄλλως: καλῶς εἶπεν ἄφαντον' οὐ φαίνεται γὰρ ἀλλὰ δυνάμει αὐτὸ ἔχει. The verbal means 'which as yet had not appeared,' 'Versteckte Funken' (Hartung). Campbell's explanations are humorous. O. C. 1507 νέορτον (τί).

β) *Contemporaneous act*.—Ai. 758 κἀνόνητα σώματα. κἀνόνητα, Suidas. The verbal is here a general present. Ai. 1186 ἄπανστον . . . ἄταν. The verbal seems to refer to those very evils which they were just then suffering. Ai. 599 περίφαντος (Σαλαμῖς). Phil. 716 στατὸν εἰς ὕδωρ. Certainly the passage is not to be rejected as spurious, because elsewhere in the play there is mention of *running* water on the isle!

γ) *Subsequent act* (modal).—O. C. 495 ὁδωτά (ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐχ ὁδ.). Schol. οὐκ ἐν ὁδῷ, οὐδὲ ἀνυστὰ οἶον οὐ βαδιστέα μοι οὐδὲ πρακτέον ταῦτα. Some critics take it to mean 'I cannot do these things,' referring to the preceding context, others 'I cannot go.' This latter explanation we adopt; cf. Hesychius' statement that ὁδῶ in the middle = πορεύομαι.

## II. Associated with *persons*. A. Derived from *neuter verbs*.

a) *Prior act*.—Ant. 394 ἀπώμοτος (ὦν). Schol. καίπερ ὁμωμοκῶς μὴ ἐλθεῖν. Phil. 593 διώμοτοι πλέουσιν. Trach. 427 ἐπώμοτος . . . ἔφασκες. Ant. 950 χρυσορύτους (γονάς).



β) *Contemporaneous act.* 1. *Specific present.*—El. 912 ἀκλαύτω (ῆ). Trach. 968 ἀναύδατος (ὅδε) φέρεται. ἀναύδατος, Erfurdt; ἀνανδοσ, L. El. 1065 ἀπόνητοι. Trach. 1074 ἀστένακτος . . . εἰπόμην. Trach. 1200 ἀστένακτος κἀδάκρυτος . . . ἔρξον. Ai. 321 ἀψόφητος . . . ὑπεστίναζε. O. R. 12 δυσάλητος . . . εἶην. Trach. 652 πάγκλαυτος . . . ὄλλυτο. O. C. 1663 στενακτὸς (ἀνήρ). With M. (I, p. 67), Hartung, Wecklein, Wolf-Bellermann and others, we oppose those who explain the verbal as a passive.

2. *Timeless; general present.*—Ai. 946 ἀναλγῆτων δισσῶν. Thus the perplexed Schol. ἀσυμπαθῶν εἰ τοῦτο πράξειαν· ἡ τῶν μηδὲως ἀλογούντων ἐπὶ ταῖς συμφοραῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἢ πολυαλγῆτων, τῶν εἰς πολλὰ ἀχρὶ ἡμᾶς ἐμβεβληκότων. The alpha is privative. O. R. 472 ἀναπλάκητοι (κῆρες). ἀναπλάκητοι, L.; ἀναμπλάκητοι, codices recentiores; but cf. Gustav Meyer, Griech. Gram.<sup>2</sup>, §295. Schol. αἱ εἰς μηδὲν ἀμαρτάνουσαι ἀλλὰ πάντων κρατοῦσαι . . . ἢ οὕτως, ἀφυκτοί, ἀπλάνητοι, ἀπροσπέλαστοι, ἀφανείς, ὥς οὐκ ἔστιν ἀποφυγεῖν. O. R. 336 κατέλεύτετος φανεί; Ritter, Ribbeck, Nauck and others resort to conjecturés to get sense out of a passage rendered almost senseless by the verbal ἀτελεύτετος, which they consider passive; cf. Kvěčala, Beiträge, III, p. 85. We retain the verbal, rendering it as a neuter—'who accomplishes nothing'; cf. Eustathius, p. 441, 28: αὐτὸ δέ (= ἀτελεύτετον) παρὰ Σοφοκλεῖ καὶ τὸν μὴ τελευτὴν ἐπάγοντα τοῖς ζητουμένοις δηλοῖ ἐν τῷ, ἄτεγκτος κατέλεύτετος φανεί. Ai. 365 ἄτρεστον (τὸν). O. R. 586 ἄτρεστον εὐδοντ' κ. τ. λ. O. C. 1283 ἀφωνήτοις (τοῖς). Cf. Schmidt, Synonymik der griechischen Sprache, I, p. 106. El. 219 δυνατοῖς (sc. τοῖς). Fg. 867 δυσάλητος φρένας. O. R. 498 ξυνετοὶ (of Jupiter and Apollo). El. 1077 πάνδυρτος ἀηδῶν. πάνδυρτος, Erfurdt and Porson; πανόδυρτος, L. O. R. 191 περιβάητος (of Ares). Punctuation and reading disputed; περιβόατον, Dindorf. Many commentators accept the first explanation of the Scholiast—περὶ δὲν ἕκαστος βοᾷ. We have hesitatingly followed the other—<ῆ> μετὰ βοῆς καὶ οἰμωγῆς ἐπιών; cf. Tessing, de compositis nominibus Aeschyleis et Pindaricis, p. 47. Jebb (ad loc.), in excluding from prose the neuter sense of the verbal, has overlooked Plato, Philebus, p. 45 E. Or is the adjective intentionally ambiguous?

γ) *Subsequent act.*—Trach. 120 ἀναμπλάκητον Ἄϊδα σφε. ἀναμπλάκητον, Schol. r.; ἀμπλάκητον, L. The verbal is used proleptically.

B. Derived from *middle* verbs. α) *Prior act.*—El. 165 ἀνύμφευτος αἰὲν οἰχῶ. Trach. 894 νέορτος ᾧδε νύμφα. The Scholiast's first explanation is wrong, because based on a false reading. Fg. 787 νέορτον (τὰν). νέορτον, Valck; νεοργόν, MSS.

β) *Contemporaneous act*.—Ai. 695 ἀλίπλαγκτε (Πάν). The Scholiast gives *five* (attempts at) explanations why Pan receives this epithet. "Tu, qui maria pervagari soles" is Lobeck's happy translation. Trach. 1095 ἄμικτον . . . στρατόν. Suidas' ὁ μὴ μιν γνόμενος is nearer the meaning of the verbal here than the Scholiast's ὃ οὐκ ἦν συμμίζει καὶ συμβαλεῖν. The verbal is purely neuter. Ant. 841 ἐπίφαντον (με). Ai. 229 περίφαντος ἀνὴρ.

γ) *Subsequent act* (proleptic).—O. R. 560 ἄφαντος ἔρρει. O. R. 832 ἄφαντος (βαίην).

#### ON THE INSTRUMENTAL USE OF THE VERBALIA.

We now approach a number of verbals which have been variously explained, some seeing in them personification, some *tractio epitheti* and remarkable cases of *enallage*, while others pass over the difficulties in silence. The trouble in these cases seems to arise, not from the meaning of the verbal itself, but from the manner in which the different words of the sentence are construed. Grammarians observed the strangely free manner in which the poets not infrequently joined the words of a given sentence, but failed to distinguish carefully between *grammatical* and *logical* subject; and it is just by holding fast to this distinction that we hope to make our position clear.

The verbal is construed 'instrumentally' when it is joined, grammatically, with that word which designates the thing (or person) that serves as an instrument, in the wider sense of the word (translate 'with,' 'by,' 'in,' 'as to,' etc.), in the hands of the logical subject of the phrase; e. g. Aischylos, Cho. 253 βουθύτοις ἐν ἡμασιν. Surely the days here are by no means the logical subject of the verb in -θυτος: the days are merely the instruments—as much so as the sacrificial knife—by which the oxen are sacrificed. Similarly in Sophocles' φόνον . . . δημόλευστον (Ant. 36), the φόνος is not that which kills—much less that which is killed—but it is that act through, by means of which the sufferer is killed by the people. It is plain that herein no new meaning inheres in the verbal itself: passive, neuter and modal verbals can be thus instrumentally construed: the great majority of the cases seems to be passive. On looking over the examples one is struck with the predominance of relatively present (especially general-present) verbals; in fact they all, with few exceptions, are thus used. In the matter of verbals derived from neuter verbs, the case is

question is not unnaturally an *accusative of the inner object*, e. g. ἀσάλπιγκτον ὦραν corresponds to the possible construction σάλπιξεν ὦραν, after analogy of Lucian's ἡμέραν ἐσάλπισεν (Luc. Ocyp. 114): so ἀχόρευτα . . . ὀνειδῆ, after analogy of ἀγῶνας χορεύειν, etc.

It is to be observed that the instrumental use of the verbals in Sophocles—as in Aischylos—is confined (with one exception, the doubtful ἐπώμοτος) to *things*.

### I. With Abstract Things.

α) The case of the resolved construction is an acc. of the inner object.—Fg. 86 τᾶβατα. The reading is uncertain. The adjective is here—as always?—potential; cf. An. Bekk., p. 323, 1 = 22, 26. Fg. 356 ἀσάλπιγκτον ὦραν. El. 1069 ἀχόρευτα . . . ὀνειδῆ. Schol. ἐφ' οἷς οὐκ ἂν τις χορεύσειε. The verbal may be modal. Trach. 1262 ἐπίχαρτον . . . ἔργον. "Agreeable" (Donaldson, New Cratylus<sup>2</sup>, p. 473) = *as to which* one rejoices. El. 1457 χαρτὰ . . . τάδε. Whether in such cases the adjective be modal or generally present it is impossible to decide. Trach. 228 χαρτόν . . . τι. Trach. 1188 ἐπώμοτον (Ζῆν'). Says Suidas, quoting this passage, *τουτέστι τοῦ θεοῦ ἐγγυητήν*. If it means 'having Zeus as the one *by whom* I swear,' this is the one case of an instrumentally used verbal being construed with the name of a *person*.

β) The resolved construction exhibits some other case.—Trach. 168 ἀλυνήτω βίῃ. Verses 166–68 are rejected by Dobree as spurious. Trach. 520 ἀμφίπλεκτοι κλίμακες. To this annoying passage the Schol. observes: κλίμακες αἱ ἐπαναβάσεις παρὰ τὸ ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω αὐτοὺς στρέφεσθαι ἐν τῇ μάχῃ· ἔστι δὲ εἶδος παλαίσματος ἢ κλίμαξ. Hermann, attempting to explain it, writes thus: "Positum erat, nisi fallor, in eo, ut quis averteret adversarium, atque a tergo complexus, quasi per scalam, dorsum eius conscenderet": he compares Ovid, Metam. IX 51. If anything is certain, where there is so much uncertainty, it is that the verbal is used instrumentally. Trach. 126 ἀνάλγητα. El. 186 ἀνέλπιστος (βίος). Trach. 770 ἀντίσπαστος (ἀδαγμός). Schol. ἀντίσπαστος δὲ ἴσος σπασμῷ ἢ μετὰ σπασμοῦ. "Quo ossa veluti divulsa sint," Wunder. O. R. 890 ἀσέπτων (τῶν). But we can consider the verbal merely *passive*. Ai. 833 ἀσφαδάστω . . . πηδήματι. The verbal is proleptic. Ant. 864 αὐτογέννητ' (κοιμήματα). "Quae audaci epitheti traiectione," says Schindler, p. 44, "dicta sunt pro: κοιμήματα αὐτογεννήτω ἐμῷ πατρὶ δυσμόρου μητρός, concubitus miserae matris cum patre meo,

quem ipsa pepererat": similarly Slameczka, p. 6, Stephanus, Passow, Wolf-Bellermann. And yet it is barely possible that, in this, as occasionally in other cases of compounds with *αὐτο-*, the commentators have failed to see to whom this *αὐτο-* referred. In the passage before us Antigone herself is speaking, and the *αὐτο-* can be taken to refer to the heroine herself. Ant. 875 *αὐτόγνωτος* . . . *ὀργά*. We derive the adjective from *γινώσκω*, not from *γνώμη*. Schambach (I, p. 24) says of the verbal: "quod verbum a Sophocle fictum non, ut exspectamus, significat: 'quod a se ipso cognoscitur, sponte intelligitur,' sed 'suam ipsius sentiam (sic!) secutus'": more cautious is Schindler's translation (p. 44): "arrogantia ab ipsa (Antigona) adscita, h. e. ultro suscepta, *αὐθαίρετος*, nisi activa praeferenda est interpretatio illa, quam in maiore editione Erfurdtius dedit: <<*αὐτόγνωτος* est qui ex sua tantum animi sententia (*γνώμη*) unum quidque agit>>." As, however, the passive explanation sounds indisputably insipid and weak, we hesitatingly accept the other, interpreting it 'an *ὀργά* in, through which she was self-willed and showed herself to be so.' "Nach eigenem Willen oder Urtheil handelnd: eigenwillig" (Passow); "eigenwillig" (Hartung); "die selbst, d. h. frei, ohne äusseren Zwang sich entschliesst (*γινώσκω* sehr oft sich entschliessen)" (Wolf-Bellermann). Ant. 36 *δημόλευστον* (*φόνον*). "In all such passages," says Blaydes, "the verbal is still passive, being only transferred from the person to the act." But not all instrumentally-used verbalia are passive. Ant. 1211 *δυσθρήνητον* (*ἔπος*). O. C. 1614 *δυσπόνητον* . . . *τροφήν*. O. C. 1220 *ισοτέλεστος* . . . *μοῖρα*. The reading of several words of the passage is disputed; cf. Schütz, pp. 176-77. Schindler has rightly insisted (p. 35) that the adjective be joined either with *μοῖρα* or with *θάνατος*, of verse 1223. The Scholiast is all in confusion, e. g. *τὸ ἐξῆς, οἶον οὐδὲ ἔπεισιν αὐτοῖς κόρος ἰσοτέλεστος θάνατος . . . τούτου ἐστὶ τὸ ἐξῆς, οἶον οὐδὲ ἔπεισιν αὐτοῖς κόρος ἰσοτέλεστος τοῦ "Αἰδου" τότε γὰρ ὁ τοιοῦτος κόρος λαμβάνει τέλος ὅτε ἂν ὁ "Αἰδης ἐπέλθῃ*. We join the adjective with *μοῖρα*; but the moving power is not the *μοῖρα*—nor the *θάνατος* itself—but the god or divinity who works through this *μοῖρα*. Ai. 253 *λιθόλευστον* "Αρη. Phil. 607 *λωβήτ' ἔπη*. "Id quod *λωβᾶται*," Mehlhorn, Anac., p. 240; rather id per quod is *λωβᾶται*, qui eo utitur. Phil. 690 *πανδάκρυτον* . . . *βιστάν*. Trach. 50 *πανδάκρυτ' ὀδύρματα*. O. R. 192 *παλίσσυτον* *δράμημα*. With Bruck, we join the verbal with *δράμημα*, not with the subject of the infinitive; cf. Wunder: "Ex vulgari tragicorum consuetudine παλ. δράμ. νοτίσαι dictum est pro *παλίσσυτον* *δράμημα* ποιήσαι, ἵτα

ut sensus sit παλινδρομήσαι καὶ ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος ἀπελθεῖν." The verbal is proleptic and neuter. Ai. 712 πάνθ' ὅσα θέσμι'. El. 851 πανσύρτῳ . . . αἰῶνι. Schol. πανσύρτῳ δὲ πάντα σύροντι τὰ κακὰ ἢ πανσύρτῳ τῷ μετὰ πάσης ὁρμῆς τῶν κακῶν ὠρμημένῳ. Certainly it means a life *in* which (*by* which) all evils are swept together. Trach. 756 πολυθύτους . . . σφαγὰς. Ai. 1185 πολυπλάγκτων ἐτέων. We derive the verbal from πλάζομαι; the expression means 'years *in* which we wander,' from which the translation 'years causing much wandering' easily arose. Schol. τῶν ἐτῶν ἐμοὶ πόνους παρασκευάζων. καθ' ὃ πολλὰ πλανώμεθα ἐν ἀλλοδαπῇ. The verbal is *neuter*, and with Schmidt (Synonymik d. g. S. I, p. 557) we protest against those who would explain the adjective here *actively*. Ant. 615 πολυπλαγκτός ἐλπίς. Trach. 357 ῥιπτός . . . μόρος. Ai. 631 χερσὶν πλαγκτοὶ . . . δοῦποι.

## II. With Concrete Things.

a) Representing the *acc. of the inner object* of the resolved construction.—O. R. 719 ἄβατον εἰς ὄρος. O. C. 167 ἀβάτων ἀποβάς. O. C. 675 ἄβατον . . . φυλλάδα. Trach. 505 πᾶμπληκτα παγκόνιτα . . . ἄεθλ'. Commentators are gladly following Kvičala and explaining the verbal as a passive. In his Beiträge, I, p. 33, Kvičala explains the expression πλήττειν ἄεθλα after the analogy of πλήττειν πληγὰς: similarly he would have us explain πανδάκρυτ' ὀδύρματα. Only he thus compares two very different accusatives, πληγὰς and ὀδύρματα, the former being the accusative of the object *effected*, the latter not being such. We do not accept his explanation of the passage, although his circumlocution, ἄεθλα, ἐν οἷς πᾶσαι πληγαὶ πλήττονται, is correct. The logical subjects of the two expressions have also suffered, the subject of πλήττειν being πληγαί, while that of -πληκτα and -κόνιτα is not ἄεθλα at all, but those who contend. We therefore explain the term as meaning the contests in which the contestants are much struck and much covered with dust. Fg. 15 φορμικτά. If μέλη is to be supplied as the subject of the verbal, it may be thus instrumentally interpreted.

β) Remaining examples.—Trach. 106 ἀδακρύτων βλεφάρων. The conflicting notes of the Scholiast explain the α both as a privativum and as an intensivum! into which latter error Blomfield has also fallen (Gloss. in Aischyl. Prom. 905); cf. Clemm, de alpha intensivo, p. 72, 12). The verbal is proleptic. O. C. 1200 ἀδέρκτων ὀμμάτων. Fg. 418 ἀθηρόβρωτον ὄργανον. It seems that a winnowing-fan is here referred to. Ai. 176 ἀκάρπωτον

χάριν. ἀκάρπων, L.; ἀκάρπων, Nauck, whom many follow. The adjective has been variously joined with χάριν, νίκας, Artemis herself. It should have been joined with νίκας, but was construed with χάριν. Trach. 527 ἀμφινείκητον δμμα. But we know of no verb ἀμφινείκω. Or is the word, then, a compositum possessivum? Bergk rejects the lines as spurious, Wecklein defends them, and Schütz, by conjecturing, retains them. Ai. 1272 κἀνόνητ' ἔπη. O. C. 156 ἀφθέγκτω . . . νάπει. O. C. 1495 βούθυτον ἐστίαν. O. R. 1315 δυσούριστον (νέφος). The Scholiast thus defends the adjective—a απ. λογ.—: ὄρον μὴ ἔχον ἀλλ' αἰεὶ παραμένον. We derive the adjective neither from ὄρος nor from οὔρος (with Ellendt). After a long discussion of the passage Schindler (pp. 19–20) concludes that the adjective must be corrupt, and of course Blaydes is more than ready to furnish conjectures. We think the tradition can be defended. οὐρίζω means, according to Pape<sup>2</sup>, “unter günstigen Wind bringen, gew. übertr., zu Glück verhelfen, in eine günstige Lage bringen, beglücken.” Now, if we interpret the adjective instrumentally, its logical subject being the speaker, not νέφος, the expression means ‘a cloud of blindness, *by means of which* I am brought into misfortune.’ O. R. 1266 κρεμαστήν ἀρτάνην. Trach. 538 λωβητὸν ἐμπόλημα. Ant. 832 παγκλαύτοις (ὀφρύσι).

#### ON THE TRANSITIVE FORCE OF THE VERBALS.

We saw in the dissertation on the verbals in Aischylos (pp. 71–72) that the verbals are in that author never *transitive*, in the sense of governing a case, all passages thus formerly explained either being corrupt or exhibiting the neuter force of the verbal. This can hardly be said to be true of Sophocles. There is a very small number of verbals in our author which seem plainly to govern a case—either the genitive or the dative: of these cases a few are certain, the rest doubtful. Certain of these are compounds of a priv.: in these cases some would explain the dependent genitive as depending on the notion of *separation* implied in the *negative adjective*; but the temptation to let the genitive in e. g. ἄγευστος κακῶν depend on the verb in the verbal is very strong; cf. Madvig, Syntax der griechischen Sprache, §63 c. Apart from this, however, there are compounds *without this negative prefix* which ‘govern’ a genitive, e. g. εὐμαστον: here the ‘separation-explanation’ evidently does not apply. Moreover, there seem to be cases in which—contrary to Mehlhorn’s law (pp. 242–43,

"deinde vero quaecunque verbalia a meris activis deriventur, nonnisi composita active usurpari")—simplicia are found governing cases: such instances are, however, all more or less suspicious. The situation is a very tantalizing one. Sophocles seems to have hesitatingly introduced this new construction, whose beginnings are as yet so gradual and cautious that it is extremely difficult to determine at all certainly the nature of the dependent case in question.

Ant. 582 ἄγεστος αἰών (κακῶν). The verbal is here used instrumentally; the sense is 'an age in which those living in it taste of no ills.' Ant. 500 ἀρεστὸν οὐδὲν (ἐμοί). Bekker, Anecd. Graec., p. 80, 20: ἀρεστός: ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀρέσκων. Πλάτων Φαίδρω. Undoubtedly the adjective means 'agreeable,' whether this meaning of the verbal arose from the simpler neuter sense of the verb or through the passive from the rarer *active* sense ('gefällig machen'). But the dative, ἐμοί, may depend on the complex, or be a dative of interest. Similarly in the following passage: O. R. 1097 ἀρέστ' (σοι . . . ταῦτ'). O. R. 969 ἄψανστος ἔγχους (ἐγῶ). It is generally conceded that the verbal is here active; cf. Schol. ἐγὼ ὁ ἐνταῦθα ὢν οὐκ ἔλαβον δόρυ ἵνα αὐτὸν ἀποκτείνω εἰ μή τις εἴποι ὅτι τάχα διὰ τὸν ἐμὸν πόθον ἀπέθανεν. Bekker, Anecd. Graec., p. 18, 4: "Ἀψανστος: ἐπὶ τοῦ μὴ θιγόντος μηδὲ ἀψαμένον. Σοφοκλῆς. Wex, Antig. 392: "ἄψανστος O. R. 969, ubi glossator apud Fähsse, p. 224 ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι τὸ ἄψανστος καὶ ὁ ψαυόμενος καὶ ὁ ψαύων." Cf. Passow, Stephanus, Pape, Ellendt, Hermann, Nauck, Brunck, Schambach (II, p. 3) (I, p. 25), Campbell, Wolff-Bellermann, Wecklein, Schmit, Synonymik d. g. S. I, p. 230 f.; Mehlhorn, p. 242; Holtze, p. 6. Trach. 108 εὐμναστον ἀνδρὸς δεῖμα τρέφουσιν ὁδοῦ. The difficulty of the passage lies in the explanation of the genitives, ἀνδρὸς and ὁδοῦ, and in the question whether the verbal is to be joined with δεῖμα or with (αὐτήν) the subject of τρέφουσιν and the following infinitive. In either case it is plainly active, meaning either 'she, being ever mindful' or 'she, nourishing a fear through which she is ever mindful.' Schol. ἀλλὰ τὸ δεῖμα τὸ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αἰεὶ μνημονεῖουσιν ἐν ταῖς ἀνάνδροις κοίταις τρύχεσθαι κατὰ ψυχὴν. Nauck, however (and similarly Wunder), joins thus: δεῖμα ὁδοῦ ἀνδρὸς τρέφουσιν εὐμναστον. Evidently the genitives are so placed as to allow of either construction of them. Campbell joins ἀνδρὸς with εὐμναστον. We think the verbal belongs to the subject of the sentence, and that ἀνδρὸς—or ὁδοῦ—depends directly on the verbal. Trach. 446 μεμπτός εἰμι (τῷμῳ τ' ἀνδρὶ τῇδε τῇ νόσῳ ληφθέντι). Schol. μεμπτή εἰμι τουτέστιν αἰεὶ

μέμφομαι· ἢ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπίμεμπτος, ἐπιπληκτική. Evidently the verbal is active; cf. Kvičala, I, p. 61; Hermann, Wex, Antig. 392; Scham-bach, I, p. 24; Wunder; Curtius, Das Verbum, II, p. 388; Porson, Eur. Hec. 117; Campbell, Essay on the Language of Sophocles, p. 98, §53 a. O. C. 1031 πιστὸς (ὄψω) ἔδρας τάδε. Schol. ἀντὶ πιστεύων, καταστρέφει δὲ εἰς τὸ πεποιθώς. Many commentators construe the verbal actively. But the dative may depend on ἔδρας τάδε.

Intermediate between those verbals which are used in a neuter sense and those which show the active force stand the following adjectives, which are derived from *active transitive* verbs, but are used almost as neuters, the object which they govern—or *would* govern—being easily inferred from the context, or else contained in the *a* priv. of the adjective itself, as e. g. ἀνόητος = οὐδὲν γιγνώσκων.

Phil. 689 ἀμφιπλάκτων ῥοθίων. Schol. ἐκατέρωθεν πληττόντων· τὰ γὰρ κύματα κλύζονται κατ' ἀμφοτέρων ὄχθην τῆς θαλάσσης. Surely the verbal is not (with M., I, p. 48) passive if we read ῥοθίων. It is interpreted as an active verbal by Porson (Hec. 1117), Hermann (O. R. 962), Jebb (O. C. 1031; O. R. 969), Passow and others. "Undarum (insulam) undique pulsantium, circumsonantium" is Schindler's not unhappy translation (p. 25). Ai. 162 ἀνοήτους τούτων γνώμας. Ant. 645 ἀνώφελ' ἔλ' ἔλ' ἔλ' . . . τέκνα. El. 1144 ἀνωφελή' τ' οὐ (τροφῆς). O. R. 884 ἀφόβητος (δίκας). The verbal is active; cf. Tessing, p. 47; Hermann, O. R. 962; Porson, Eur. Phön. 216; Wex, Antig. 392; Jebb, O. C. 1283; M., I, p. 72; Stephanus, Passow. Schol. τὴν δίκην μὴ δεδοικώς. Δίκας is a "genetivus relationis, qui significat, quatenus et cuius rei ratione habita, qualitas, quae adiectivo expressa est, locum habeat"; cf. Caesar, Bell. Civ. I 69 *fugiens laboris*. O. R. 882 ὑπέροπτα χερσὶν ἢ λόγῳ πορεύεται. The verbal seems to be an instrumentally construed active, with indefinite (unexpressed) object.

#### FRAGMENTS WHICH CANNOT BE CLASSIFIED.

879 ἄβρωτος: Pollux (6, 39) defines it ὁ νῆσις.

881 ἀγάμητος, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀγαμος, Anecd. Bekk., p. 336, 7. 'Αγάμητος, Brunck; ἀγίμετος, Anec. Bekk.

205 ἀδόξαστον, ἀνέλπιστον, Hesych. I, p. 97, and Anecd. Bekk., p. 344, 28.

43 αἰχμόδετος, αἰχμάλωτος, Hesych. I, p. 178. V. L. αἰχμόλετος.

241 ἀκήρυκτον, ἄγνωστον, Hesych. I, p. 191.

623 ἄκλεπτοι, οὐ παραλογιζόμενοι, ἀληθεῖς, Hesych. I, p. 194.

674 ἀκόλαστον σῶμα.



- 298 ἄλυτον, ἀκατάλυτον, ἀκατάπαυστον, Hesych. I, p. 252.
- 228 ἀμόρφωτον, ἀδιατύπωτον, Hesych. I, p. 282.
- 27 ἀναρκτον, ἀνυπότακτον, [οὔ] οὐδεὶς ἤρξε (ἤρξει, codex): Hesych. I, p. 339.
- 911 ἀνόσητον: τὸν δὲ ἄνοσον καὶ ἀνόσητον Σοφοκλῆς, Pollux 3, 107.
- 299 ἀξέστους, τραχείας, Hesych. I, p. 412.
- 283 ἀπαρθένευτος (ἀπαρθίνευτος, cod.), ἀκέραιος, καθαρά, Hesych. I, p. 426.
- 564 ἄπιστος, ἀπαράπιστος, ἀπειθής, Hesych. I, p. 453. Nauck conjectures ἄπειστος, ἀπαράπειστος.
- 229 ἀποπλήκτω ποδί, μανιώδει, Hesych. I, p. 477.
- 48 ἄσепτον, ἀσεβές, Hesych. I, p. 568.
- 121 ἄτμητον, ἀμέριστον, ἀτραυμάτιστον, Hesych. I, p. 603, adopting Salmasius' suggestion: ἀτραυμάτιστον. Σοφοκλῆς Ἀμφιτρυώνι. ἄτμητον, ἀμέριστον, codex.
- 498 ἄρρητον, ἄφραστον, ἀνιστόρητον, ἀπόρρητον, ἄφωνον, αἰσχροῦν, Hesych. I, p. 551.
- 231 αὐτόφορτοι, αὐτοδιάκονοι, κυρίως δὲ οἱ ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις πλοίοις, Hesych. I, p. 630.
- 512 αὐτόσσυτον, αὐτοκέλευστον, Hesych. I, p. 629.
- 354 ἀπέλαστον ἀξύμβλητον ἐξεθρεψάμην. Ἀξύμβλητον ὥστε μηδενὶ ἀπαντῆσαι, Anecd. Bekk., p. 413, 14, and Etym. M., p. 327 C. Ἀξύμβλητον (ἀξύβλητον, cod.), ὁ μηδενὶ ἀπαντᾶν (ἀπαντᾶ ἢ, cod.) δυνατόν, ἢ ἀσυνάντητον, Hesych. I, p. 414. Ἀπέλαστον is Meineke's, ἄπλαστον Bergk's conjecture for the MS reading ἄπλαστον.
- 505 οὐκ ἀψάλακτος, ἀκίνητος, ἀψηλάφητος, ἀκράτητος, Hesych. I, p. 665.
- 202 γνωστός, ἀντὶ τοῦ γνώριμος, Antiatt., p. 87, 25.
- 934 διωκτός, ὁ ἀνὴρ φυγᾶς, ἐξόριστος: Pollux 9, 158.
- 392 ἐπίκοτα, ἐπίμορφα (ἐπίμορφα, cod.), ἃ πᾶς ἦν τις (ἄπασαν τίς, cod.) μέμψαιτο, Hesych. I, p. 1360.
- 499 ἐνθρίακτος, ἐνθουσιῶν καὶ ἐνθέακτος, Hesych. I, p. 1240.
- 424 θρεκτοῖσι νόμοις, ἀντὶ τοῦ τροχαίοις (τροχαῖος, cod.), Hesych. I, p. 1730. Nauck prefers the V. L. κρεκτοῖσι.
- 132 σαλητόν, ἀντὶ πατρός (σαράπιδος, Valesius et al.). ἡ βαρβαρικὸν χιτῶνα, Hesych. II, p. 1143; σῆρητον ὁ σάραπις, καὶ εἶδος χιτῶνος, Hesych. II, p. 1154.

CHARLES EDWARD BISHOP.

#### IV.—OVIDIANA.

A. A. II 305-8.

Bracchia saltantis, uocem mirare canentis,  
Et quod desierit, uerba querentis habe.  
Ipsos concubitus, ipsum uenerere licebit  
Quod iuuat et †quaedam gaudia noctis habe.†

Of the emendations as yet known of 308 the least unsatisfactory is Merkel's *et praedam gaudia noctis habe*, though such a sense of *praedam habere* 'to turn into an occasion of gain' is very forced. Perhaps we have here another case of the frequent confusion of *d* and *cl*: *quaedam* is a corruption of *quae clam*: then *habe* will become either *habet* or *habes*, a point which can only be determined when we possess an adequate collation of the MSS. *clam habere* = to conceal or keep unmentioned in Ter. Hec. IV 1. 4 id qua causa clam me habuisse Dicam, non edepol scio. The two vv. will then become

Ipsos concubitus, ipsum uenerere licebit  
Quod iuuat et quae clam gaudia noctis habet.  
habes.

i. e. licebit uenerere ipsos concubitus ipsamque uoluptatem coitus et gaudia ueneris, quae taces (tacet). If *habet* is read, the nominative will be *amica*. Heinsius supports *gaudia noctis* from Her. XVIII 107.

Rem. Am. 699, 700.

Non ego Dulichio furiali more sagittas  
Nec raptas ausim tinguere in amne faces.

So *R* as reported by Ehwald.

If *Dulichio* is genuine, *furiali* can hardly be right; but Ehwald's conjecture, *frustrari*, is rather wide of the word. To judge the passage adequately we should first understand the allusion. Hitherto I have seen no commentator who explains it, as I believe it should be, by a reference to *poisoned* arrows. In Od. I 259-64 Ulysses is said to have gone to Ephyre to procure poison in which to steep his arrows, from Ilus, son of Mermerus. Ilus, however, refused to give him the poison, and he obtained it from the Taphian prince Anchialus, father of Mentes.

If this is the allusion, then *furialis* is probably right; for the word is specially used in connexion with *poisons*. Met. IV 506 uergit *furiale* uenenum Corpus in amborum. Cic. Tusc. Disp. II 8. 20 Haec me inretriuit ueste *furiali* in scium. Val. Fl. VI 670 Quaque dedit teneros aurum *furiale* per artus Deficit (of a necklace producing poisonous or noxious effects). VII 254 *furialia* figit Oscula.

Supposing, I say, the allusion in Rem. 699 to be to Ulysses' use of poisoned arrows, *furialis* would be quite in keeping with such a sense. Heinsius, therefore, may be substantially right in reading Non ego Dulichio furiales more sagittas.

Except that for *furiales*, the form in *-is* would be a nearer approach to *furiali* of R. *Tinguere* is constructed with both verses; and the meaning will be 'I am not one that would venture like Ulysses to steep poisonous arrows, or seize and plunge lighted torches in a river.' In other words, 'I am not one to advocate violent measures in love: there should be no poisoning, no sudden quenching of love's torch: a gentler mode of operation is best.'

*furialis tinguere* would thus = *furiali ueneno tinguere*.

Epist. Sapph. 51-56 de Vries (Leyden, 1885).

Nunc tibi Sicelides ueniunt noua praeda puellae.  
Quid mihi cum Lesbo? Sicelis esse uolo,  
O uos erronem tellure remittite nostrum,  
Nisiades matres Nisiadesque nurus.  
Nec uos decipiant blandae mendacia linguae.  
Quae dicit uobis, dixerat ante mihi.

Prof. E. A. Freeman, Hist. of Sicily, II 149, asks "why does Sappho call on the

Nisiades matres Nisiadesque nurus

to send back the runaway? Surely Nisa (see vol. I, p. 122), if it existed at all, was the most obscure of Sikan or other towns."

To this very reasonable question Heinsius' words may be quoted in reply: "Per *Nisidas* autem *matres* Megarenses littorales intelligi non est dubium. Megara enim Siciliae portus a Megaris Atticus, quae et Nisea dicta antiquitus, a Niso rege."

That is to say, because the Megara in Greece was called Nisaea, therefore the women of Megara in Sicily could be called *Nisiades*!

Such an explanation, accepted though it is by de Vries, who quotes Lennep as accepting it before him, would have seemed as impossible to Freeman as it does to me.

It may, however, be put in a less violent shape. Statius, Theb. II 382 *Hinc praeteruectus Nisum et te, mitis Eleusin*, seems to use Nisus as = Megara. Lutatius thus comments on this passage: *Megaram dixit, in qua Nisus regnavit. Quidam Nisum montem Megarensium dicunt, in quo Nisus est sepultus, quem ferunt crinem habuisse purpureum.*

If, then, Statius could use *Nisus* = Megara in Greece, might not Ovid call *Nisiades* the women of Megara in Sicily? To this I should give an equally negative reply. But again, may not *Nisiades* = the female descendants of Nisus (de Vit in the *Onomasticon* to Forcellini)? Megara in Sicily being a colony of Megara in Greece, and an ultimate connexion with Nisus, the legendary founder of Nisaea and king of the Greek Megara, being thus traceable, it would be a pardonable licence in Ovid or whoever was the author of the *Epistula Sapphus* to transfer from the mother-city to the colony the mythical name with which the former was traditionally associated.

To this it might be replied (1) that such a connexion is at best *very* remote, (2) that it is much *more* remote in the absence of any tradition connecting Sappho or Phaon with the Sicilian Megara.

Freeman cites the Parian chronicle as stating that Sappho fled from Mitylene with the banished *γαμόροι* to Sicily, *Σαπφῶ ἐγ Μιτυλήνης εἰς Σικελίαν ἐπλευσε φυγοῦσα σὺν ἄλλοις ὀλιγαρχικοῖς*. This testimony is valuable as proving that the author of the *Epistula Sapphus* was following an existing and accredited legend in making Sappho wish to be with Phaon in *Sicily*.

A MS in the Corsini Library at Rome, the same which contains the *Culex* (see *Journal of Philology* for 1887, pp. 153-56; *Classical Review* for 1892, pp. 203-5), has also the *Epistula Sapphus*. vv. 53, 54 are thus given by this MS:

caronem  
At uos erronem tellure remittite nostrum,  
Nasiades matres Nasiadesque nurus.

Sedlmayer (whose commentary on the *Heroides* I have not been able to find in the Bodleian) does not mention *Nasiades* among the variants which he has recorded in this passage: neither does de Vries. The latter editor, however, gives *Nesiades* as the reading of a MS which he calls *m*<sup>1</sup>, and as a superscribed alternative for *Nisiades* in another which he calls *g*<sup>7</sup>, both of the XVth cent. *Nesiades*, *Nasiades* are, I imagine, identical: both

refer to the *island* of Syracuse, but the more correct name of this island is the Doric form *Nasos* (Freeman, I, p. 350), not the Hellenic *Nesos*. In the *a* form the name is found several times in Liv. XXV 30, where the excellent VIIIth cent. codex Puteaneus seems to give a double *s*: *nasso, nassum*. If the Corsini MS is right in giving the *a* form, it is not impossible that in some of the copies not yet examined, *Nassiades* may be found. This I leave to future explorers.

From Mr. H. Wharton's interesting volume on Sappho I learn that the Elizabethan writer Lilley makes his Sappho a princess of *Syracuse*.

The same Corsini MS *incidentally* supports a conjecture of Oudendorp's in another much disputed v. of the Epistula Sapphus. 63-66, de Vries:

Arsit †inops frater meretricis captus amore  
Mixtaque cum turpi damna dolore tulit.  
Factus inops agili peragit freta caerulea remo,  
Quasque male amisit, nunc male quaerit opes.

For *inops* in 63 Oudendorp conjectured *iners*. The two words are interchanged in Calpurn. Ecl. III 60:

Vox et carmen *iners* et acerbae stridor auenae

where the Corsini MS gives *inops*, with many others of the later MSS, as attested by H. Schenkl ad loc. I believe that this emendation of Oudendorp's will commend itself to an attentive reader of the poem more than any of those mentioned by de Vries or Sedlmayer.

I will not leave the poem without adding one more reading of the Corsini. It has *furialis en io al. hericto* in Ep. Sapph. 139. De Vries in his commentary seems to accept *Enyo*, which is found in the best source for the poem, the Frankfort codex (f), as right; and it certainly may be, though *feralis* for *furialis* (de Vries) does not recommend itself to my judgment. I observe, however, that Palmer (preface to *Heroides*, p. vii) seems to endorse *Erictho* and to place the author of the Epistula after Juvenal. It was certainly known to the writer of an epigram ascribed to Ausonius (XCV 13, Schenkl):

Quod sibi suaserunt Phaedra et Elissa dabunt,  
Quod Canace Phyllisque et fastidita Phaoni:

a passage from which it would seem to have been then included *in the rest of the Ovidian Heroides*.

Amor. III 8. 65, 66.

Nec te decipiant ueteres quinquatria cerae.  
Tolle tuos tecum pauper amator auos.

So, as reported, the Codex Puteaneus: other MSS have *ueteris*.

Naugerius and Marcilius both thought that *quinque atria* was to be read here. "Fortasse," wrote the former, "ut in quibusdam, *quinque atria* legendum, ut maxime nobilis significetur is, cuius maiorum imagines uel quinque compleant atria." Caspar Barth (Aduersar. X 27) cites a marginal scholion from a MS of the Amores which gives a color to this view: Explodit nobiliorem qui totis atriis imagines habebat dispositas, et se hominem nobilem magni faciebat. Ad talem dicit Iuuenalis cum tota Carthagine migra. I see no ground for doubting Barth's truthfulness as to this excerpt: doubtless similar or identical scholia may be found on the passage in some of the innumerable MSS of the poem.

Barth, however, while agreeing with the interpretation above given as a whole, maintained that *quinquatria* should be written as one word. He quotes a gloss, *Quinquatria porticus est quinque ambulatorum*, which is repeated by Papias in this form, *Quinquatria quinque porticorum ambitus*. Many years before my attention was called to the difficulty in Ovid, I had found this gloss in the XIVth cent. Balliol Glossary, with *porticum* for *porticorum*. It can be traced back as far as the XIth century. A Vatican codex of this date (Mai, Auct. Class. VII) gives it thus: *Quinquatria, quinque porticorum ambitus puto*. It is also in the so-called Glossae Isidori, *Quinquatria ambitus quinque porticorum*; but I am aware that Löwe has discredited the value and antiquity of this collection. Yet Arevalo seems right in tracing a connexion between the gloss and the scholion on totis quinquatribus optat, Juv. X 115 diebus festis quibus Minerua colitur, aut quod intra quinque atria fit, aut atria abundat, nam dies quinque in uno (*continui* Schurzfleisch) festi; and this carries back the gloss to a comparatively early period.

Barth's belief that *quinquatria* was a singular noun (in accordance with which he changed *decipiant* into *decipiat*) in no way follows from the gloss. It may quite as well be a neuter plural with a collective meaning; and at least as regards the MSS of Ovid there seems to be no support for the singular.

But was Barth right in accusing Naugerius and Marcilius of 'great and dangerous error' for preferring to write *quinque atria*

in two words rather than *quinquatria* in one? Surely not, on the evidence of the gloss. For if the Juvenal scholion is the source of it, it is a mere etymology, in its original form; a tentative explanation of a word, not an ascertained or really existing meaning. If, on the other hand, it has nothing to do with the Juvenal scholion, it may be, as Heinsius suggested, a gloss on this actual passage of Ovid, but written after *quinquatria* had occupied the MSS, ousting the more genuine *quinque atria*.

It is, I think, highly improbable that in the Augustan age a poet of Ovid's eminence should have written *quinquatria* (which, so far as our extant authorities go, is invariably applied to the festival of Minerva in the third week of March) in the sense of *quinque atria* 'five halls' or 'hallfuls.' But I see no strong objection to his writing *quinque atria* with this meaning. Vergil, speaking of the wealthy Galaesus, Aen. VII 538, describes him as lord of *five* flocks of sheep, *five* herds: *Quinque greges illi balantum, quina redibant Armenta*, and the recurrence of this number in familiar combinations such as *quinque zonae, planetae, sensus*, etc., to say nothing of the *πένταθλον*, might be enough to account for its being used by Ovid in the vague and large way more usually associated with *tres, ter*. At any rate, the numerical difficulty which Burmann finds in *quinque*, as if five *atria* were an impossibility, is not a very insurmountable one. It would not, I suppose, arrest any scholar who found it so written in a MS otherwise authoritative. The real difficulty is that *quinquatria* should here, and here alone, have a meaning quite distinct from its ordinary sense. But this might well have its origin in palaeography. How little separates QVINQ. ATRIA from QVIN-QVATRIA! Let the point which followed the Q once fall out, how likely that it would continue to be omitted, that the MSS which preserved it would become fewer and rare!

I need not dwell on the natural connexion between the waxen images of ancestors and the *atrium*. Juvenal's well-known line, VIII 19 *Tota licet ueteres exornent atria cerae*, is copiously illustrated by Mayor in loc. One parallel I may be permitted here to cite. Mart. II 90. 5, 6 *Differat hoc patrios optat qui uincere census Atriaque inmodicis artat imaginibus*. The plural here is like the *quinque atria* of Ovid. It is vague and meant to give an idea of profusion—he crowds his 'halls' with busts, just as Ovid's lover fills 'five' whole 'halls' with them.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

## REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

The Dialogues of Plato. Translated into English, with Analyses and Introductions, by B. JOWETT. Third edition. Revised and corrected throughout. New York, Macmillan & Co., 1892.

The appearance of the third and definitive edition of Jowett's Plato, with introductions, analyses, résumés of analyses, head-lines, marginal analysis and 175 pages of index, recalls to mind Mr. Bright's saying of the first edition that it was a more marvellous achievement of the human intellect than the original composition of the dialogues. This is not quite so. But it would not be easy to name any original book of the last twenty years that has exerted a wider or more salutary influence on the thought of the age. In its new and improved form, its manifold contents made accessible to the most hurried reader by every device of the printer's art, the work will remain an ever open source of idealistic inspirations, a rich storehouse of suggestion to literary workers of every description.

The translation now, after two careful revisions and the pains bestowed upon it by the band of scholars whose aid is cordially acknowledged in the preface, is substantially correct—correct, that is, within the limits set by the translator's aims and methods. There still remain, as I shall note hereafter, a certain number of what seem to me positive errors of interpretation. But it would be grossly unfair for the critic to swell this list by including in it all the minor 'betrayals' of his original into which the translator is inevitably led by his method of "reducing the two languages to terms of each other" and allowing the precise order of the Greek words to fade from his mind. It is no part of Professor Jowett's design to reveal to us how he construes the Greek, and it would be mere pedantry on the part of the critic to assume the rod of the schoolmaster. There remain, then, for consideration, Professor Jowett's theory of translation and its application to the problem of translating Plato; the interpretations of the Platonic philosophy suggested rather than set forth in the introductions, and lastly the enumeration of some positive errors of detail that have escaped the eyes of the translator and his coadjutors. But before attempting to play the critic one would gladly pay his little tribute of admiration to this noble literary monument of a long and noble life. *Μωμήσεται τις μάλλον ἢ μωμήσεται.* The critic may carp at details, and versions of single dialogues may be published that will better please particular classes of readers, scholars, 'aesthetes,' students of philosophy; but the work as a whole will remain a permanent contribution to English literature that will not easily be superseded. It is not given to every man to compose (in original or in translation) five volumes of English prose of unflinching propriety, lucidity and charm, never deviating into vulgarity or rhetoric, but always preserving as by Hellenic instinct the just mean and the exquisite urbanity of the best literary society.



If we except the English Bible, it is probably safe to say that no modern literature possesses any translation of like extent and literary excellence.

Professor Jowett is especially successful in reproducing the little pictures of Greek life that serve as a stage for the unfolding of the argument, or the dramatic by-play of high comedy or uproarious farce that accompanies and relieves the severity of the dialectic. What can be more admirable than the opening scene of the *Charmides*—the press of Greek youths thronging about the reigning beauty and Socrates just returned from the camp at Potidaea?—or the *Palaestra* of the *Lysis* and *Lysis* himself "standing with the other boys and youths, having a crown upon his head like a fair vision" (pity 'fair vision' is not in the Greek); or the Homeric review of the gathering of the Sophists in the *Protagoras*; or the kindly old age of *Cephalus*—a portrait of the just man ending his days in peace, with honor, love, obedience, troops of friends, set in the forefront of the Republic, a practical confirmation of the conclusion to which the argument will bring us 'after it has gone a long and weary way.' Very admirable, too, are Professor Jowett's reproductions of the lofty strain of Socratic irony in the *Gorgias*—the idealist against the world; the roaring farce of the *Euthydemus*; the amusing description of what befell the 'notable device of the scythe-spear' in the *Laches*; the Aristophanic account of the original man-woman in the *Symposium*; the humors of democracy in the Republic; the friendly banter of Socrates and *Phaedrus* by the *Ilissus*, and the solemn jests of the Sophist and Statesman. And in a loftier, more serious vein, where shall we look for anything finer than the beautiful description of the *Ilissus* or the allegory of the Chariot and two Steeds in the *Phaedrus*, or the death of Socrates, or the myth at the close of the *Gorgias*?

There are also countless single felicities of diction and clever paraphrases to delight the lovers of neat translations and edify students of the ingenious art of Greek prose composition. E. g. *Phaedr.* 245 C *ή δὲ δὴ ἀπόδειξις ἔσται δεινοῖς μὲν ἀπιστος σοφοῖς δὲ πιστή* "the proof shall be one which the wise will receive and the witty disbelieve"; 250 D *ταῦτα μὲν οὖν μνήμη κεχαρίσθω*, etc., "let me linger over the memory of scenes that have passed away"; 256 E "will send you bowling round the earth during a period of nine thousand years and leave you a fool in the world below." *Symp.* 191 *σίμβολον* "the indenture of a man"; 221 B *βρεθνόμενος* "stalking like a pelican." *Euthyphron* 3 B *ὡς οὖν καινοτομοῦντός σου*, etc., "he thinks you a neologian." *Protag.* 337-38 (speech of *Hippias*) "worthy of this height of dignity" (*ἀξιώματος*); *ibid.* "go forth on the gale with every sail set out of sight of land into an ocean of words." *Euthyd.* 303 C *τῶν σεμνῶν δὴ*, etc., "grave and reverend seigniors"; *ὁ Διὸς Κόρινθος* "the old, old song." *Meno* 76 E *παραγική γὰρ ἡ ἀπόκρισις* "in the orthodox, solemn vein." *Phaedr.* 236 *ξίνες ὁ τοι λέγω* "wherefore perpend," but in *Meno* 76 D "read my meaning." Republic 519 A "But what if there had been a circumcision of such natures in the days of their youth?" etc. *Rep.* 516 C "Wisdom of the den." *ἐθελουσίλους* "who hug their chains."

The periphrases are sometimes really too fine, reminding one of nothing so much as of the comparative tables of idiom in the introductions to manuals of Greek prose composition. E. g. *Symp.* 129 "In the magnificent oration which you have just uttered" (*τοῦ λόγου*). *Protag.* 320 "at this unearthly hour" (*τηνυκάδε*). *Protag.* 347 D "even though they are very liberal in their potations"

(*κἂν πάνυ πολλὸν οἶνον πῖωσιν*). Lysis 209 "as much as he can take up between his fingers" (*οὐδ' ἂν σμικρὸν*). Rep. 466 A "But that as at present advised" (*νῦν δέ*); 531 A "'Tis as good as a play" (*γελοῖως γε*); 533 C "such a fabric of convention" (*τὴν τοιαύτην ὁμολογίαν*); 517 C "Those who attain to this beatific vision" (*οἱ ἐνταῦθα ἐλθόντες*); 551 D "another discreditable feature" (*οὐδὲ τόδε καλόν*); 539 B "Taste the dear delight" (*αὐτῶν γενέσθαι*).

Professor Jowett affects these elegant periphrases with the avowed purpose of avoiding tautology, of which modern languages are less tolerant than the Greek. In the introduction to the Cratylus, speaking of the fear of tautology as one of the forces operative in language-growth, he says that "it seems to be a kind of impertinence to the reader, and strikes unpleasantly both on the mind and ear, that the same sounds should be used twice over when another word or turn of expression would have given a new shade of meaning to the thought, and would have added a pleasing variety to the sound." In illustration of this cf. Meno 73 E *εἴποιμ' ἂν . . . οὕτως ἂν εἴποιμι* "I might say . . . and I should adopt this mode of speaking." 86 C *περὶ τούτου* "this is a theme upon which." 91 D *καὶ τούτων* "and in return for this disservice." Gorgias 465 E *ἐα με χρῆσθαι* "let me have the benefit of your brevity," where the paraphrase has certainly "given a new shade of meaning to the thought." Phaedo 101 "For there is the same liability to error in all these cases" (*ὁ αὐτὸς γάρ που φόβος*). Gorgias 512 B "or from any other devourer" (*ἄλλοθεν ὀποθενοῖν*). Rep. 376 A "The trait of which I am speaking" (*καὶ τοῦτο*).

Apt turns of expression are occasionally borrowed from the storehouse of Shakespere or the Bible, though Professor Jowett holds that this is a resource of which the judicious translator should avail himself sparingly. Nothing could be happier than "she receives the *sensible warm motion* of particles that flow towards her," etc., for the *δεχομένη τὸν ἥμερον . . . θερμαίνηται*, etc., of Phaedr. 251 C. "And do they n share" is for those who catch the allusion an exquisite rendering of the *οὐκοῦν μεταλαμβάνει* of Rep. 565 A. The translator is less successful with his Falstaff in 566 C, where he attempts to reproduce the effect of the Homeric *κεῖται μέγας μεγαλωστί* by "larding the plain with his bulk." We catch the echoes of familiar quotations also in "continue of the same opinion still" (II 381); "flowers that bloom in the spring" (Rep. 475 A), which we fear is intentional, as it has been introduced since the second edition; "the sorrows of a poor old man" (I 476); "necessity, who is the mother of our invention" (III 49); "have everything handsome about them" (III 106); "refuse to speak of their pleasant vices" (Gorgias 502 B); "rehabilitate hippocentaurs and chimeras dire" (Phaedr. 229 E); "to the manner born of our muse" (I 559).

Yet despite Professor Jowett's brilliant success with it in practice, one is loth to accept his theory of translation. All that he says in his preface about slavish conformity to the original being the petty ambition of a schoolboy sounds plausible enough and might convince us, did not Munro's Lucretius exist to prove that the most scrupulous conformity to the original and a certain inevitableness in the rendering of each and every word are quite compatible with an English of the purest and noblest type. Ingenious, fluent, easy are the epithets we apply to Professor Jowett's renderings; we should never, I think, call them inevitable. He himself admits that to reproduce the movement and feeling of the original is the translator's ideal. But every scholar

must feel that he has sacrificed this to the fetich of an equable and conventional English style. Anxious to avoid the usual failing of translations—contamination with foreign idiom—he has, in his attempt to “form a general idea of the two languages and reduce one to terms of the other” chosen as his type of English that form of the literary language which bears least resemblance to the Greek language generally and to the style of Plato in particular. It is perfectly true that “good” modern English tends to throw off the adversative and inferential form; that it avoids elaborate periods and pronounced rhythms, and is intolerant of anacoluthon and tautology; and that archaisms, quotations and a consciously Saxon vocabulary impair the equability of a style. But English literature affords many models of style, from the prose of Milton and Hooker to that of De Quincey, Carlyle, Ruskin and Walter Pater, that in some or all of these respects are much better adapted to reproduce the effect of the Greek of Plato. The English reader of culture enjoys and appreciates these styles quite as much as his Addison, Swift or Macaulay. Why should he be compelled to read his Plato in a style that Lysias would have employed, had Lysias been a Saturday Reviewer? The translator's statement that “in some respects it may be maintained that ordinary English writing, such as the newspaper article, is superior to Plato: at any rate, it is couched in language which is rarely obscure”—this portentous dictum, I say, makes one ask whether Professor Jowett is aware how much of the force and feeling of the original is lost in his fluent rewriting. A portion of Plato's meaning may sometimes sleep in the ear of a careless reader or imperfect Grecian, but a chief charm of Plato's style for the scholar is that it defines every nuance of feeling and thought with a precision of which the English language is incapable. This is accomplished by skilful arrangement and distribution of emphasis, the balanced or inferential opposition or parallelism of phrase and clause, and a consciously careful discrimination of synonyms. Hence, as Mr. Pater somewhere says, the best way to translate Plato is often to make sure of the right vocabulary and then to follow the windings of Plato's thought in the order of the original words, careless of the formal coherence of the syntax. The translator who breaks up Plato's periods into neat, crisp English sentences, and refuses to himself the license of anacoluthon, will inevitably misplace the emphasis and lose the rhythm of his original. If he does away with the inferential and adversative form and ignores the force of the particles, he sacrifices the logical evolution of the thought, which for Plato was often no less important than its substance. And by employing elegant periphrasis to avoid tautology he often wantonly alters emotional connotations and suggestions to which Plato attached the greatest significance.

This work, however, is much more than a translation. In the elaborate introductions to the dialogues, extending in some instances to more than two hundred pages, Professor Jowett undertakes not only to resume and interpret Plato's thought, but to apply, I had almost said to ‘improve’ it (“Plato,” as he says, “admits of endless applications”), in relation to the entire life and culture of our day. These introductory essays, a notable feature of the first edition, received many additions in the second, and in the third, besides many alterations and improvements of detail, are enriched with supplementary discussions on *The New Science of Language*; *The Ideas of Plato* and

Modern Philosophy; The Decline of Greek Literature; The Scope of Psychology, etc., etc. To many readers the modernity, the breadth of view, the gentle wisdom, the playful urbanity, the veiled and evasive dogmatism in the treatment of great themes that mark these essays will seem hardly less attractive than the dialectic discussions they serve to introduce (*τοῖς πολλοῖς οὐκ ἀηδέστερα ἀκούειν*). What could be more exquisite than the little essay on Friendship prefixed to the *Lysis* (I 45); or the half-serious debate as to the relative advantages of a marriage of love and a marriage of convenience in the introduction to the *Phaedrus*; or the hints for the Platonic education of after-life (III cxi); or, in a somewhat higher vein, the meditations on immortality in the introduction to the *Phaedo*; the portrait of the ideal philosopher of modern times (III lxxviii); the reflections on the symbolism of the Platonic mythus (II 316-24); the picture of the world as it reflected itself in the conjectures of early Greek science (III 380 sqq.)? Who can read unmoved the lovely passage (unfortunately too long to quote, V ccxxxvii) in which the translator takes leave of his laborious task and reluctantly severs his lifelong communion with the spirit of the greatest teacher who has ever appealed to the reason of man? This beautiful page will remain classic: it marks the supreme perfection of nineteenth-century English prose.

Simple and unemphatic in style, these essays are yet thickly strewn with wise, pregnant or pretty sayings which the appreciative reader will note and of which a few may not unprofitably be collected here: "The moral and intellectual are always dividing, yet they must be re-united, and in the highest conception of them are inseparable" (I 127). "For he sees the marks of design in the world, but he no longer sees, or fancies that he sees, God walking in the garden or haunting stream or mountain" (III 427). "Governing for the people cannot easily be combined with governing by the people" (II 312). "In all things there is an element of convention; but the admission of this does not help us to understand the rational ground or basis in human nature on which the convention proceeds" (I 256). "The Symposium is Greek, having a beauty as of a statue . . . while the *Phaedrus* is marked by a sort of Gothic irregularity" (I 515). "It was easier to think of a former than of a future life, because such a life has really existed for the race, though not for the individual" (II 15). "'Piety is doing as I do' is the idea of religion which first occurs to him and to many others who do not say what they think with equal frankness" (II 71). "Good men are too honest to go out of the world professing more than they know" (II 180). "Nor need anything be excluded from the plan of a great work to which the mind is naturally led by the association of ideas and which does not interfere with the general purpose" (III iii). "No such inspired creation is at unity with itself, any more than the clouds of heaven when the sun pierces through them" (III viii). "Looking into the orb of light he sees nothing, but he is warmed and elevated" (III cx cvi). "Habit is to the mind what the bones are to the body" (IV 178). "Astronomy and medicine were naturally connected in the minds of early thinkers because there was little or nothing in the space between them" (IV 432). "Evil is supposed to continue . . . a sort of mephitic vapor exhaling from some ancient chaos" (IV 434).

These essays, however, claim to be much more than a series of miscellaneous

reflections and happy sayings about Plato and Platonism. They offer a complete, if designedly unsystematic, interpretation of the Platonic philosophy, and a critical examination of the entire scientific and philosophic effort of our time, touching lightly but with confident affirmation on every topic from prehistoric marriage to the future of science and the transmission of acquired qualities by heredity. With the synoptic gaze of the dialectician, Professor Jowett, from the vantage-ground of two generations of Oxford culture and the summits of the Platonic philosophy, surveys the labors of the present generation of scholars and thinkers with playful indulgence and finds them by no means all very good. The conclusion of the suggestive but somewhat rambling and inconclusive essay on the new science of language is that "Like some other branches of knowledge, it may be approaching a point at which it can no longer be profitably studied" (I 320). The essay on the nature and limits of psychology begins by saying that during the past twenty years "the subject has gained in breadth and extent; whether it has had any true growth is doubtful," and, after a clever summary of the obstacles to a scientific investigation of mind, either by self-scrutiny or study of the machinery of the body, concludes by offering to "rehabilitate psychology to some extent not as a branch of science, but as a collection of facts bearing on human life." And the essay on Hegelianism, while assigning Hegel an exalted place above other philosophers, assumes that "we know his method to be erroneous," and blasphemously says that "whatever came into his mind seemed to him to be a necessary truth." The young grammarians, the adherents of the new psychology and the Neo-Hegelians can be safely relied upon to defend themselves against the flatters of any Platonic littérateur. But Professor Jowett's easy-going belletristic treatment of the history of philosophy, and more especially of the Platonic philosophy, may fitly be animadverted upon here. His own attitude towards philosophy may be defined as a mild literary positivism tempered by an Hegelianism akin to that of Renan. "Most of the ancient puzzles," he says, "have been settled on the basis of usage and common sense, and there is no need to re-open them" (I 192). And again: "To continue dead or imaginary sciences which make no signs of progress and have no definite sphere tends to interfere with the prosecution of living ones." Like Hegel, he holds that self-contradiction is the logic of a higher order of truth, and he finds in the master "an emancipation nearly complete from the influences of the scholastic logic." Accordingly he denies the truth of the law of contradiction and avers that "the silliness of the so-called laws of thought has been well exposed by Hegel himself." For "unless we are willing to admit that two contradictories may be true, many questions which lie at the threshold of mathematics and morals will be insoluble puzzles to us." Plato, he thinks, may have dimly anticipated this great truth in his hint of a "longer way" (Rep. 435 D and 504), which is perhaps an intimation "of some metaphysic of the future which will not be satisfied with arguing from the principle of contradiction." But Plato, alas! does not attempt, like Hegel, to carry the ordinary mechanism of language and logic "into another region in which all oppositions are absorbed and all contradictions affirmed only that they may be done away with" (IV 316). For Plato "in the Symposium denies the possibility of reconciliation until the opposition has passed away," and in working

out his doctrine of not-being as a form of otherness he has "lost sight altogether of the other sense of not-being as the negative of being." The best answer to this rigmarole is supplied by two or three sentences from Plato himself. The first sentence, as regards the neglected sense of not-being, shall be the challenge of the Eleatic stranger in the *Sophist* 239 C: "Come, now, make a bold and manful attempt, bending every intellectual power to the feat, to deliver yourself of any true utterance about not-being without (implicitly) predicating of it essence or unity or number in any degree!" And for the law of contradiction and its abrogation by Hegel we may take Republic 436 D E, or, better yet, *Sophist* 259 C D (in Jowett's version): "Letting alone these puzzles as involving no difficulty, he should be able to follow and criticise in detail every argument, and when a man says that the same is in a manner other, or that other is the same, to understand and refute him from his own point of view, and in the same respect in which he asserts either of these affections. But to show that somehow and in some sense the same is other, or the other same, or the great small, or the like unlike; and to delight in always bringing forward such contradictions, is no real refutation, but is clearly the new-born babe of some one who is only beginning to approach the problem of being." If Professor Jowett had devoted to Schopenhauer some of the days and nights which he has consecrated to Hegel he would have remembered that the so-called laws of thought are merely the primary conventions of mutually intelligible speech; that their most general expression is: "At a given time and place and for the purposes of a given discourse every predicate either may or may not be affirmed of any subject"; and that it is as futile to speak of the silliness of these laws, or try to transcend them in quest of a higher logic, as it is to dwell upon them and magnify their significance with foolish wonder. But Professor Jowett is in reality only coquetting with Hegelianism for its literary effectiveness. An age of intellectual transition is necessarily an age of inconsistency, he tells us, and inconsistency, as we know from the example of Renan, lends an incomparable breadth of effect and piquancy to the treatment of great religious and philosophical themes. Professor Jowett has not formally adopted Renan's principle that "to contradict oneself frequently gives the best chance of being occasionally in the right," but he doubtless is faintly conscious of a certain artistic pleasure in the contrast between the positivistic reasoning in detail and the spiritualistic summing up of his essays on Immortality and on the Scope of Psychology, or in that between his demonstration that there is after all nothing in Hegelianism and his prodigal encomiums upon Hegel. And to take minor illustrations, there is a noble disdain of the pedant's ideal of consistency in affirming on one page (III cc) that Plato does not "assert in the Republic the involuntariness of vice" and telling us on the next page that "In the Republic he is evidently impressed with the conviction that vice arises chiefly from ignorance and may be cured by education." Or in saying in one place (I 17) that no mention occurs of the doctrine of ideas in the *Timaeus*, in another (I 13) that the ideas are transformed into demons, and in a third (III 346) that "the ideas remain, but that they have become types in nature."

But we are not here concerned with Professor Jowett's philosophic consistency, nor do we care to defend ontology and metaphysics against his scepticism.

ticism. We cordially concur with him in the belief that we want only enough metaphysics to dispel the illusions of metaphysics, though we think he does not realize the full force of his admission that it requires a good deal of metaphysics to get rid of metaphysics, and can hardly be aware how much metaphysics would be needed to reconcile with what seems to be his own final faith his assertion that "it is probable, or indeed certain, that of many mental phenomena there are no mental antecedents, but only bodily ones" (IV 183). But because metaphysics is an unreal science we must not infer that truth and error are meaningless terms as applied to statements about the history of philosophy. The life and growth of metaphysical systems, whatever their objective validity, like that of other products of the human spirit, is a subject for scientific investigation. They are to be studied partly by the historic method, and partly by an *a priori* analysis of the limited number of possible combinations of the main facts of human experience external and internal. That is to say, any given philosophical system is to be explained partly by reference to the science and religion of the age that gave it birth and the experience and reading of its author, and partly by analyzing it into its elements and finding in them some one of the few eternal problems of thought (or verbal puzzles, if you will, τῶν λόγων . . . ἀγῆρων πάθος ἐν ἡμῖν) that are no nearer solution to-day than they were in the time of Plato.

The historian of philosophy cannot escape the necessity of this analysis by asserting that these ancient puzzles have only an historic significance for us now; nor by calling them epigrammatically "surds of metaphysics"; nor by "relegating some of them to the sphere of mystery and some of them to the book of riddles," or by saying that "these and similar double notions, instead of being anomalies, are among the higher and more potent instruments of human thought." Nor is it of any avail to protest against the pedantry of forcing into the Procrustean bed of a system the unsystematic *aperçus* of primitive thinkers. In the case of the Pre-Socratics, where we possess only fragments, such warnings may be needful. In the case of Plato they are a mere evasion. It is not necessary to re-open the tiresome debate as to whether Plato did or did not have a system. His mind and writings were dominated by certain leading thoughts and feelings which his style everywhere implicitly suggests, even where they are not distinctly formulated. The growth and connection of these ideas in his mind was not the result of accident. It is the part of the historian to detect these predominating thoughts, to analyze Plato's attempted solutions of the problems of metaphysics and morals into their elements and compare them with the nearest modern analogues. But Professor Jowett, while perhaps over-quick to note and express picturesque resemblances in matters of feeling and the play of social life, has apparently no eye for those deeper analogies that are revealed by analysis. Thus he tells us that we no longer debate the problem of the one and the many—the co-existence of unity and plurality. But a glance at the last chapter of Professor James's smaller psychology or a little reflection on the interminable debates respecting Kant's synthetic unity would show that we have merely transferred the puzzle to psychology. It would be an interesting study to show definitely the relation of the Platonic problem of the metaphysical unity of the idea in its multiform manifestations to the modern psychologist's difficulty in assigning the postu-

lated unity of cognitive functions to a soul that can manifest itself only through infinitely divisible nervous tissue. Instead of attempting such a study, Professor Jowett puts us off with the ingenious fancy (it is nothing more) that the co-existence of unity and plurality in the idea was to Plato a mystery like that of the co-existence of unity and trinity in the Deity to a trinitarian.

Again, "to appreciate fully the drift of the Euthydemus," he says, "... we should imagine a mental state . . . in which the ideas of space, time, matter, motion were proved to be contradictory and imaginary, in which the nature of qualitative change was a puzzle." But to find this state of mind we need go no further than Herbert Spencer's chapters on the Unknowable, or the strange debate between Spencer and Mill on the meaning of 'same,' or the modern problem of problems: Can evolution evolve qualitative differences out of quantitative? Once more he tells us (II 24) that "the question which Plato has raised respecting the origin and nature of ideas belongs to the infancy of philosophy; in modern times it would no longer be asked." With what questions, then, are Max Müller's *Science of Thought* and Romanes' mental evolution concerned? The origin and nature of our ideas is surely the central question of recent philosophy. We approach the problem from the psychological side and ask, Can we establish a distinction of kind between our ideas and the images and sensations of brutes? But those who would escape materialism and the 'flowing philosophers' will also in the end be forced to investigate the relation of 'ideas' to objective reality, and so to face the problems of the Parmenides.

As a result of this lack of definiteness and precision in the conception and statement of philosophic questions, we find intermingled with the fine sayings that adorn these pages an equal number of errors, misleading suggestions, fantastic analogies, misconceived criticisms of Plato, epigrammatic evasions of serious problems, and Hegelian passages of what Ruskin calls "pure, definite and highly finished nonsense."

For example, it is fanciful to find in *Phaedrus* 247 D "the assertion of the essentially moral nature of God"; as it is to cite *Phaedrus* 246 C to illustrate first the Cartesian union of mind and body, and second the pre-established harmony of Leibnitz; or to see a "reminiscence of the *δμολογερή* and the world-soul of the Timaeus in the monads of Leibnitz which really came from the Platonic idea (*Phileb.* 15 B *μονάδας*), and the Lucretian atoms by way of Giordano Bruno. Plato's disparagement of geometry as a science that, unlike dialectic, is forced to employ sensuous representatives of ideal truths is not a conception of a geometry in which figures are to be dispensed with, nor even in a dim and distant way an anticipation of modern analytic geometry. Socrates' words in *Phaedo* 97 B are not "a mysterious reference to another science (mathematics?) of generation and destruction for which he is vainly feeling" (II 189). They refer simply to the doctrine of causation by 'presence' of the idea which he is about to expound. It is not true that the distinction drawn by Protagoras (*Protag.* 351 B) between the courageous and the confident is futile. It blocks the argument of Socrates on that line, and forces him to turn in another direction. It is inaccurate to say (I 413, II 16) "that the soul which had seen truths in the form of the universal (*Phaedr.* 248 C, 249 C) cannot again return to the nature of an animal." Plato does not oppose good



and knowledge in the Charmides in contrast to his identity elsewhere (I 7), but merely affirms as often that no knowledge of the good is always and necessarily a good. The 'one's own business' of temperance (tentatively) in the Charmides, justice in the Republic, does not show the "shifting character of philosophy" (I 5), if we bear in mind the context and Laws 645c: *τὸ γε δίκαιον οὐ φύεται χωρὶς τοῦ σωφρονεῖν*].

It is no disparagement of Plato's philosophy of language to say that no idea that language is a natural organism (I 281)"; for his idea that language is an instrument (*ὄργανον*) is far truer. It is a misconception "assertion that an agent and a patient may be described by similar terms" as a mistake which "Aristotle (Eth. Nic. V 1. 4, XI 11) partly share. corrects" and as an example of robust sophistry in Plato (II 294). to the greater regularity of the Greek language, what is sometimes fallacy of paronymous terms in English was generally a legitimate inference in Greek, and Plato, while aware of the difficulty, thinks it worth the edification to keep the same associations with both active and Gorgias 476 B must be interpreted by Laws 860 A *ἐὰν δὲ γε δίκαιον μὲν γῶμεν, αἰσχρὸν δὲ εἶναι πάθος, διαφωνήσεται τὸ τε δίκαιον καὶ τὸ καλόν*, etc. There is no real inconsistency between the doctrine of punishment set forth in Gorgias and Republic 380 A B (II 298), and the seeming inconsistency explained by Laws 728 B C. The criticism on the doctrine of the participation line (III xcv), that the relation of shadows to objects does not correspond to the relation of numbers to ideas, ignores the fact that Plato's doctrine is based not on differences in the objects but in the methods or processes of cognition (cf. Rep. 534 A and *infra*, p. 365).

The remarks on the *τρίτος ἄνθρωπος* (III 385 and IV 16) are plausible beside the point. The argument is that if the likeness of particulars necessitates the assumption of a common type (the idea), then by parity of reason the resemblance of the particular and the idea involves another type from which this likeness is derived. The logic of this argument is untouched by Jowett's remark that "the mind, after having obtained a general idea, does not really go on to form another which includes that and all the individual contained under it." There is nothing in the Timaeus to confirm the statement (III 391) "that the pattern (by which the world was created) though eternal is a creation." Republic 511 does not say that "objects of sense only receive their true meaning when they are incorporated in a principle which is above them" (IV 315), but that the non-sensuous conceptions of the mathematics and the arts belong to the domain of the 'understanding' as usually studied, but are objects of the higher reason if taken in connection with first principles. The criticism of the Philebus that "if we adopt the test of definiteness the pleasures of the body are more capable of being defined than other pleasures" (IV 531) betrays a failure to grasp the essential meaning of *ἀπειρος* as applied to *ἡδονή*. It is not true that Aristotle is in advance of Plato in affirming that pleasure is not in the body at all (IV 532), for this is the Platonic doctrine (cf. Timaeus 69 D, Philebus 43; Phaedo 66 C does not really assert the contrary). This appears even from the passage of Aristotle (Nic. Eth. X 3. 6) cited by Professor Jowett, for the words *οὐ δοκεῖ δὲ* express not Aristotle's opinion, but

as often the universally accepted view or the view of the very opponents against whom he is arguing. I will not pause to criticise or attempt to fathom the meaning of "the Kantian conception of an *a priori* synthetical proposition 'one is'" (IV 32) or "the individual is the synthesis of the universal and the particular" (III clxi), or of the statement that "the philosophy of Berkeley could never have had any meaning even to himself, if he had first analyzed from every point of view the conception of matter," or of the criticism "that the being and not-being of Plato never merge in each other, though he is aware that determination is only negation" (IV 18).

Professor Jowett writes very prettily round and about the larger questions of the Platonic philosophy, but instead of a precise investigation of Plato's meaning, he too often contents himself with an evasive flourish about the 'shifting character of Plato's thought,' or the tentative nature of all early speculative efforts. The introductions to the Charmides, Lysis and Laches, for example, practically ignore the fundamental question of the relation of these 'Socratic' dialogues to the doctrine of the Republic and the Laws. In the Laws Plato repeatedly affirms his intention of eschewing verbal eristic, such as he implies that he has permitted himself elsewhere, and he expressly admits that the identification of knowledge in the ordinary sense, and virtue is a way of speaking conducive to edification. In view of this shall we regard the treatment of *φιλία*, *σωφροσύνη* and *ἀνδρεία* in the Lysis, Charmides and Laches, as embodying Plato's best thought at the time, or are they merely dramatic dialectical exertions? The question must at least be asked. At any rate, it is not permissible to affirm generally (I 3) "that in the philosophy of Plato *σωφροσύνη* still retains an intellectual element . . . and is not yet relegated to the sphere of moral virtue, as in the Nichomachean ethics of Aristotle" (cf. Laws 696 sqq.).

Similarly the treatment of the teachableness of virtue in the introductions to the Protagoras and Meno is vague and uncertain. It is quite true that "Plato is desirous of deepening the notion of education, and therefore asserts the paradox that there are no teachers" (II 7). But it is only half true that "Plato means to say that virtue is not brought to a man, but must be drawn out of him and cannot be taught by rhetorical discourses or citations from the poets" (I 116), and it is utterly misleading to say that in the Meno the answer to the question whether virtue can be taught is supplied out of the doctrine of ideas. Plato, who, like all reformers, relied chiefly on education, never doubted but that for all practical purposes 'virtue' can be taught. This appears sufficiently from the allegory of the ship in the Republic. It is the mutinous sailors who affirm that the art of navigation cannot be taught (cf. Laws 644 A οἱ γε ὁρθῶς πεπαιδευμένοι σχεδὸν ἀγαθοὶ γίγνονται). The ethical virtues are taught by the development of instinctive right feeling and convictions, through discipline maintained from early youth. These virtues can be brought to a man and instilled into him, in part through citations from the poets (under censorship) and rhetorical discourses (Laws passim). Intellectual virtue, on the contrary, is an innate faculty of the soul which teaching cannot produce, but only direct from unworthy to worthy objects (Rep. 518). Plato admits the effectiveness of the education of public opinion (Protag. 325; Rep. 492) and the more systematic instruction of the Sophists. But these

agencies are often misdirected and lack unity of purpose. He would employ the forces of both for the education of his ideal city, in which ordinary ethical virtue would be a normal product of the state machinery (Rep. 500 D), while the higher intellectual virtue would be preserved and converted to noble ends whenever it appeared. Under the present régime of chance nothing less than a special providence can save from corruption a soul endowed with the higher faculties. Hence the virtue of such men may be truly said to come *θεία μοίρα* by grace divine (Meno 99, interpreted by Rep. 493 A).

Once more, we are not much advanced in knowledge of the doctrine of ideas by being told that "they are the ever-varying expression of Plato's idealism," or that they are a "great theory of knowledge which Plato in various ways and under various forms of expression is seeking to unfold," or that their various forms "are not to be regarded seriously as having any meaning," but that their "great diversity shows the tentative character of early endeavors to think." A truly philosophic treatment of the subject would show us definitely how the theory of ideas seemed to Plato the only alternative to an impracticable nominalism in logic, a sensationalist psychology, a philosophy of relativity and a materialistic view of the world. *ἡ πολλαπλᾶσιον τὸ ἔργον.*

A philosopher is required to translate a philosopher, and Professor Jowett's belletristic attitude towards philosophy impairs the value of his translation for serious students. One who reads for pleasure, inspiration and the general effect is charmed by the ease, grace and perfect propriety of the English, and accepts the translator's dictum that nothing would be gained by a pedantic and punctilious conformity to the structure of the Greek sentence. But suppose a reader wishes to catch the exact nuance of Plato's thought in some matter where thought and feeling surpass the subtlety of language many times at the best. He will desire either a facsimile of the original, by patient study of which he may puzzle out the meaning for himself, or a 'compensating' version made with an unerring instinct born of a profound insight into the author's thought. Jowett's pretty periphrases, elegant 'compensations' and ingenious abbreviations are a constant delight to a reader who seeks only the charm, the wit and the dramatic life of the dialogues. They will, even in this substantially correct third edition, frequently mislead the reader who wishes to follow the argument. The translator's habit of allowing the Greek to fade from his mind while he writes out its purport in idiomatic English, would be safe only if he had a sure grasp of the Platonic philosophy as a whole. And this he has not. As it is, he abbreviates a seemingly superfluous expression and omits a qualification which cannot be spared; he substitutes a convenient synonym and alters the associations of an entire paragraph; he introduces a compensating embellishment which implicitly contradicts the whole tenor of the argument. And the case is not bettered by the fact that in a majority of instances a popular jury would pronounce the difference insignificant. One of the best lessons that the student learns from Plato is not to be content with an *à peu près*. Moreover, while this translation is stylistically very easy reading, it is in respect of the evolution of the thought often far more difficult than the original. Especially in the Parmenides, Philebus, Sophist and Statesman does one come upon passages which upon reconsideration he admits to be correct and marvels of ingenious yet idiomatic translation, but

which require two or three readings in order to be understood; when a closer version expressed in a less Latinized vocabulary would have been apprehended at once. It is true that modern English does not emphasize and make explicit the connecting links of thought like Platonic Greek, but what do readers of the Parmenides or the Sophist care for conventional English? There is much plausibility in Professor Jowett's claim that "it is a mistaken attempt at precision always to translate the same Greek word by the same English word." But it is an inaccuracy for which the careful reader can learn to make allowance. By study of the context he can gradually build up in his mind a true conception for the fixed conventional representative of an ambiguous or technical term, just as the student of the Greek does for the corresponding Greek word. And he will prefer the method of translation that makes this possible, to the confusion introduced by Professor Jowett's somewhat capricious substitution of synonyms for such words as λόγος, δόξα, φρόνησις, σοφία, σωφροσύνη, for example. It would be far better to render λόγος everywhere by 'speech' or 'discourse' than to translate it now by 'ideas' (II 166), now by 'thought' (Phaedo 100 A, Philebus 15), and again by 'reason' (IV 527), or 'understanding' contrasted with imagination (IV 537), or 'understanding' opposed to reason (Phileb. 62 A). And it is safer to translate δόξα everywhere by 'opinion' than to paraphrase ὁρθὴ δόξα καὶ ἐπιστήμη by 'truth and appearance' (II 16) or render ἀληθινὸς δόξης ἑταῖρος 'companion of true glory' (Phaedr. 253 D). The word σωφροσύνη presents a good test-case. It is best rendered 'sobriety,' though it has no single equivalent in English. In the Charmides, where an attempt is made to define the term, Jowett translates it now by 'temperance,' now by 'wisdom' and by 'temperance or wisdom' at the point of transition from one meaning to the other. Its primary meaning seems to be 'soundness' or 'safeness' of mind, sense and sobriety, as appears e. g. in Protag. 333 C ἀρά τίς σοι δοκεῖ ἀδικῶν ἄνθρωπος σωφρονεῖν; The two chief derived meanings are (1) self-restraint in the matter of the appetites, continence, and (2) self-restraint as shown in submission to lawful authority, 'minding one's own business.' It is only from this idea of 'knowing one's place' that it gets the connotation of 'self-knowledge,' and hence should not be translated simply by 'wisdom' when the intellectual aspect is to be emphasized, but by some paronym of knowledge. The synonyms employed by Professor Jowett not only make it difficult for the English reader to follow the argument of the Charmides, which becomes, like many of Plato's arguments in a loose translation, too grossly fallacious, but they seem to have confused the translator himself. For, surely, the virtue that Charmides has already learned is not self-knowledge, but common, every-day temperance (I 7), and in submitting himself to the instruction of Socrates he is giving proof not of his 'temperance,' but of his soundness of mind or good sense (I 76). The relation of temperance and wisdom in Plato's mind is best shown by a passage (Laws 710 A) which is thus translated by Jowett: "Yes, Cleinias, temperance in the vulgar sense; *not that which in the forced and exaggerated language of some philosophers is called prudence*, but that which is the natural gift of children and animals, some of which live continently and others incontinently, but, when isolated, was, as we said, hardly worth reckoning in the catalogue of goods." A more correct version of this passage would run as follows: "Yes, Cleinias, temperance, in the

popular sense; not that temperance which a man might magnify in his discourse constraining us to identify it with wisdom, but that quality which is, so to speak, the bloom on the peach, in some young boys and animals that are naturally continent in pleasure, while others are incontinent—the quality, I mean, which, when isolated from the generally recognized goods (of the soul), was hardly worth consideration.” In this version, the retention of the metaphor in *ἐπαιθεῖ* and the detailed rendering of the last clause are matters of taste, but Jowett’s translation of the italicized words is positively misleading. The *σεμνύνειν*, or rhetorical magnifying for the sake of edification is not the “forced and exaggerated language of certain philosophers”: it is a constant feature of Plato’s own style in treating ethical subjects. He employs it in relation to these very ideas a few pages back (Laws 689, 696 C), where he distinguishes *σοφός* in the sense of ‘clever,’ from *σοφός* as ‘wise’ in the only true wisdom, which is the harmony of desire and will and ‘fear of the Lord.’ Again, *φρόνησις* must not be translated ‘prudence’ here; it is a synonym of *σοφία* in the sense of the higher wisdom. Professor Jowett’s remarks on these words in the index s. v. Wisdom (V 537) misrepresent their true relation. *σοφία*, he says, means wisdom “in the higher sense, the highest combination of virtue and intelligence,” while *φρόνησις* has “the narrower significance of prudence or forethought and contains less of the moral element.” Now, the two words, as we have just seen, are sometimes used interchangeably by Plato as synonyms of the ‘higher wisdom.’ But *σοφός* and *σοφία* throughout Greek literature have properly nothing to do with morality; they denote cleverness, intellectual ability and the skill of the specialist. The dramatists and Plato sometimes employ *σοφία* for the wisdom which is virtue, but Plato always with the consciousness that he is wresting a good word from the service of the wicked (Theaet. 176 C D). *φρόνησις* and *φρονεῖν*, on the contrary, from the beginning belong to the world of conduct which in its higher aspect is the world of morality. Primitive morality was almost wholly prudential, and this fact, and the English associations of ‘prudence,’ have misled Professor Jowett. But to Plato *σοφία* was more contaminated with the associations of unscrupulous cleverness than *φρόνησις* with those of selfish prudence. The translator, indeed, not infrequently fails to appreciate the Platonic nicety of language in ethical matters. E. g. Rep. 389 D *σωφροσύνης δὲ ὡς πλῆθει οὐ τὰ τοιάδε μέγιστα*, etc., is rendered “are not the chief elements of temperance *speaking generally*,” etc. But *ὡς πλῆθει* means ‘for the multitude’ and is half contemptuous. So in 442 E *τὰ φορτικὰ αὐτῷ προσφέροντες* is more than a ‘few commonplace instances.’ Emerson somewhere, speaking of an antinomian higher rule of life, says “Does any man think this rule too easy—let him keep its commandments one day.” Plato’s meaning is that the higher philosophic virtue will stand all the vulgar tests of ordinary morality which it is almost an insult to apply; cf. Aristotle, Eth. Nic. X 8 (*ἡ φορτικὸς ὁ ἐπαινος*); for, as Leslie Stephens says: “the moral law can be stated unconditionally when it is stated in the form ‘be this,’ but not when stated in the form ‘do this.’” Again, in Republic 430 C *ἀποδέχομαι τοίνυν τοῦτο ἀνδρείαν εἶναι. καὶ γὰρ ἀποδέχου, ἦν δ’ ἐγώ, πολιτικὴν γε*—the rendering “and if you add the words ‘of a citizen’ you will not be far wrong” fails to bring out the force of the limitation. Socrates wishes to restrict his definition to that demotic virtue (intermediate between

the mere virtue of temperament and that of philosophy), *ἐξ ἔθους τε καὶ μελέτης γεγονῖαν ἀνευ φιλοσοφίας τε καὶ νοῦ*, which he so disparages in the *Phaedo* (82 B) and of which in its higher form the Platonic statesman who plays providence with the vulgar sort is in a sense the creator—*δημιουργός* (*Rep.* 500 D). Jowett renders *τὴν δημοτικὴν τε καὶ πολιτικὴν ἀρετὴν* (*Phaedo* 82 B) "the civil and social virtues," etc., and we accordingly find temperance duly entered in the index as "a social virtue," a statement which would sadly bewilder any modern student of ethics who should attempt to "hold the eel of science by the tail" by index-learning.

This index, covering 175 pages, is a piece of work for which all who use these volumes should be grateful to Mr. Knight. Even scholars familiar with the Platonic text will find their account in such articles as those under Athens, Education, Etymology, Homer, Greek Life, Model City, Music, Personification, Proverbs, Socrates. And in the brief, pregnant résumés of leading points of Platonic doctrine contributed by the translator (under the entries Courage, Education, God, Ideas, Justice, Music, Dialectic, Soul, the State, Temperance, Virtue, Wisdom) the English reader will find as good a primer of Platonism as he could desire, expressed in Professor Jowett's happiest style. Nevertheless, an index made from an English translation, and a translation as 'free' as this one, inevitably contains much that is misleading. It is constantly associating things whose sole bond of connection is the translator's caprice in his choice of English synonyms, and it thus serves as a most effective demonstrator of the misconceptions to which seemingly innocent infidelities may give rise. Suppose, to take the first example that comes to hand, that the Professor of Psychology consults the article 'Attention.' He will be referred to *Euthyphron* 13 for the "various meanings of the word" and to *Theaetetus* 153 B for the doctrine that attention "is a motion of the soul." And if he is a rash man he may credit Plato with a vague anticipation of the theories of Ribot. But if he is prudent he will consult his colleague the Greek Professor, who will tell him that in *Euthyphron* 13 it has pleased Professor Jowett to translate by attention a word (*θεραπεία*) which means service, service of the gods, while in *Theaetetus* 153 B the Greek for attention is *μελέτη* 'study-practice.' We have already seen that the Professor of Ethics would be sent to *Phaedo* 82 B for the doctrine that "temperance is a social virtue." Many similar erroneous suggestions and arbitrary associations of Platonic loci could be pointed out, the greater part of them due to the same cause. Thus the association (under "Art and the Conditions of Art") of *Phaedrus* 268-9 and *Laws* 4, 709 C is a mere equivocation on the word 'condition'; the loci collected under "argument, courtesy required in" were surely never brought into juxtaposition before; *Theaetetus* 201 E and *Timaeus* 51 C are not both statements of the doctrine that the "elements are names only"; the community of feeling ironically attributed to himself and Callicles by Socrates in *Gorgias* 481 D has nothing to do with that postulated as a social ideal, *Rep.* 5, 463; *Euthydemus* 296 cannot be cited for 'innate ideas'; that 'Induction is the source of knowledge' cannot be legitimately inferred from *Laws* 12, 965; *Phaedrus* 242 does not say that 'love is a mighty God,' for if it did it would contradict the *Symposium*, and Plato, except in translation, does not contradict himself—the statement is "love is either a god or something divine"; *Philebus* 31 B, 41 E, 49 A do not assign

pain to the mixed class, in contradiction of 28 A, etc., which assign it to the infinite; nor does Laws 3, 693 contradict Theaetetus 172 A in respect of the affirmation that 'expediency' (say rather 'utility') is the aim of the legislator.

I will conclude with a partial list of errors detected in the course of a hasty perusal of the principal dialogues. The list probably includes at least half of all the mistakes that a careful scrutiny would discover. I have not examined the Laws further than to note that many errors have been corrected and some still remain.

*Republic.*

341 οὐδὲν ὦν καὶ ταῦτα of course does not mean "and you failed."

344 F. This is now nearly right; but why is ἤτοι translated "rather" instead of "or else"?

404 B ἀπλῇ που καὶ ἐπεικῆς γυμναστικῇ means "not over-precise and rigid in its prescriptions," not merely "simple and good."

437 D ἐπιθυμιῶν τι φήσομεν εἶναι εἶδος κ. τ. λ.—not "admitting this to be true of desire generally, let us suppose a particular class of desires, and out of them we will select hunger and thirst, as they are termed, which are the most obvious of them"; but "In view of this, then, shall we say that desires are a (distinct) class (in the soul) and that the most clearly marked of them are those which we term thirst and hunger?" This, the only rendering that the Greek will bear, is confirmed by 439 E ταῦτα . . . δύο ἥμιν ὠρίσθω εἶδη ἐν ψυχῇ ἐνόοντα, which, by the way, is somewhat incorrectly translated: "Then let us *finally* determine that there are two principles existing in the soul."

464 E ἀνάγκην σωμάτων ἐπιμελεῖα τιθέντες—not "we shall make the protection of the person a matter of necessity," but "compelling them [by the indirect effect of our legislation, cf. 556 A ἀναγκάζων ἀρετῆς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τοὺς πολίτας] to develop their muscle"; cf. 407 B ἡ περιττὴ αὐτῇ ἐπιμέλεια τοῦ σώματος.

473 A "I want to know whether ideals are ever fully realized in language? Does not the word express more than the fact, and must not the actual, whatever a man may think, always, in the nature of things, fall short of the truth?" This is completely "upset." The correct version would run: "Can anything be accomplished in deed exactly as it is expressed in word, or is there a natural necessity that action should less lay hold of truth and reality than diction, whatever some people may assert?" Plato is inverting the familiar Greek antithesis of word and deed and challenging the Democritean Λόγος ἔργον σκιά. "Words," the ὄργανον of the dialectician, embody more of the truth of the idea than the "deeds" of the practical man. Cf. Phaedo 100 A οὐ γὰρ πᾶν ἐν γυμνασίῳ τὸν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις σκοπούμενον τὰ ὄντα ἐν εἰκόσι μᾶλλον σκοπεῖν ἢ τὸν ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις, where the thought is wholly misrepresented by Jowett's rendering: "For I am very far from admitting that he who contemplates existences through the medium of thought sees them only 'through a glass darkly' any more than he who considers them in action and operation." And as a result of this translation he tells us, with a reference to Phaedo 100 A (Intr. to Meno, vol. II, p. 13), that the ideas "are not more certain than facts, but they are equally certain," whatever that may mean.

488 E. The text here will always be doubtful. Si Rick's οἰομένῳ (J. of P. X 275) is perhaps the best reading. Whatever it is, it is certain that it is the true pilot, not the mob, who doubts the initiating pilot's art

with the politician's skill in getting control of the helm, "whether other people like it or not." The translator here takes a flying shot at the general meaning and misses it: "and that he must and will be the steerer, whether other people like it or not—the possibility of this union of authority with the steerer's art has never seriously entered into their thoughts," etc.

490 D *ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὠρισάμεθα*; cf. 486 E *μὴ δοκοῦμεν . . . οὐκ ἀναγκαῖα*. The translation "which question of necessity brought us," etc., misses the point.

493 C. Not "except that the just and noble are the necessary," but "should apply the terms just and noble to (mere) necessities." There is a difference. So in 493 D read not "And yet the reasons are utterly ludicrous which they give in confirmation of their own notions about the honorable and good," but "and yet as proof that these things [necessary accommodations to popular estimates] are really honorable and good, did you ever hear from one of them an argument that was not absurd?"

498 A *πλησάσαντες, κτέ.* Not "when they come within sight of the great difficulty of the subject, take themselves off," but "after devoting themselves (for a time) to the hardest part of it," etc. The point is not that they are frightened away, but that they wrongly begin with the hardest part of the subject; cf. *infra*, 498 B.

523 C. Not "gives no more vivid idea of anything in particular than of its opposite," but "no more affirms (shows) any one (quality or predicate) than its opposite."

525 B *ἢ μηδέποτε λογιστικῶ γενέσθαι*. The translation "and therefore he must be an arithmetician" is incomprehensibly wrong. Read: "or else [i. e. if he does not rise out of the sea of change by study of the abstract verities of mathematics] he can never become a true reckoner" (sc. in the 'calculations' of the philosophic reason).

526 E *ἐάν τις αὐτὸ τὸ ἐν ἐπιχειρῇ τῷ λόγῳ τέμνειν*. The translator makes an unnecessary mystery of this. His note is: "meaning either (1) that they integrate the number because they deny the possibility of fractions; or (2) that division is regarded by them as a process of multiplication, for the fractions of one continue to be units." The meaning is simply that in any mathematical calculation you must keep your adopted units consistently the same, although from another point of view they may not be units. Some power of abstraction is required to do this, for there is no object of sense that cannot be divided into parts; cf. James's *Psychology*, II 655. This imaginary mystery seems to haunt Professor Jowett. He alludes to it again, *Introduction to Timaeus*, III 386-87.

526 B C. Not "you will not easily find a more difficult study and not many as difficult," but "you will not find many studies more difficult, nor find them easily."

534 A. Not "let us defer the further correlation and subdivision of the subjects of opinion and of intellect," but "let us pass over their objective correlates, the opinable that is and the intelligible, and their respective subdivisions."

540 B. Instead of "not as though they were performing some heroic action, but simply as a matter of duty," read "regarding it (however) as a necessary rather than as an honorable and desirable task." There is no suggestion of "heroism" and "duty" in the Greek.



553 D. Not "of all changes . . . there is none so speedy and sure as the conversion of the ambitious youth into the avaricious one," but simply "this (the above described) is the quickest and surest conversion of," etc.

575 C. "a small catalogue of evils, even if the perpetrators of them are few in number." "Even" is not in the Greek and reverses the meaning.

576 D. Not "we must not allow ourselves to be panic-stricken at the apparition of the tyrant, who is only a unit and may perhaps have a few retainers about him," but "let us not be dazzled by the aspect of the tyrant, who is only one man [so that, even if adopting for the moment the vulgar estimate, we deem him and his few retainers happy, this happiness cannot outweigh the misery of the majority], nor by (the seeming happiness of) his few familiars about his person." The translator has missed the connection of thought and the force of the Greek idiom here.

579 C. Commentators have, strangely, failed to note that τοῖς τοιοῦτοις κακοῖς is the measure of the excess of the unhappiness of the tyrant soul that attains its desire, compared with the tyrant soul that is confined to the life of a private citizen. "Amid evils such as these" is accordingly wrong.

581 C λέγωμεν τὰ πρῶτα, etc. Not "we may *begin* by assuming," etc., but "that the three primary classes," etc.

581 D E. Both text and translation here exhibit defective feeling for Greek idiom. Hermann's text, or something like it, is the only idiomatic one, and τῆς ἡδονῆς οὐ πάντῃ πόρρω cannot possibly mean that the philosopher "is not so far indeed from the heaven of pleasure," but must express the philosopher's opinion of the pleasurable of the lower pleasures compared with the higher.

607 A. Instead of "For if you go beyond this and allow the honeyed muse to enter, either in epic or lyric verse, not law and the reason of mankind, *which by common consent have ever been deemed best*, but pleasure and pain will be the rulers in our state," read "pleasure and pain shall be the lords of your city, instead of law and the rule that the common reason shall from time to time have pronounced to be the best."

611 B οὐ βρόδιον, ἦν δ' ἐγὼ, αἰδίων εἶναι σύνθετόν τε ἐκ πολλῶν καὶ μὴ τῇ καλλίστῃ κεχρημένον συνθέσει, ὥς νῦν ἡμῖν ἐφάνη ἡ ψυχὴ. Instead of "The soul, I said, being, as is now proven, immortal, must be the fairest of compositions and cannot be compounded of many elements," read "It is not easy (possible) for a thing to be immortal that is compounded of many elements and not compounded in the fairest way, as now seemed to us to be the case with the soul." ὥς νῦν ἡμῖν ἐφάνη refers back to 603 D μυρίων τοιοῦτων ἐναντιωμάτων ἅμα γιγνομένων ἡ ψυχὴ γέμει ἡμῶν or to the repetition of the language of 603 D in 611 B, just above: ὥστε πολλῆς ποικιλίας . . . γέμειν, etc. This passage is generally misinterpreted.

#### Memo.

74 D E. Carelessness in the rendering of one sentence leads to positive error in its successor: "What is that lower nature which you designate as figure—which contains straight as well as round and is no more one than the other—that would be your mode of speaking!? Men. Yes, Soc., and in speaking thus you do not mean to say that the round is round *any more* than straight, or the straight *any more* straight than round." The translation is: "which contains straight as well as round, so that : re (truly) figure than

is straight . . . and in speaking thus you do not mean that round is no more truly round than it is straight, nor that straight is no more truly straight than it is round."

75 C. elev is wrongly transferred from Meno to Socrates.

92 A. "no, Socrates: the young men who gave their money to them [sc. the Sophists] were out of their minds, and their relations and guardians who entrusted the youth to the care of these men were still more out of their minds." The words τούτων δ' ἐτι μᾶλλον οἱ τούτοις ἐπιτρέποντες οἱ προσήκοντες are misconstrued. They mean "and still more (mad) than these (the youths) their relatives, who permitted them (to resort to the Sophists)."

93 D E. Instead of "here was a teacher of virtue who you admit to be among the best men of the past," translate "This is the kind of teacher of virtue he was, and yet you admit that he was among," etc.

95 C. Instead of "I often wonder, Socrates, that Gorgias is never heard promising to teach virtue," etc., read "This is just what I admire (approve) most in Gorgias, that he is never heard," etc. *ἀγαμαι* does not mean 'wonder.'

*Protagoras.*

310 D. "courageous madness" is very infelicitous for τὴν ἀνδρείαν καὶ τὴν πτοίησιν.

320 D τυποῦσιν αὐτὰ θεοὶ γῆς ἔνδον ἐκ γῆς καὶ πυρὸς μίξαντες καὶ τῶν ὅσα πυρὶ καὶ γῇ κεράννυνται. The last words do not mean "and various mixtures of both elements"; they are a periphrasis for the other two elements, air and water; cf. Timaeus 31-32, Phileb. 29 A B.

327 E. "and you, Socrates, are discontented" is infelicitous for νῦν δὲ τρυφῆς.

336 E. The words "and this led Alcibiades, who loves opposition, to take the other side" are merely a plausible variation on the Platonic text, which simply says "and Alcibiades carries the pertinacity of the partisan into everything that he undertakes." Alcibiades does not take Socrates' part out of pure love of opposition.

346 B καὶ ἐχθρὸς ἐκουσίους πρὸς ταῖς ἀναγκαίαις προστιθεσθαι cannot possibly mean "in order that the odium which is necessarily incurred by them (the parents) may be increased." It is rather "and thus they (the sons) incur ill-will of their own accord, in addition to that which is unavoidable (through their parents' unhappy temper)."

346 E. The words ὥστε τούτου γε ἐνεκα οὐδένα ἐπαίνεσομαι must, I think, mean "so that, so far as this goes (in respect of this), I shall have to praise no man." The words are the counterpart of ὥστε μὴ ψέγειν above. Simonides is willing not to censure the moderately good, and he will not waste his time seeking for a flawless man, and so, in the meantime, avoid the necessity of praising any. This shade of meaning escapes in Jowett's "In this sense I praise no man," which also fails to account for the future ἐπαίνεσομαι.

356 E-357 C. The loose translation here does not bring out clearly the dialectical evolution of Socrates' thought, and in two instances falls into positive error. The translator ignores the difference between ἡ μετρητική (which, strictly speaking, deals with μήκη) and μετρητική or μ. τις any measuring of ὑπερβολῆς and ἐνδείας. To the middle of 353 E we are concerned with ἡ μετρητική. Then, on the hypothesis that salvation depended on the desire for more or less in relation to odd and even, Socrates shows that salvation would



simple unit, so in the case of each part of a compound." The following words: *τῷ τί ποιεῖν αὐτὸ πέφυκεν*, etc., cannot be construed "What is the power of acting or being acted upon which makes each and all of them to be what they are," but "wherein each of them is naturally adapted to act or be acted upon (by anything)." Cf. 271 A *ὅτω τι ποιεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ πέφυκεν*.

Lysis 217 E *καὶ τὸ μήτε κακὸν ἄρα μήτ' ἀγαθὸν ἐνίστε κακοῦ παρόντος οὐπω κακὸν ἔστιν, ἔστι δ' ὅτε ἤδη τὸ τοιοῦτον γέγονεν*. The last clause does not mean "and that has happened before now," but "and sometimes it has become so (sc. evil)." *ἔστι δ' ὅτε* is correlative with *ἐνίστε*.

Laches 189 A. Not "Socrates must be willing to allow that he is a good teacher, or I shall be a dull and uncongenial pupil," but "Let him (Solon) concede me this, that the teacher himself be a good man, or I shall appear a dullard, because I shall take no pleasure in his teaching."

Euthydemus 295 A. "You are incredulous, Socrates. Yes, I said, and I might well be incredulous, if I did not know you to be wise men"; render rather "Yes, I said, of all save your exceeding cleverness."

Cratylus 425 B. "and we must see whether the primary and also whether the secondary elements are rightly given or not, for if they are not, the composition of them, my dear Hermogenes, will be a sorry piece of work, and in the wrong direction." This is either erroneous or so 'free' as to be nearly meaningless. Socrates is not speaking of 'elements,' but of words, and he says that it is a sorry business to string together etymologies without distinguishing primitive and secondary formations, and analyzing the primitive words into their phonetic elements.

436 C *ἢ οὐκ ἐνενόεις αὐτὸς λέγων ὡς πάντα κατὰ ταῦτ' οὐ καὶ ἐπὶ ταῦτ' ἐγίγνετο τὰ ὀνόματα*. Not "did you ever observe, in speaking, that all the words which you utter have a common character and purpose?", but "or did not you yourself observe, while you were speaking [sc. the preceding etymologies], that all the words appeared (were turning out) to be made on the same plan and to the same result?"

437 D E. Not "and when he has duly sifted them, all the rest will follow," but "and when that has been duly tested, then it must appear that the rest is in accord with it."

439 D 'Αρ' οὐκ οἶόν τε προσεῖπεν αὐτὸ ὀρθῶς, εἰ αἰὲν ὑπεξέρχεται, πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι ἐκείνὸ ἔστιν, ἔπειτα ὅτι τοιοῦτον, etc. Not "and can we rightly speak of a beauty which is always passing away, and is first this and then that; must not the same thing be born and retire and vanish while the word is in our mouths?", but "Is it then possible to predicate of it rightly, if it is ever vanishing, first that it is 'that,' and next that it is of such or such a nature, or must it not ever, while the words are in our mouths, straightway become other, and slip away and no longer be the same?"

The translation of the Timaeus has been greatly improved in accuracy, harmony and simplicity with the aid of Mr. Archer-Hind's edition and the criticisms it called forth. Corrections suggested in these pages seem to have been adopted at 22 E, 24 B, 40 B, 52 B C, 55 A, and elsewhere. The sentence about the unmeaning employment of particles is silently dropped from the Introduction, but the exact force of the particles is still frequently ignored. Cf. οὖν, 48 A; *δεῖ δὲ . . . τότε* (τότε is wrong) γὰρ . . . *τιθέμεθα δ' οὖν*, 53 E-54 A; *τόδε γε μὴν*, etc., 63 E; οὖν, 65 C.

77 B C πάσχον γὰρ διατελεῖ πάντα, στραφέντι δ' αὐτῷ, etc. These words are still wrongly rendered: "For this nature is always in a passive state, revolving in and about itself, repelling the motion from without and using its own," etc. I gave the correct translation after Zeller (A. J. P. X 74) some time ago, and showed why the force of the negative must be extended to the participle στραφέντι. There is really no doubt about the matter, and I have nothing to add except a reference to 64 B πάσχει μόνον.

50 A. Does not the parallelism μηδὲν ἐκεῖνο αὐ—μόνον ἐκεῖνο αὐ indicate that ἐκεῖνο in both cases refers to the πανδεχές? In that case μηδὲν τούτων is resumptive of τὸ δὲ ὁποιοῦν τι, etc., not of τοῦτο and τόδε above, and the translation must run in outline: "the πανδεχές only (μόνον ἐκεῖνο) is to receive the predicates 'this' and 'that,' but of the predicates 'hot,' 'cold' and other pairs of opposites, the πανδεχές none (μηδὲν ἐκεῖνο) is to receive. This view is supported by the language of 51 A *in fine*.

Professor Jowett repeats his assertion that "the principle of the other, which is the principle of plurality and variation in the Timaeus, has nothing in common with the other of the Sophist, which is the principle of determination," and adds in this edition a page of vague and misleading reflections on the meaning of οὐσία in the ψυχογονία. To this I reply: (1) There is nothing in the Timaeus except the unintelligible use of θάτερον for the joints to suggest an identification of θάτερον with "the principle of irregularity and dissension . . . the residuum of chaos" . . . "the source of evil seen in the errors of man," etc. The passages (47 E sqq., 33 B) in which the 'residuum' is described do not mention or in any way imply θάτερον; and so far from manifesting itself in the errors of man, the circle of the θάτερον normally produces right opinion (37 B); (2) The functions of the circles of the same and the other in the souls of the universe and of man are to predicate sameness and difference rightly (44 B, 37 B C), and this, expressed in almost identical language, is the final object of the long investigation of ταῦτὸν θάτερον and οὐσία in the Sophist 260 C D; (3) Nor need the doctrine of οὐσία and its intermixture with ταῦτὸν and θάτερον occasion any difficulty. They are intermingled as in the Sophist 254 E δύο γένη τινὲ—ξυμμιγνύμενω μὴν ἐκείνοις ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὑεῖ (cf. 259 Λ). There are three or four οὐσῖαι, the οὐσῖαι of ἕτερον, ταῦτὸν and ἓν, each taken in abstract isolation, and the compound οὐσία or relative being in which they are all combined. The text of the Timaeus, as I have already shown in these pages, leaves some doubt as to the imagined details and stages of the combining process. But there is not the slightest doubt concerning the meaning of the ψυχογονία as a whole. Like is known by like. Accordingly Plato fantastically compounds the soul of the categories which the analysis of the Sophist found to be implied in all cognition; and this inextricable and doubly compound interminglement in the soul is symbolic of their strange mutual interpenetration in the dialectical process of thought (Sophist 240). That is all there is of it, and there is no occasion for rhetoric and mysticism, nor need we enquire (p. 422) whether Plato obtained his circles of the same and the other from some earlier thinker.

The five metaphysical dialogues in the fourth volume are very correctly translated. A simpler, less conventional English would have made the connection of thought clearer in many places (e. g. Parm. 142 E, 147 C D),

but Professor Campbell's revisions seem to have left practically no errors in the Theaetetus, Sophist and Statesman, and a hasty perusal detects very few renderings in the Parmenides and Philebus that can be pronounced positively wrong.

Parmen. 156 D 'Αρ' οὖν ἐστὶ τὸ ἀτοπον τοῦτο, etc. Instead of "and does this strange thing really exist?" is it not possible to translate: "is this, then, the strange thing? (of which we were speaking)." The question does not seem to be of the existence of the *ἐξαίφνης*, but only whether it is the mysterious moment postulated by the argument.

Parmen. 157 B οὐκοῦν ἐπεὶ περ ἄλλα τοῦ ἐνός ἐστιν. Not "inasmuch as there are things other than the one," but "inasmuch as they are other than the one."

162 A. The translation is improved here, but as the translator still retains the received text, he is obliged to "construe through a stone wall," in order to get any sense. I have endeavored to show (A. J. P. XII 349-53) that a transposition of one *μὴ* restores the sense and grammar to the passage which Aristotle found in it. But it is idle to argue the question so long as Greek scholars cannot be got to say whether it is or is not possible to construe: (*μετέχων*) *μὴ* οὐσίας μὲν τοῦ *μὴ* εἶναι *μὴ* ὄν, "does not partake of the not-being of not-being." I hold that this construction is on its face impossible, and that we are therefore forced to interpret the passage in some other way.

Theaetet. 165 A *μὴ προσέχων τοῖς ῥήμασι τὸν νοῦν ἢ τὸ πολὺ εἰδισμεθα φάναι τε καὶ ἀπαρνείσθαι*. Not, I think, "if a person does not attend to the meaning of terms as they are commonly used in argument," but "which is the (careless) way in which we are for the most part accustomed to affirm and deny (say yes or no to any question)." Cf. Euthyd. 276 A sqq., where Cleinias is tripped because Socrates fails to warn him to be on his guard, *εὐλαβηθῆναι*, and Socrates' subsequent comment, *σὲ δὲ τοῦτο . . . διαλέλθε, ταὐτὸ ὄνομα ἐπ' ἀνθρώποις ἐναντίως ἔχουσι κείμενον* (278 B).

Theaetet. 177 E. Not "And as far as she has an opinion, the state imposes all laws with a view to the greatest expediency," but "to the best of her opinion and belief."

182 A. The translation is loose and the idiomatic force of *ἐτι* is missed. Instead of "and that the patient *ceases to be* a perceiving power and becomes a percipient," read "and that the patient is no longer (when we push our analysis to this point) to be regarded as (abstract) perception, but as a percipient" (accepting, as Jowett tacitly does, the reading *αἰσθανόμενον*). Below, in 182 B, the translation omits as surplusage the words *ἐν μηδὲν αὐτὸ καθ' αὐτὸ εἶναι*, which cannot be spared.

Politicus 266 C. "Human beings have come out in the same class with the freest and airiest of creation and have been running a race with them." The alternative interpretation, mentioned in the footnote, that pigs, not birds, are meant, is right. The English reader will conceive an exalted idea of the flexibility of the Greek language from the remark "according to this explanation we must translate the words above, 'freest and airiest of creation,' 'worthiest and laziest of creation.'" But it is not really possible to translate *γενναιωτάτῳ καὶ ἁμὰ εὐχερεσιτάτῳ* in either of these ways, but only (with Campbell) "grandest and least fastidious." Accordingly the bird-catcher below, "who, of all mankind, is most of an adept at the airy life," must be transformed

into a swineherd whose nature has been subdued to what it works in and who is therefore not squeamish or over-nice.

Philebus 19 C ἀλλὰ καλὸν μὲν τὸ ξύμπαντα γινώσκειν τῷ σώφρονι, δεύτερος δ' εἶναι πλοῦς δοκεῖ μὴ λαμβάνειν αὐτὸν. The translation "Happy would be the wise man if he knew all things, and the next best thing for him is that he should know himself," is 'correct' in a sense, but does not convey the meaning. The passage is a subtly moralized Platonic version of the Hesiodic οὗτος μὲν πανάριστος ὃς αὐτὸς πάντα νοήσῃ, ἐσθλὸς δ' αὐτὸς κάκεϊνος ὃς εὖ εἰπόντι πίθηται. Render: "A fine thing is universal knowledge—to the man of sober soul [without σωφροσύνη even ἐπιστήμη is not a good], but the next best thing is not to be unaware of one's own ignorance."

Phileb. 30 D E. "That mind is *the parent* of that class of the four which we call the cause of all." Even if we adopt the reading γενούσσης, the word should not be rendered 'parent,' but 'kin(sman).' νοῦς is not the parent of αἰρία in the Platonic scheme.

33 B. "If so, the Gods, at any rate, cannot be supposed to have either joy or sorrow." 'If so' is misleading and not in the Greek. The sentence is an independent confirmation of the preceding argument, not an inference from it.

Phileb. 59 C ἐκείνων ὅτι μάλιστα ἐστὶ ξυγγενές. These words, I think, are wrongly related: instead of "or if not, at any rate what is most akin to them has," read "or if not, at any rate with that which is most akin to them."

66 D. "I understand; this third libation, Socrates, of which you spoke, meant a recapitulation." It does not seem to have been observed that this is the *third* recapitulation; cf. 19 C, 60 A.

Phaedo 99 A. "These muscles and bones of mine would have gone off to Megara . . . if they had been moved only by their own idea of what was best, and if I had not chosen the better and nobler part," etc. Render rather: "borne thither by (my) idea of what was best, if I had not thought it better and more honorable," etc. Socrates is explicitly denying all causal initiative to the parts of the body, and, though in other connections the 'body' and the 'flesh' might be said to have its own idea of good, it is grotesque to attribute such an idea to the bones and sinews here.

Gorgias 509 B. "and will not the worst of all defences be that with which a man is unable to defend himself or his family or his friends?" Rather: "is not this the defence, the inability to provide which for self or family or friends is the most disgraceful?"

Misprints are rare: *εὐὼν ἐπαίνημι* for *ἐκὼν* (I 124); *Simmais* for *Simmias* (II 256); *Charimdes* (I 12). The reference Laws 693, s. v. animal, should be Laws 963.

By a singular oversight, a characteristic sentence about Hebraism and Hellenism from the Preface to Matthew Arnold's *Culture and Anarchy*, is assigned to "Sir Wm. W. Hunter, Preface to *Orissa*." Sir Wm. Hunter merely quotes the passage as a motto for his book.

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PAUL SHOREY.

## REPORTS.

ZEITSCHRIFT DER DEUTSCHEN MORGENLÄNDISCHEN GESELLSCHAFT.<sup>1</sup>

Vol. XLV.

Pp. 1-35. In Nepāl there are about thirty living non-Aryan dialects, most of which have been largely influenced by the culture and language of the ruling Indian dynasties. Chief among these dialects is the Newārī, calling itself justly Nepālabhākha or 'dialect of Nepāl'; for, unlike the Dénwār, Pahi and other tongues spoken in the country of the Himālaya, it has developed into a literary language. It shows all the advantages derived from the influence of the foreign, highly-cultured language and literature of the Sanskrit nation, viz. an enlargement of its thesaurus by concrete and abstract ideas and conceptions not met with among uncivilized people, and, as a natural result, a greater facility of expression. Its main shortcoming is an over-great dependence upon the language of the representative of the higher culture. A. Conrady is working on a grammar of this language, and publishes, for the present, a short abstract of it, with specimens of the literature, based on a number of MSS written in the Newārī language and consisting mostly of commentaries on Sanskrit texts. Of words borrowed from the Sanskrit, three distinct periods can be distinguished. The Newārī belongs to the Indo-Chinese family of languages.

Pp. 36-96. Sejjid Moḥammad Bey [ibn] 'Oṭmān el Wanāt Galāl, one of the best representatives of modern Arabic poetry, was born Sept. 1829, in Kefr eṭ-Ṭammā'in. He translated the fables of Lafontaine and other French works. As a result of his Molière studies he published, in 1873 (1290 H.), an Arabic translation of Tartuffe, under the title of Ek-ṣex Matlûf. A second, revised edition appeared in 1890, together with translations of 'les femmes savantes,' 'l'école des maris' and 'l'école des femmes.' They present one of the best specimens, philological as well as literary, of the Arabic dialect of Modern Egypt. The scene has been skilfully shifted from France to Cairo and its surroundings. K. Vollers, introducing this poet to the readers of the ZDMG, prints in Latin transcription his famous Tartuffe, together with a glossary of difficult words and phrases not found in Dozy's supplement and other dictionaries.

Pp. 97-143. The history of the seven viziers as found in Sindbādh is acknowledged to be the original of that of the ten viziers, which is found in almost all Oriental languages. It is wellnigh impossible to reconstruct the Arabic original text, owing to the comparatively recent date of the MSS. The only Persian text thus far known is that of Ousely-Kazimirski, which differs greatly from the Arabic. The language is simple and straightforward,

<sup>1</sup> See A. J. P. XII 101.



and proves it to be of recent date. Theodor Nöldeke calls attention to a much older Persian recension of the story, found in Codex 593 (L) of the Leyden Library, written by Jūsuf b. As'ad, and completed on Wednesday, Sept. 5, 1296. The language and style are bombastic and flowery. Nöldeke publishes part of the text with a Latin transliteration, and German translation and notes.

Pp. 144-59; LVI 54-92. Georg Bühler continues his contributions to the Interpretation of the Aṣoka-inscriptions, publishing the Sanskrit text of the seven pillar-edicts in the Delhi-Sivalik, Delhi-Mirat, Allahabād, Lauriya-Ararāj, Lauriya-Navandgarh and Rurpūria version, side by side. With the exception of the Delhi-Mirat and the Allahabād versions, they are all in excellent condition. His edition differs, therefore, but slightly in text from those of his predecessors, but more so in translation and the commentary.


Pp. 161-71. Irdjā, in the meaning of 'to defer, postpone,' is the verb from which is derived the name of the Mordjites, i. e. Mohammadans who prefer to postpone their judgment of a sinning Moslem until the great day of judgment, representing thereby the liberal, advanced wing of Mohammadan theology. That this is the correct definition is shown by G. van Vloten in several quotations from the poems of Thâbit Qoṭna and Naṣr ibn Seijār.

Pp. 172-86. Wellhausen reviews favorably Ch. M. Doughty's *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, during 1876-78, 2 vols., pp. 623 and 690, Cambridge, 1888. Doughty's main object was a visit to the rock-tombs and the inscriptions of Madâin Ḥalîh. His work is one of the best contributions to an accurate knowledge of the history and geography, literature and philology of Arabia.—De Goeje recommends L. Abel's *Sammlung von Wörterverzeichnissen als Vorarbeiten zu einem Wörterbuch der alten arabischen Poesie*. I. Die sieben Mu'allaqât; Text, vollständiges Wörterverzeichniss, deutscher und arabischer Commentar. (Berlin, 1891.) The review contains a number of additions to the glossary, published by Abel, and several corrections.

Pp. 187-203. F. Spiegel shows that the Avesta and the Shâhnâme, or Book of the Kings, by Firdûsi, have not only many points in common relative to the Iranian legendary history, but also no less important points of difference in chronology, sociology and other topics of interest. In the Shâhnâme the king occupies the first and most respected place, in the Avesta only a secondary position.

Pp. 204-20. F. Bollensen sends a number of critical notes on the Rigveda, with special reference to F. Max Müller's treatment of the Marut hymns in 'The Sacred Hymns of the Brahmanas, translated and explained,' vol. I; London, 1869.

Pp. 221-38. Of special interest to the student of Semitic comparative philology are Aug. Müller's notes on Lagarde's *Uebersicht über die Bildung der . . . Nomina*, and J. Barth's *Nominalbildung*.<sup>1</sup> He prints several additions

and corrections to Lagarde's statements concerning  (! on p. 92, 1)

<sup>1</sup> See A. J. P. XII 107-8.

and طَفَشَ (33, 27). Acknowledging the merits of the many reviews of these works, he shows that the reviewers have apparently overlooked some of the most important facts; above all that Lagarde and Barth both begin with the same proposition, viz. "dass eine und dieselbe Form in verschiedenen Einzelfällen auch sehr verschiedenen Ursprungs sein kann"; the same method is observed, the same general results are obtained; the difference being only in the details. The chief attraction of both is their great originality and the novelty of their methods, which Müller carefully describes, illustrates and compares. It is only in the details that we notice a difference in method as well as result. These cases are specially treated by M., who shows that Barth is a philologist, registering the facts and letting them speak for themselves, while Lagarde enters into the philosophy of language and deals with ultimate problems. Two desiderata in Semitic philology, so happily and abundantly supplied in Indogermanic linguistics, are statistics and linguistic chronology. This gap ought to be filled speedily by some of the many younger Semitic scholars. Müller closes by calling attention to the remarkable similarity in the relation between noun and verb in the Semitic languages and the Turkish.

Pp. 239-44. In his discussion of amber in the commerce of the Middle Ages, K. G. Jacob had disputed a number of statements on this subject made by O. Schneider.<sup>1</sup> The latter now defends his position, showing the extreme weakness of Jacob's arguments, which Jacob tries to strengthen on pp. 691-92.

Pp. 245-91. Paul Horn prints a second instalment of the Persian text of the Memoirs of the Shāh Tahmāsp I of Persia (c. 1563 A. D.), consisting of extracts from the historical work of Mohammad Mehdī Ibn Hādī Šīrāzī (found in the Berlin MS, Cod. Sprenger 204).

Pp. 292-94. W. Pertsch sends a descriptive list of 32 coins given to the D. M. G. by the heirs of the late H. L. Fleischer.

Pp. 295-300. M. Schreiner points out that among the Mediaeval Chronicles and Chronological Notes (edited by Ad. Neubauer, Oxford, 1887) that of Josef b. Isak Sambarl contains the largest amount of thus far unknown legendary stories concerning Jewish rabbis and grammarians. Josef's source is usually Al-Makrizī's Account of the Egyptian Synagogues.

Pp. 301-2. The same writer has a note on As-Šabtī, son of Harūn-ar-Rašīd, supplementing Nöldeke's article in vol. 43, 327.<sup>2</sup>

Pp. 303-8. Th. Aufrecht, The Prapñhamanoramā of Dīvākara (1627 A. D.), being a commentary to the Jātakapaddhati of Keçava Daivajña (c. 1490 A. D.), throws light on several obscure astrological writings. Biographical and bibliographical notes on Keçava and Dīvākara are added. Aufrecht also explains 1) santya = sahanṭya; 2) hīḍ = hējas (Rigveda) 3) Bhaṭṭojī must have taught as early as 1620; 4) on Kāvya-parīkṣhā; 5) Paṇini's poem Īambavattvijaya.

Pp. 309-42. S. Fraenkel bestows high praise on Nöldeke's Beiträge zur Geschichte des Alexanderromans (Denkschriften der kaiserl. Akademie der

<sup>1</sup> Vol. 43, 353; A. J. P. XII 103.

<sup>2</sup> A. J. P. XII 103.

Wiss. in Wien, Bd. XXXVII, 5 (Wien, 1890).—H. Hirschfeld reviews *A Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, by Jepheth ibn Ali the Karaite, edited and translated by D. S. Margoliouth (Oxford, 1891).—Favorable mention by G. H. Schils of *C. de Harlez' Ili, cérémonial de la Chine antique* (Paris, 1890), and *L'école philosophique moderne de la Chine* (Bruxelles, 1890).—F. Hommel announces *Register und Nachträge zu der 1889 erschienenen Uebersicht über die Bildung der . . . Nomina von P. de Lagarde* (aus dem 37. Bande der Abh. der k. Ges. der Wiss. zu Göttingen, 1891, pp. 76). The index is carefully made and the addenda are of great importance.

Pp. 343-60. K. Vollers sends three contributions: 1. Additions to the articles on the *Zâr*, by de Goeje and Nöldeke, in *ZDMG* 44, 480 and 701.<sup>1</sup> 2. On the vocalic change in Arabic words borrowed from other languages, explaining e. g. why in Arabic loan-words an *ʾ* is often found in the place of the general Semitic *h* or the Greek soft breathing. 3. *Simmâwl*, the poisoner, whose name popular etymology has connected with *simn* 'poison,' is a distortion of *smâwl*.

Pp. 361-94. A. Sprenger criticises Hamadâni's description of the Arabian peninsula and the publication of this work by D. H. Müller. It is practically a continuation of the well-known controversy against the famous traveller Eduard Glaser and a defence of Müller against the latter.

Pp. 395-402. C. Snouck-Hargrouje sends an Arabic text, with German translation and commentary, referring to slave-trade in Singapore at the present time. The document is an inquiry sent a few years ago by a pious Arabian living in Singapore to a learned countryman of his residing in Batavia. The answer of the latter is given in a German translation without the text. S. shows the impossibility of suppressing the slave-trade by decrees and laws rather than by the education and moral elevation of the masses.

Pp. 403-29. H. Vambery describes the intellectual life of Persian women, based on a MS of Mahmud Kažar (born 1799), consisting of a series of poems in eleven sections, called *Mažmas Mahmud* (= the Miscellanies of Mahmud). It is this, one of the best specimens of modern Persian literature, throwing a bright light on the inner history of the splendid reign of Feth Ali Šah. Section 5, called *Nakli Mežlir* = Society-report, i. e. a description of the person and work of Persian poetesses, was written at Nihawend in 1825 (1241 H.), and contained 3 subdivisions: 1) the royal princesses, 2) the women of the royal harem, and 3) the poetesses of the Iranian countries. Extracts in Persian, with German translation, show the superiority of the Persian women in intellect and wit over their Mohammadan sisters in Arabia, Turkey, Middle Asia and Hindustan.

Pp. 429-34. Examining M. de Clercq's catalogue of a collection of Sassanian gems (Paris, 1890), Paul Horn discovers and corrects a number of deficiencies in the text written by M. J. Menant, with the assistance of M. Ed. Drouin.

Pp. 435-38. L. von Schroeder calls attention to the peculiar accentuation of the last six leaves of the Vienna Kâthaka MS, containing the 35th *Sthânaka*,

<sup>1</sup> See A. J. P. XII 107.

treating of the *Prāyaścitti*. The *Vedāṭṭa* is marked by a vertical stroke below the syllable and the genuine *Svarita* by a small circumflex, also beneath the line.

Pp. 438-46. M. Steinschneider, quoting *Fihrist*, p. 312: "Apollonius of Tyana (or Balinās) was the earliest writer about talismans, and his work on this subject is famous among us," states that Apollonius is reported to have been the author of works on mysticism, magic and alchemy. On magic he is said to have written six works of which Arabic translations in MS are existing. Some of these evidently belong to Apollonius (Pergaeus) the Mathematician. Steinschneider also gives additions to his article on Aristotle's *Parva Naturalia* among the Arabians (see vol. 37, 477; A. J. P. V 529).

Pp. 454-64. Ernst Leumann expresses his thanks to Sanskrit students and public libraries for their liberality in lending him Sanskrit MSS, and offers, in return, the free use of any MS in his possession, of which he prints a complete list, in three sections.

Pp. 465-92. A. Müller and A. Socin discuss H. Thorbecke's literary remains and H. L. Fleischer's lexicographical material, both presented to the D. M. G.

Pp. 493-500. Up to the year 1677 Hebrew Bibles were very expensive in Germany and full of mistakes. In that year Balth. Christ. Wust, of Frankfurt, undertook to publish a more reliable and, at the same time, cheaper edition. He engaged for this purpose David Clodius, born 1644, and from 1671 Professor of Oriental Languages at Giessen, as chief editor. As second proof-reader and corrector he secured Leo Simon, Dr. Med. and Rabbi in Mainz, whose life and work, literary and social activity, are described by David Kaufmann.

Pp. 501-10. W. Bacher has a very interesting review of J. Fürst's *Glossarium Graeco-Hebraeum, oder der griechische Wörtlertschatz der jüdischen Midraschwerke*. Ein Beitrag zur Kultur- und Alterthumskunde (Strassburg, 1891).

Pp. 511-76. The *Waqf*-right from the point of view of the *Sarī'at*-right, as interpreted by the *ḥanefite* school, is discussed by J. Kreszmárik as a contribution to the study of the Islamite Law. *Waqf* or *Wakuf* means a pious foundation for religious or charitable purposes. Their great importance lies not so much in the wealth that they represent, but rather in the fact that they serve those religious and benevolent ends the want of which is felt by all classes and for which, owing to the peculiar organization of the Muhammadan commonweal, little or nothing is done by the state government or the communities. Poor-associations, mosques, schools, hospitals, aqueducts are maintained and provided for by the *Waqf*.

Pp. 577-91. Julius Weber, a missionary residing in the Northwestern *Himálāya*, publishes, with a preface by Georg Huth, the Tibetan text of the Buddhist *sūtra* of the 'Eight manifestations,' with a German translation and notes by himself and Huth.

Pp. 592-619. Julius Wellhausen, in his book *Reste arabischen Heidentums* (p. 217), maintains that there are only a few genuine Arabic names of stars,

while most of them are borrowed from the Greek. Unfortunately, he does not mention any special names. F. Hommel examines the Arabic names of stars, and especially of the moon-stations, and comes to the conclusion that their origin is Semitic and their age much greater than admitted by Wellhausen. Thus the constellation *banû Nâš* is really 'banû an 'Āš,' the 'an' (= han) being the old article before 'alif and 'āyin; 'Āš is the ♂ of Job = Syr. 𐤀𐤔 ( = Arcturus); again 'Al'ayyûq (= capella) is the Babylonian *īqu* (*iqû* being the god of the star *aškar* = capella), which originally is = 'unēqu (goat); 'al'ayyûq properly = 'the goatherd' (cf. the *ῥυιόχορ* of the Greeks); *Simāk* (virgo) is also a word found in Babylonia, where we have *šumuk šamê*; *samāk* = pisces is the result of a secondary development. The name of the sixteenth moon-station, *azzubānāy*, is the Babylonian *zibānītu* = *χηλαί*. Of Semitic origin is also the name of Sirius and Prokyon (= the two *si'ray*), corresponding to the Babylonian *Kakkab Kak-ban* (star of the weapon of the bow) and *Kakkab Kak-si-di* (= *mešri* = north). Hommel shows that long before the sixth century of our era the Bedouins had known the names of the moon-stations and the stars, and that their origin points to Assyria and Babylonia, whence they were brought to the other Semitic nations, as well as to the Greeks and Romans.

Pp. 620-28. R. von Stackelberg's *Iranica* treat of, 1. Rustam who is called a *Sagzi* = Σάκης (i. e. of Sejestān); 2. The Iranian *ροζόρης* legend of Aršak, the son of Valaršak. It is simply the Armenian version of the Avestan story of Erexša, the archer = Neo-Persian *Âriš* (Firdûsi); 3. Contributions to the knowledge of the Ossetan religious folklore.

Pp. 629-81 contain a part of the Sanskrit text of *Dinālāpanikācūkasaptati*, with German translation by R. Schmidt, describing the parrot (*çuka*) as teacher and counsellor of man.

Pp. 682-84. P. v. Bradke denies W. Neisser's assertion (Bezz. Beitr. XVII 244) that *ōman*, *ōmanvant*, *ōmyāvant* and *avant* are pre-Vedic forms preserved in the present text of the Veda.

Pp. 685-90. Ign. Goldziher has a note on the 'jinnat' (= *δαίμονια*) of the Arabic poets.

Pp. 693-712. Favorable reviews by Th. Nöldeke of K. Ahrens' *Das Buch der Naturgegenstände* (Kiel, 1892) and by Im. Löw of R. Payne-Smith's *Thesaurus Syriacus* (Oxonii, 1890), fasc. VII.

W. MUSS-ARNOLT.

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REVUE DE PHILOGIE. Vol. XV.

No. 1.

1. Pp. 1-5. Henri Weil discusses critically a few passages in *Lysias περὶ τῆς πολιτείας*, and also in the *Lysias* of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, where this speech is preserved. The remarks are characterized by the well-known penetration of the author.

2. Pp. 6-13. *Laeviana*, by Louis Havet,—a critical discussion of a dozen fragments of *Laevius*. The article contains valuable metrical observations, especially in regard to *synaphea*.

3. Pp. 14-33. Popular Latin versification in Africa (Commodianus and Verecundus), by L. Vernier. After a brief review of what has been done by others on the subject, the author institutes a careful and methodical investigation. He concludes that the peculiarities of the prosody under discussion are neither isolated facts nor aimless blunders, but are all due to three great principles or processes that afterwards changed Latin into Romance: the suppression of unaccented shorts before or after the tone-syllable, and the shortening of unaccented longs—processes which took one *tempus* from words; the recession of the accent, which led to the same result; finally, analogy, which, contrary to usual laws, sometimes caused shorts to be lengthened. With the uncertain material resulting from these processes and the consequent loss of acute perception of quantity, the poets tried to imitate the hexameters of classical Latin; but they read these with their own corrupt pronunciation. Spondees, for instance, when the *âpois* was not an accented syllable, were trochees. Hence the model had been spoiled, and the material with which the mould was cast was inadequate. They were attempting to imitate the inimitable. The author cites many examples to illustrate his views, and scans a considerable number of verses. He admits that sometimes the same verse can be scanned in different ways, and that it is not possible always to see at a glance the true scansion, even when there is but one. On the whole, his treatment of the subject is the most satisfactory, perhaps, that has appeared.

4. Pp. 34-40. Continuation of O. Riemann's remarks on various questions of Latin syntax. In this article is discussed the question how the unreal imperfect subjunctive was turned into the infinitive. Admitting some weak places in the line of argument, he decides in favor of *-urum fuisse*. He cites and discusses all the examples that have been claimed for *-urum esse*, and gives a list of the certain and the doubtful examples of *-urum fuisse*.

5. Pp. 40-45. Frédéric Plessis critically discusses four passages of Propertius (iv, 1, 17-20; iv, 1, 73; ii, 1, 37-38; ii, 13, 19). His remarks merit attention.

6. Pp. 46-50. Jules Martha discusses the reasons that induced Cicero (Brutus, ch. xiv) to believe that certain men who lived before the Punic wars were eloquent. He concludes that Cicero was not influenced, as some think, by any histories in which fictitious speeches may have been ascribed to them, but inferred from the influence they wielded on critical occasions that they must have been able orators.

7. Pp. 51-55. H. d'Arbois Jubainville defends Liv. v, 34, 8 *per Taurinos saltusque Juliae Alpīs transcenderunt*, rejecting Madvig's emendation, *per Taurinos saltus vallemque Duriae Alpīs transcenderunt*. The *Alpis Julia*, it is true, is far away from the Taurini, but the author most appositely remarks: "Un auteur, même un auteur de l'antiquité, peut quelquefois se contredire, et souvent il arrive que ses contradictions sont la partie la plus instructive de ses écrits." His theory, which seems very plausible, is that Livy drew from two contradictory sources. He shows what these sources

were and points out other instances of like confusion. The question is an interesting one, as its solution will show where the centre of gravity of the Celtic population was at that time. The earlier authority gave *per saltus Juliae Alpis*, the later *per Taurinos*.

8. Pp. 56-58. S. Dosson, discovering that M. Hochart was really in earnest when he attempted to show that the works of Tacitus are a recent forgery and that they are mentioned by no writer before 1425, cites several instances in which authors quoted him *verbatim* or nearly so, and by name, at an earlier date.

9. Pp. 59-60. E. Audouin explains the origin of the contradiction between Caes. de Bell. Civ. i, 15 and Pompey's letters (Cic. ad Att. viii, 11 A; 12 A), and removes a difficulty in B. Civ. i, 30 and i, 37, 2.

10. Pp. 61-63. Noniana—critical discussion of six passages of Nonius, by Louis Havet.

11. P. 64. Louis Havet shows that the first syllable of *cicur* is, or may be, long in the three passages of Pacuvius where it has been considered short.

12. Pp. 65-75. Enniana—critical discussion of fifteen passages of Ennius, by Louis Havet.

13. P. 75. Louis Havet restores the two extant fragments of the Aquae Caldae of Atta.

14. Pp. 76-81. George Doncieux investigates the question who wrote [Tibul.] iv, 2-6. He concludes that the elegies 7-12 were composed by Sulpicia alone, el. 2, 4, 6 by Tibullus alone, and 3, 5 by both together, Sulpicia furnishing the sentiment and some expressive verses, Tibullus elaborating and completing.

15. P. 82. The *Vita Tibulli* begins: *Albius Tibullus, eques regalis*. For *regalis* has been substituted *Romanus*. Baehrens reads: *Albius Tibullus, eques R. e Gabis*. "G. D.," in the article before us, objects to the preposition, and reads *R. Gabis*. He also cites Hor. Epist. I 4 in *regione Pedana* as confirming *Gabis*, which was in the *regio Pedana*.

16. Pp. 83-84. In Plat. Rep. III 405 C, O. R. inserts 'H *ov* after *δικαστοῦ*, and cites several instances of *ὄνκ, ἀλλά*—in reply to a double question, where the reply is adapted only to the second alternative. Cf. Gorg. 453 D.

17. Pp. 84-85. H. de la Ville de Mirmont proposes *Acmonio* for *Armonio* in Am. Marcellinus, xxii, 8, 17.

18. Pp. 86-96. Book Notices. (1). A. M. D. commends *De syllabarium in trisemam longitudinem productarum usu* Aeschyleo et Sophocleo scripsit Sigofredus Reiter, Leipzig and Prague, 1887. (2). A. describes the contents of *Die Entstehung der griechischen Literatursprachen*, by Ed. Zarncke, Leipzig, 1890, and pronounces the position taken by the author not altogether tenable. (3). Ch. Cucuel describes and favorably criticises *Quaestiones scaenicae*, diss. inaug. scripsit Fridericus Harzmann, Marpurgi

Cattorum, 1889. (4). Ch. Cucuel favorably criticises Denys d'Halicarnasse, Jugement sur Lysias, texte et traduction française, etc., par A. M. Desrousseaux et Max Egger, Paris, 1890, and suggests some slight improvements for the text, critical commentary and translation. (5). P. N. favorably mentions *Intorno all' opuscolo di Palefato de incredibilibus. Considerazioni di Nicolo Festa*. Florence and Rome, 1890. (6). A. briefly describes Fr. Kraner's editions of *Caes. Com. de Bel. Gal. and de Bel. Civ.*, Berlin, 1890 and 1880. (7). F. Plessis praises Schulze's *Römische Elegiker*, Berlin, 1890, and commends with some reserve Adolf Kiessling's 2d edition of *Hor. Odes and Epodes*, Berlin, 1890. (8). S. Chabert commends Lucian Müller, *De Accii fabulis disputatio*, Berlin, 1890. (9). L. D. makes rather unfavorable mention of Munro's *Lucretius* (translated into French by A. Reymond, Paris, 1890) and (10) of Schütz's *Hor. Odes and Epodes*, 3d ed., Berlin, 1889. (11). Anonymous praise of Jahn's *Eclogae, e Proclo de philosophia chaldaica*, Halle, 1891. (12). Alban Derroja makes favorable mention of Hime's *Introduction to the Latin Language*, London, 1890, but finds a few faults and errors. (13). E. C. notices *Les Scolies genevoises de l'Illiade, publiées . . . par J. Nicole*, Paris, 1891, and gives an account of the *Genevensis* 44. (14). Émile Chatelain praises highly and gives a brief analysis of *Le latin de Grégoire de Tours*, par Max Bonnet, Paris, 1890. (15). E. C. briefly notices *Sexti Pompei Festi de verborum significatu cum Pauli epitome: edidit Aemilius Thewrewk de Ponor, Pars I*, Budapestini, 1889, and (16) *Corpus glossariorum latinorum, vol. IV: edidit G. Goetz*, Leipzig, 1889, and (17) a work on the MSS of the letters of Pliny the Younger, by S. G. de Vries in the *Exercitationes palaeographicae in Bibliotheca Universitatis Lugduno-Batavae*, etc., Lugd. Batav., 1890. (18). Brief anonymous mention of *Chronologie de l'Empire romain, publiée sous la direction de R. Cagnat*, par George Goyau, Paris, 1891.

## No. 2.

1. P. 97. R. Dareste calls attention to a fragment of a law of Solon (in the recently published *Scholia to Homer*) throwing light on *ἐξούλης*.
2. P. 98. Jules Nicole emends the passage referred to in (1).
3. Pp. 98-100. B. Haussoullier publishes his restoration of the mutilated column 31 of the *Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία*, with Kenyon's comments on it.
4. Pp. 101-15. *Chemica Graeca, e codicibus MSS Monacensi 112 et Bernensi 579*, by Albert Jahn: elaborate critical discussion of numerous passages.
5. P. 116. J. Keelhoff shows that *ἐπιπλοα* should be stricken from the *Lexica*.
6. Pp. 117-30. Critical and metrical notes on *Commodianus*, by Léon Vernier.
7. Pp. 130-31. *Acciana—critical notes on four fragments of Accius*, by Louis Havet.



8. Pp. 132-38. H. Lebégue adopts the method of Alfred Jacob (see *Rev. de Phil.*, April, 1889) and corrects numerous errors in the dates of MSS contained in *Facsimilés des manuscrits grecs datés*, etc., published by H. Omont, Paris, 1890-91.

9. Pp. 139-54. Colonel Stoffel criticises *Das Kriegswesen Cäsars*, by Franz Fröhlich. Admitting the excellence of the work in every other respect, he finds and corrects numerous errors in the treatment of military affairs. He seems to hold the view that none but a military man can be competent to speak of the military affairs of the ancients.

10. Pp. 155-56. Jean Psichari explains *Soph. El.* 1-10, 159.

11. Pp. 156-60. Under the head of *Bulletin bibliographique*, B. Hausoullier gives an account of the contents of Classical Texts from Papyri in the British Museum, including the newly discovered Poems of Herodas, edited by F. G. Kenyon. With autotype facsimiles of MSS British Museum. London, 1891.

#### No. 3.

1. P. 161. Announcement of the death of Othon Riemann, who died Aug. 16, 1892, aged *thirty-eight years*. The next volume of the *Review* will contain his biography.

2. Pp. 162-67. F. G. Kenyon furnishes some fragments of Herodas.

3. P. 167. F. Cumont calls attention to a letter of St. Gregory of Nyssa.

• 4. Pp. 168-74. Critical notes by C.-E. Ruelle on the Musical Problems ascribed to Aristotle.

5. P. 174. O. R. finds an example of *tamquam* = 'as if' in the sense of 'with the notion that' in Cicero (*Brut.* I 5).

6. Pp. 175-76. R. Cagnat shows from a recently discovered inscription that in *Plin. Hist. Nat.* V 4, 29, the true reading is *Chiniavense*.

No. 4 merely completes the *Revue des Revues*, begun in No. 1 and continued through Nos. 2 and 3.

MILTON W. HUMPHREYS.

#### CORRECTION.

I regret that in a footnote to my article on the verb *σκηναίω*, etc., on page 78 of this Journal, I misrepresented Professor Thayer's statement in his *Lexicon*. The passages cited in the note are complete for the New Testament only, not for 'the Scriptures.' The error was entirely mine. In the same footnote, for *Rev.* 12, 2 read 12, 12. Professor Thayer has kindly sent me another example of *κατασκηναίω*. The form is *κατασκηνοῦν*; it occurs in *Diod. Sic.* 19, 94, and should be classed with the seven cases mentioned at the bottom of page 78. The table on page 83 should be corrected to correspond. — M. H. MORGAN.

## BRIEF MENTION.

1891 was a year of surprises, and among its important surprises may well be counted the Flinders Petrie papyri, which Mr. Mahaffy has edited with his wonted jauntiness. The fragments of the *Phaedo* of Plato contained in these papyri were eagerly scanned by Platonic scholars, but Platonic scholars were destined to a disappointment akin to that of Isokratean scholars in the presence of the Marseilles papyrus (A. J. P. VI 111). The Flinders Petrie fragments of the *Phaedo* are more than eleven hundred years older than our oldest MS and have the strong presumption of antiquity in their favor, and yet no sober scholar would buy back the entire papyrus text at the cost of the Bodleian. This sad state of things seems to amuse Mr. Mahaffy, whose interest in the classics is not devoid of a certain Robin Goodfellow malice, and he gravely tells us that the Flinders Petrie papyri represent a text that has not been doctored by the Alexandrians, who were all their lives in bondage to the fear of the hiatus, "and 'improved' the condition of Plato's text to an extent unsuspected by most modern scholars." And so he proceeds to edit the Flinders Petrie text and to point out here and there passages in which the Alexandrians have shifted the words in order to avoid that bugbear, the hiatus; for it seems that the avoidance of the hiatus is a superstition, fostered by Benseler's "tract," "which is too often quoted as conclusive." In short, our whole tradition is ruthlessly discredited. So long as there is enough of the Greek texts left out of which to construct parallels for Irish politics, Mr. Mahaffy will doubtless console himself, but what is to become of the feeble folk who make their houses in the rocks of the Greek text, what is to become of the minute scholars, the syntacticians, the statisticians and the whole tribe of *γωνιοβόμβηκες*? Fortunately, Mr. Mahaffy is not to have his way with these poor people, and USENER has come to their help in an essay as delightful as it is instructive—*Unser Platontext* (Göttinger Nachrichten, 1892, pp. 25–50, 181–215). In this paper Usener treats Mahaffy with perfect urbanity and shows his appreciation of what the brilliant Irishman has done, but he shows also that the Petrie text removes hiatus as well as creates it and disposes forever of the hiatus business. "Mir war es neu," he says, "dass unser bisheriger Platon irgend welche Empfindlichkeit gegen den Zusammenstoss von Vocalen verrathe. Man wird es mir nicht verargen wenn ich nicht zu verstehen vermag, wie dieser hiatenreiche Text hiatus-scheuen Grammatikern seinen Ursprung verdanken könne." To be sure, Usener might have added that Blass (*Attische Bereds.* II 458) undertakes to show an avoidance of hiatus in some of the later dialogues of Plato, but there is no trace of any such avoidance in the *Phaedo*. After a careful investigation into the details of the various readings in the Petrie *παρρη*,

Usener reaches the conclusion that, in spite of all the corruptions and all the interpolations introduced by ages of active use, the Bodleian is gold and the Flinders Petrie text pinchbeck. The Bodleian, like the priceless  $\Sigma$  of Demosthenes, goes back to a better tradition than that of the corrupt Alexandrian vulgate; for here, contrary to all experience in the run of our MSS, the later is the better and the earlier is the worse, and we are brought face to face with a riddle which Usener solves by referring these admirable MSS to their source in the great publishing house of T. Pomponius Atticus, whose Athenian texts competed with the slovenly copies of the old Alexandrian MSS. But the great Alexandrian critics still deserve our gratitude and our confidence, and Usener has done good service in vindicating their methods and their results.

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With the most profound respect for the best type of English scholarship, I venture to say that England is the only country in the world in which a classical man would dare to prepare an edition of a Greek author with such an apparatus as Mr. E. C. MACKIE has set forth for our inspection in the preface to his *Menippus and Timon of Lucian* (Cambridge, At the University Press; New York, Macmillan and Co.). In that apparatus one looks in vain for Maurice Croiset, whom Mr. Mackie ignores as steadfastly as Mr. Bury in his Nemeans ignored Alfred Croiset, and one is not consoled by finding a conspicuous place given to Mr. Lucas Collins's slovenly book on Lucian in "Ancient Classics for English Readers," wherein Mr. Collins shows an extremely hazy knowledge of Greek. He did not know, for instance, or did not care to know, the difference between 'tongs' and 'anvil,' between 'shrewmouse' and 'weasel,' and actually wrote of the 'original Latin' of Suidas. Mr. Mackie makes no reference to Schmid's Atticismus, in which more than two hundred pages are devoted to the peculiarities of Lucian. But why particularize? The book reposes on the work of Hemsterhuis and Reitz, and nothing later is seriously considered.

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Mr. D. H. HOLMES sends to *Brief Mention* the following list of slight errors noted in constant use of von Essen's invaluable *Index Thucydideus*:

P. 2, ἀγγέλλουσι, θ 1. 5, cited as pres. ind., should be pres. part. dat. and given below.—P. 12, αἰτία, δ 65. 19, should be cited δ 65. 9.—P. 37, ἀζιώματι also occurs at β 65. 14, not cited.—P. 39, ἀπειπον. Why is ἀπεροῦσαν, etc. (p. 40), not given under ἀπειπον, since ἐρῶ is given under εἶπον (p. 122)?—P. 138, ἐντεγγραπτο, α 128. 34, should be cited on p. 112 under ἐγγράφω.—P. 141, ἐξέβαινον, ζ 65. 24, should be cited on p. 126 under ἐκβαίνω.—P. 143, ἐξώρμησε, ζ 88. 12 d, and ἐξώρμησαν, ζ 6. 14, should be cited under ἐξορμάω (same p.).—P. 154, ἐπεπονθήκει, η 38. 9, should be cited under πονέω (p. 374), instead of under ἐπιπονέω.—P. 155, ἐπισχῆσω, ζ 33. 34. Why is not this form given under ἐπέχω (p. 147), since fut. forms like it (e. g. σχῆσουσι) are given under ἐχω (p. 174)?—P. 157, ἐπεφύγει, δ 133. 25, should be cited under

φεύγω (p. 440) instead of under ἐπιφεύγω, which does not exist.—P. 244, μέλλωσι, α 60. 28, for η 60. 28.—P. 249, (1) μετὰ, β 62. 27, should be β 62. 28. (2) μετὰ, δ 9. 3, does not exist.—P. 316, (1) ὁμοῖοι, β 45. 23, should be β 45. 33. (2) β 89. 25 should be β 89. 26.—P. 322, ὠρρώθησαν for ὠρρώδησαν.—P. 354, (1) πέμπουσιν, β 80. 18, should be β 80. 19. (2) πέμψαι, δ 27. 34, should be δ 27. 33.—P. 359, (1) περιερρύη should be placed under περιιρρόντος above on same column. (2) περιεφρουροῦντο should be spaced, as being a first occurrence.—P. 362, πλείω, β 89. 29, should be β 89. 30.—P. 379, προύβη should not be spaced as being a first occurrence.—P. 381, προεροῦντα should be given under προεῖπον (p. 380); cf. p. 39, ἀπεῖπον, above.—P. 382, προμαθῶν should be placed before προμαχόντο, in alphabetical sequence.—P. 383, προειρημένον, etc., should be given under προεῖπον (p. 380); cf. p. 39, ἀπεῖπον, above.—P. 395, εἶρηκα and the rest ought, consistently, to be put under εἶπον.

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Mr. BURY's edition of the *Isthmian Odes of Pindar* (New York, Macmillan & Co.) follows the same lines as his *Nemeans*. So far from being weaned from the doctrine of the recurrent word, he clings to it passionately, and extracts from it the last drop of the "milk of Paradise." The same cleverness and suggestiveness characterize introductions and commentary, the same diffuseness and the same fancifulness, the same fitfulness, not to say backwardness, in acknowledging obligation where acknowledgment is due. The most simple matters are stated with the air of one who sees a new planet swim into his ken, and the notes are loaded with statistics that are absolutely lacking in point. ἀπαξ εἰρημένα are sometimes significant, or can be made significant, but the mere mention of the fact that this or that word occurs only once in Pindar does not seem to be of any particular value. And even then he is not always right. The solitariness of ἐθειρα (I 4, 9) hardly counts in the presence of τανυθεῖρα (O 2, 26). In several of his notes Mr. Bury calls attention to the varying quantity of vowels before mute and liquid, πᾶτρα here and πᾶτρα there, πάτμος six times and πᾶτμος eight times. But apart from a comprehensive study of quantity in Pindar, these are dead facts. Far otherwise do these facts appear in the generalization of Breyer, who in his *Analecta Pindarica* has reached the conclusion that "in the lengthening of vowels before mute and liquid the dactylo-epitrites approach very closely the Homeric usage, while the logaoedics and paconians deviate from the standard and approach the Attic norm."

## RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Thanks are due to Messrs. B. Westermann & Co., New York, for material furnished.

### AMERICAN.

Bible. New Testament. The resultant Greek Testament: exhibiting the text in which the majority of modern editors are agreed, by R. F. Weymouth; with an introd. by the Rev. J. J. S. Perowne, Bp. of Worcester. New York, *Funk & Wagnalls Co.*, 1892. 23 + 643 pp. 12mo, cl., \$3.

Brugmann (K.) A Comparative Grammar of the Indo-Germanic Languages. Vol. III. Morphology, pt. 2; from the German, by R. Seymour Conway and W. H. D. Rouse. New York, *B. Westermann & Co.*, 1892. 8 + 402 pp. 8vo, cl., net, \$3.25.

Burt (M. E.) Story of the German Iliad. New York, *Effingham Maynard & Co.*, 1892. 119 pp. 12mo, cl., 50 cts.

Constantinides (Michael). Neohellenica: an introduction to modern Greek; tr. into English by M. Constantinides in collaboration with H. T. Rogers. New York, *Macmillan & Co.*, 1892. 16 + 470 pp. 12mo, cl., \$1.90.

Gentry (T. G.) Family Names from the Irish, Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-Norman and Scotch. Philadelphia, *J. B. Lippincott Co.*, 1892. 8vo, cl., \$2.50.

Goodwin (W. W.) A Greek Grammar. New ed., rev. and enl. Boston, *Ginn & Co.*, 1892. 36 + 451 pp. 12mo, cl., \$1.65.

Grandgent (C. H.) German and English Sounds. Boston, *Ginn & Co.*, 1892. 6 + 42 pp. 12mo, cl., 55 cts.

Homer. Odyssey. Ed. by Arthur Platt. New York, *Macmillan & Co.*, 1892. 23 + 400 pp. 12mo, cl., \$1.25.

Jageman (H. C. G. v.) Elements of German Syntax. New York, *H. Holt & Co.*, 1892. 5 + 170 pp. 12mo, cl., 80 cts.

Middleton (H.) An Essay on Analogy in Syntax. New York, *Longmans, Green & Co.*, 1892. 95 pp. 16mo, cl., \$1.

Sabin (Jos.) Bibliotheca Americana: a dictionary of books relating to America. Pts. 115-116, Simms to Smith. New York, *Sabin*, 21 and 23 Ann st., 1892. 196 pp. 8vo, pap., \$5.

Whitney (S. W.) The Revisers' Greek Text. Boston, *Silver, Burdett & Co.*, 1892. 350 pp. 12mo, cl., \$5.

### ENGLISH.

Cicero pro Milone. Ed., with introd. and notes, by A. B. Poynton. 12mo, 122 pp. *Clarendon Press*. 2s. 6d.

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Leaf (W.) A Companion to the Iliad, for English Readers. Cr. 8vo, 402 pp. *Macmillan*. 7s. 6d.

Plato's Dialogues. Trans. into English by B. Jowett. 3d ed., revised and corrected throughout, with marginal analysis and index of subjects and proper names. 5 vols. 8vo. *Clarendon Press*. 84s.

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## FRENCH.

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Rousselot (l'Abbé). Les modifications phonétiques du langage étudiées dans le patois d'une famille de Cellefrouin (Charente). Thèse. In-8. *Weller*. 25 fr.

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Abhandlungen, Breslauer philologische. Hrsg. v. Rich. Förster. 6. Bd. 3. Hft. gr. 8. Breslau, *W. Koebner*. 3. Symbolae ad doctrinae περὶ διχρόνων historiam pertinentes. Scripsit F. Kuhn. Accedit appendix. I. De Ignatii diaconi senariorum in Adamum memoria. II. De Ignatii diaconi, Theodosii diaconi, Christophori Mytilenaei, Joannis Euchaitensis legibus metricis. 140 S. m. 4.50.

Acta martyrum et sanctorum. Syriace ed. Bedjan. Tom. III. 8. viii, 688 S. Parisiis. L., *O. Harrassowitz in Komm.* m. 24. (I-III, m. 68.)

Bar Bahlule (Hassan). Lexicon syriacum, ed. et notulis instruxit Rubens Duval. Fasc. 1-3. gr. 4. vi, 48 S. u. 1208 Sp. Paris, *E. Bouillon*. m. 16.

Beiträge (Münchener) zur romanischen u. englischen Philologie. Hrsg. v. Herm. Breymann. III. Hft. gr. 8. L., *A. Deichert Nachf.* III. Ueber den figürlichen Gebrauch der Zahlen im Altfranzösischen. Von A. Rauschmaier. ix, 118 S. m. 2.70.

Beiträge zur historischen Syntax der griechischen Sprache, hrsg. v. M. Schanz. III. Bd. 3. Hft. (der ganzen Reihe 9. Hft.). 1. Abtlg. gr. 8. Würzburg, *A. Stuber's Verl.* III, 3. Geschichte d. Pronomen reflexivum. Von Adf. Dyroff. 1. Abtlg. Von Homer bis zur att. Prosa. 138 S. m. 4.

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Bibliothek, spanische, m. deutschen Anmerkungen f. Anfänger v. J. Fesenmair. 9. Bdchn. gr. 16. München, *J. Lindauer*. 9. Vida de las Casas obispo que fue de Chiapa por D. M. J. Quintana. viii, 137 S. m. 1.40.

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Corpus inscript. graecar. Graeciae septent. consilio et autoritate acad. litterarum regiae borussicae editum. Vol. I. Fol. B., *G. Reimer*. kart. m. 85. Inscriptiones graecae Megaridis, Oropiae, Boeotiae ed. G. Dittenberger. vii, 806 S.

Crow (C. L.) Zur Geschichte d. kurzen Reimpaars im Mittelhochdeutschen

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## CORRIGENDA

TO A. J. P., VOL. XIII, No. 2, pp. 139-70.

Page 141, line 32: delete 'outward.'

Page 148, line 10: for semicolon read colon.

Page 148, line 13: for colon read semicolon.

Page 155, line 24: for 'shall' read 'should.'

Page 158, line 30: after 'issue' insert 'And how will Theseus prevent this undetected accomplice from rendering help? he may have joined the guards already, for aught that Theseus knows.'

Page 163, line 8: for 'to madness nearly are' read 'are sure to madness near.'

Page 166, line 4: insert δὲ after the first τῷ, and in the following lines delete 'in a place . . . original reading.'

Page 166, line 10: L is not 'probably' older than the main body of Suidas: possibly it is, but the probability is the other way.

Page 167, line 7 from foot: delete 'much.'

Page 167, last line: for 'then' read 'the.'

Page 168, line 4: for 'Plut.' read 'Plat.'

Page 169, line 13 from foot: λ should be uncial.

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## I.—THE LIMITATION OF THE IMPERATIVE IN THE ATTIC ORATORS.<sup>1</sup>

Raff, the composer of the celebrated Lenore Symphony, happened one day to be taking a walk with a friend of his. In the course of their conversation, the friend made some remarks about the difficulties of musical harmony and counterpoint.

<sup>1</sup>"Contempt solves no problems" is a wise saying that I have tried to bear in mind under sore temptation throughout the course of my grammatical studies, and I have never joined heartily in the Homeric laughter or un-Homeric guffaw which is always evoked when the name of Protagoras is cited in connection with the doctrine of the moods and the use of the imperative in Homer. Indeed, I have considerable respect for the first professor that attacked the subject of Greek syntax, and should continue to have considerable respect for him, even if I were left to form my notion of Protagoras from the mime of the great prose Archilochus, Plato. Aristotle, to whom we are indebted for the Protagorean criticism of Homer, is an unsympathetic soul, and his report is an unsympathetic one: *τί γὰρ ἂν τις ὑπολάβοι ἡμαρτῆσθαι ἃ Πρωταγόρας ἐπιτιμᾷ ὅτι εὖχεσθαι οἰόμενος ἐπιτάττει εἰπὼν μὴνιν ἀεῖδε θεά; τὸ γὰρ κελεύσαι, φησί, ποιεῖν τι ἢ μὴ ἐπιτάξις ἐστίν* (Poet., c. 19). But even Aristotle does not deny that the criticism may have cogency in another sphere, and adds: *διὸ παρείσθω ὡς ἄλλης καὶ οὐ τῆς ποιητικῆς ὃν θεώρημα*. Surely, any one who knows aught of the potency of the professional *eidolon* might see that Protagoras was under the spell of his own art, and judged Homer as he would have judged an oration; and a glance at the *prooemia* of extant orations will suffice to show to any one who is not too busy in asserting his own superiority by an idle laugh, that the rule which Protagoras applied to Homer is perfectly applicable to the orators. The mistake of Protagoras is no worse than the mistake which such a critic as Dionysios makes when he applies his rhetorical rules to such a master-workman in history as Thukydides. This absence of the imperative from

"Why," said Raff, "that's a simple matter. I can teach you the principles in a very few minutes." Now, in view of the large number of books on musical harmony, each claiming to possess merits of its own in the presentation of so difficult a subject, such a statement would seem paradoxical. But, as a matter of fact, to the initiated, the whole system of harmony resolves itself into a few elementary principles, and it is only facility in the practical application of these principles that involves the expenditure of considerable time and energy.

Similarly in the case of the subject under consideration, the theory is stated clearly enough by Hermogenes,<sup>1</sup> but the application of his dictum to the study of the stylistic effect of the imperative is not so simple a matter. Difficulties very soon present themselves, apparent exceptions are encountered, and we are brought face to face with a multitude of seemingly isolated facts. Yet as we progress and, by long-continued contact with the imperative, acquire a keen perception of its varying tone, the difficulties are cleared away, the facts no longer appear isolated, and the apparent exceptions are shown to be but so many striking confirmations of the rule.

To study the limitations of the use of the imperative, that are necessarily involved by its harshness, one naturally turns to oratory. In epic poetry and in the drama, it is true, the imperative abounds, but there is a perpetual shift of character and of situation, and the advantage, possessed by oratory, of the utterance of only a single individual, is lost. Comedy is further complicated by all the elements of mockery and travesty, and there is great danger of misinterpretation of facts. In lyric poetry, as in Pindar, we have, it is true, only one speaker, but the elements of ecstasy

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oratorical *prooemia* has for many years intensified my desire to have a full and accurate exhibit of the use of the imperative in the orators, and at my suggestion Dr. Miller has undertaken to fill this gap in our knowledge, and has filled it in his own way. In view of the widespread phenomenon of varying expression for command and prohibition, I should be inclined to lay more stress than he does on the psychological elements involved, but that reserve does not affect the importance of his research nor the suggestiveness of his presentation.—B. L. G.

<sup>1</sup> See Spengel, *Rhet. Gr.* II, p. 300, or Walz, III, p. 237: *σχήματα δὲ τραχέα μάλιστα μὲν τὰ προστακτικά· οἷον τῆς Ἀριστογείτονος κρίσεως ἀναμνησθέντες ἐγκαλύψασθε. . . . κῶλα δὲ τραχέα τὰ βραχύτερα* (hence also imperative forms) *καὶ ἂ μὴ δὲ κῶλα, κόμματα δὲ καλεῖν ἄμεινον.*

and surprise defy ordinary rhetoric, and in didactic poetry, while there is, of course, an abundance of imperatives, there is too much sameness. In history the material would be scant if it were not for the speeches and other quotations, and the artistic form of philosophy, the dialogue, is subject to dramatic conditions. But in oratory the case is different. Here rhetoric holds full sway, and the nature of the case in the majority of instances is such as to require considerable tact on the part of the writer in the proper handling of the imperative. A harsh imperative may seriously prejudice the effect of an oration. And yet there is not so little of the imperative found as to make the conclusions drawn therefrom practically useless.

The results of this study are presented in about the same order in which the various problems have been solved in the mind of the writer. The arrangement may not be the most logical one possible, but it is at least a practical one. It is very difficult to hit upon a perfectly satisfactory arrangement in the case of a subject, every part of which depends for its proper understanding upon a knowledge of all the other parts. We consider the oratorical limitation of the imperative—

1. As to *number* and *kind*.
  - a. No. of imperatives in entire body of orators. Substitutes. Omission of imperative. Imperatives addressed to jury. Kinds of imperative. Mollifiers. Recurrence of same verb. Cumulation of imperative.
  - b. Variations in the different departments of Greek oratory.
  - c. Variations in authors.
  - d. Variations in individual speeches.
2. As to *form*. Voice. Person. Positive and Negative. Tense.
3. As to *position*.
  - a. Prooemium.
  - b. Body of speech and epilogue.

# I.

At first blush it would seem that whilst imperatives could hardly be dispensed with altogether in most orations, yet if, as Hermogenes says, the imperative is harsh, we should not be likely to find in them a large number. An examination, however, reveals the fact that (excluding interjectional *ὅρρε*'s, but of course including

μή with the aor. subjunctive in prohibitions) there are 2445<sup>1</sup> imperatives on the 2284 solid Teubner prose pages<sup>2</sup> that remain of the Attic orators, after deducting the fragments, the letters, all of Hyperides, and the Demosthenean collection of prooemia. 2445 is not a small number. Indeed, if no other facts were taken into consideration, the results of the mere count would hardly justify the belief in the harshness of the imperative, and Hermogenes might be suspected of having based his opinion on a few examples that had attracted his attention by their particularly objectionable character. But figures are valuable chiefly by comparison. While 2445 is a large number, the bulk of the orators, as pointed out above, is likewise large, and *one* imperative per page does not, after all, seem an inordinately large proportion.

It must further be borne in mind that the imperative might have been used much more frequently. For we find in the orators scores of instances of substitutes for the imperative, each instance representing the avoidance of an imperative and bringing about a diminution in the number of occurrences. The cause of the avoidance need not always be harshness of *tone*; it may be harshness of colon, harshness of rhythm, desire of symmetry, but generally most or all of these elements are combined. The following are some of the actually occurring substitutes: *δέομαι ὑμῶν*, *δεῖ*, *χρή*, *ἄξιος* and *δίκαιος* used personally, *ὀφείλω*, *προσῆκει*, *εἰκός*, *αἰτοῦμαι*, *ἄξιόν*, *ἄξιον*, *δίκαιον*, *συμφέρει*, *αἰσχρόν* w. inf.; *εἰκότως*, *δικαίως* *ἂν* w. opt.; *εἰάν* with subjunctive or *εἰ* with optative; the verbal in *-τέον* and *ἔργον* with the genitive or the possessive pronoun followed by the infinitive.

Probably, of all the substitutes given above, the conditional sentence looks furthest removed from an imperative, and yet

<sup>1</sup> This makes about 107 imperatives to every 100 pages, or about 1 imperative to every page. The first six books of the Iliad contain at least 230 imperatives on less than 124 Teubner pages of epic poetry. This makes about 185 imperatives to every 100 pages. Now, taking into account the fact that a page of epic poetry is smaller than a page of prose, it would be perfectly safe to say that, volume for volume, the number of imperatives in the first six books of Homer's Iliad is about twice as great as that in the orators. In the case of the orators, the imperatives in quotations, in supposed laws, and in bracketed portions of the text, as also all doubtful imperatives, have been excluded from the count.

<sup>2</sup> All laws and bracketed portions of the text have not been counted. In case of fractions of lines, one-half or over has been counted as one full line, and less than one-half line has not been counted.

Isocrates himself tells us in 15, 72: ἐπιχειρῶ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο πείθειν αὐτὸν ὥς χρὴ δεινὸν νομίζειν, that εἰ δεινὸν ἡγήσαιο of 2, 14 is a substitute for the imperative. For, in proof of the fact that χρὴ δεινὸν νομίζειν is a substitute for the imperative, if proof be necessary, we need only turn to the previous section, §71, where Isocrates, referring to the expression in 2, 10: καὶ μὴν ἐκεῖνό γε φανερόν ὅτι δεῖ τοὺς ταῦτα δυνησομένους καὶ περὶ τηλικούτων βουλευομένους μὴ ῥαθυμεῖν, impersonal and indefinite as it is, says παραινῶ τῷ Νικοκλεῖ μὴ ῥαθυμεῖν. If the impersonal δεῖ followed by the infinitive, with the subject in the third person, may be a paraenesis to the person addressed, and if εἰ with the optative may be hortative, it is not necessary to prove that the other expressions may be substitutes for the imperative. Not that they are the exact equivalents of the imperative; but the intimation of the desire that the thing should be done is there, and the object sought to be attained is the same as in the case of the imperative, whilst the appearance of wishing to lord it over one (ἐπιτάττειν) is removed and an appeal is made to the person, either directly or indirectly, from the point of view of mercy, kindness, justice, fairness, propriety, utility, moral obligation, absolute necessity, etc.

To an entirely different sphere belong the use of the so-called imperative question and the imperative use of ὅπως with the future indicative. These are not mollifying substitutes for the imperative. ὅπως with the future indicative is undoubtedly colloquial, as the statistics given by Weber, *Entwicklungsgeschichte der Absichtssätze*, II, p. 123, plainly show, and it has no extended use in oratory. It is found only twelve times—twice in Lysias, once in Isaeus, and nine times in Demosthenes—and of these twelve instances only one is directly addressed to the body before whom the oration is delivered. The passage is found Dem. 4, 20. The orator begins ξένους μὲν λέγω and then, suddenly breaking off, stirs up his hearers by the vigorous parenthesis: καὶ ὅπως μὴ ποιήσῃθ<sup>1</sup> etc. How much more effective this than an entreating μὴ ποιήσῃθ<sup>1</sup>!

The use of the so-called imperative question is best studied in connection with the other kinds of rhetorical questions. Its tone

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Rehdantz ad locum: "man erwartet nun die Anzahl zu hören; aber bekannt mit der Leichtfertigkeit und Spottsucht seiner Mitbürger, welche eine so feierlich angekündigte und doch so bescheiden lautende Forderung lächelnd würden bewilligt haben, schlägt er ihnen zuvor durch die bittere Parenthese den Spott aus der Seele und reinigt so zu sagen erst die Gemüther zu der richtigen Stimmung."

varies all the way from mild astonishment to utter impatience and intense disgust. Says Rehdantz in a note to Dem. 4, 10: "Der Charakter dieser Frage ist ein wesentlich anderer als in der zu §2 behandelten. Hier strömt sie aus der unwillig erstaunten Seele des Redenden, und ihr Ziel ist Ueberführung<sup>1</sup> (ἡλεγχος Tiber. 8, 540, πείσις ἐλεγκτική Hermog. 3, 314) und Beschämung, welche zum Entschluss oder Handeln führen sollen und oft geradezu wie ein *Befehl* wirken; nur dass sie immer doch den Hörer als ein sich selber frei bestimmendes Wesen anerkennen." See also Rehdantz-Blass, Index to Dem., under "Frage." Hermogenes, Walz, III, p. 237, calls this kind of question ἐλεγκτικός and makes it only second in degree of harshness, the imperative holding the first place. The shortness of the colon, or rather comma, as Hermogenes would have it, also figures prominently in the harsh effect produced (cf. Hermogenes, p. 237 bottom and p. 238 top). The following are about all the instances that we have noted in which such a question might, with more or less change in the sentence, be replaced by an imperative of the second person. No claim to exhaustiveness, however, is set up, and no attempt has been made to register the various degrees of harshness: Lys. 14, 17; Isae. 3, 77; Dem. 19, 283 (*bis*); 20, 83 (*bis*); 21, 116 (*sexies*); 222 (*bis*); 23, 109; 24, 170 (*bis*); 203; 205; 25, 27; 53 (*bis*); 63; 36, 52 (*bis*); [44], 54; 45, 70; 54, 20; [59], 108; 117; Lycurg. 27 (*bis*); 54; 78; 115; 116; 121; Aeschin. 1, 130; 185; 2, 161; 3, 152 (*bis*); 235 (*ter*); 253 (*bis*); Din. 1, 15; 18; 37; 41; 42; 84; 87; 97; 106 (*ter*); 107; 2, 11 (*ter*); 14 (*bis*); 15; 3, 7 (*bis*).

It has just been shown that the number of the imperatives in the orators was considerably reduced by the use of mollifying substitutes. But there is another way in which the number might have been diminished, and that is by intentional or unintentional omission, without replacement by a substitute. But this is a matter that is not directly susceptible of proof. The mere absence of a construction does not prove that the nature of the construction is responsible for the conscious or even unconscious avoidance of it on the part of the author. And while, from the general behavior of the imperative as described in this article, it would seem that the nature of the imperative is such as to have caused its absolute omission on many occasions, yet it is hardly fair to utilize any such conclusion before all the evidence has been presented.

<sup>1</sup> I should prefer to take ἡλεγχος in the sense of *reproof* and not *conviction*.

In dealing with the actually occurring imperatives it is necessary, first of all, to distinguish between the persons to whom the imperative is addressed. It is perfectly evident that the imperatives addressed to one's adversary or to the clerk of the court, etc., do not enter prominently into the discussion. The clerk is the servant of the court, and there can be no harshness in addressing him in the imperative. Even Isocrates uses forms like *ἀνάγνωθι*, *κάλει*, etc. The common forms used in speaking to the clerk are *ἀναγίγνωσκε* (48 times), *ἀνάγνωθι* (134 times), *ἐπιλαβε* (11), *ἐπίσχε* (15), *κάλει* (114), *λαβέ* (162) and *λέγε* (256 times).<sup>1</sup> These imperatives are occasionally replaced by the third person imperative, which in this case would seem rather harsher than the second, inasmuch as spoken in the presence of the person to whom the request ought to be addressed. A more common substitute is the future. So instead of *κάλει τοὺς μάρτυρας* we have *τούτων τοὺς μάρτυρας παρέξομαι*. Instead of *ἀνάγνωθι* we find *ἀναγνώσεται*. In the same way, an *ἀνάβηθι* or *ἀνάβητε* addressed to the witness or witnesses is unobjectionable. The adversary seems to have been a perfectly legitimate object upon which to vent one's wrath. It is the person or persons to whom the oration is addressed whose feelings must be consulted, and so it is only the imperatives addressed to him or to them that are of primary importance. Now, of the 2445 imperatives mentioned above, the entire number of imperatives directly<sup>2</sup> addressed to the jury or substitute is only 1311. In judging of the significance of this number we must bear in mind that not all imperatives are of the same degree of harshness.

It may be read in every grammar that the imperative may be used to express a command, an exhortation, or an entreaty. In the genuine command we have an example of unmitigated harshness. There are no examples of this use among the imperatives addressed to the jury. Of the hortative, symbouleutic and paraenetic imperative we shall speak at full length below. Suffice it for the present to say that the greater number of imperatives belong to this class and that they vary in harshness according to the circumstances of the case. But a large number of the imperatives belong to the class of entreaty. When the imperative is used in an entreaty it has of course nearly lost all harshness of

<sup>1</sup> This and the foregoing figures include the few cases in which the one or the other of the just mentioned imperative forms does not refer to the clerk.

<sup>2</sup> The handful of imperatives indirectly referring to the jury either collectively or individually, may be ignored for present purposes.



tone. Moreover, two or more imperatives of entreaty are frequently used together, and even these are generally accompanied by some mollifying expression, so that the short, harsh colon that is characteristic of the imperative is avoided. The mere insertion of the phrase *ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι* has a mollifying effect upon the tone of the imperative. An instance of a string of imperatives of most pitiful entreaty is found in Dem. 28, 19-20: *μηδαμῶς ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταὶ γένησθ' . . . μηδὲ . . . περιίδητε . . . βοηθήσατ' οὖν ἡμῖν βοηθήσατε . . . σώσατ' ἐλεήσατε . . . ἱκετεύω, ἀντιβολῶ πρὸς . . . . . μὴ περιίδητέ με, μηδὲ ποιήσητε κτέ.* The introduction of a word like *δέομαι*, *ἱκετεύω*, *ἀντιβολῶ*, or a combination of these words, leaves no doubt as to the true tone of the imperative. These words occur with the aorist and present, positive and negative. The following are examples: Aeschin. 3, 61 *δεήσομαι . . . δέησιν, ἐπινεύσατέ μοι.*—3, 156 *μὴ . . . , ἱκετεύω ὑμᾶς, μὴ τρόπαιον ἴστατε . . . , μὴδ' αἰρεῖτε . . . , μὴδ' ὑπομνήσκετε.*—And. 2, 23 *δέομαι . . . ἀπόδοτε.*—Dem. 19, 195 *αἰτῶ σε καὶ δέομαι, δός μοι.*—[42], 19 *μικρὸν μὲν οὖν, ἱκετεύω, ἐπίσχεσ.*—[42], 32 *ἤφετε, ἱκετεύω πάντας ὑμᾶς.*—45, 85 *δέομαι καὶ ἀντιβολῶ καὶ ἱκετεύω μὴ ὑπερίδητέ με, κτέ.*—[50], 2 *δέομαι ὑμῶν μὴ με ἡγήσῃσθε.*—[50], 2-3 *δέομαι . . . δικαίαν δέησιν . . . ἀναμνήσῃτε καὶ . . . φράζετε.*—Lys. 4, 20 *ἱκετεύω ὑμᾶς καὶ ἀντιβολῶ, ἐλεήσατέ με.* I desire in this connection to call attention to the frequency with which many of the imperative forms are repeated.<sup>1</sup> Constant recurrence would have a tendency to blunt the feeling of harshness on the part of the hearer. Especially noteworthy in this respect is the group of imperatives of the verbs *σκοπεῖν*, *σκέψασθαι*, *ἐνθυμείσθαι* and *λογίζεσθαι*. But, apart from their mere recurrence, there is another reason why these last-mentioned forms are rather mild. The plaintiff or the defendant knows that it is the duty of the judges to challenge mentally every statement he makes. It is expected of him to meet this challenge, and the most simple and direct way of introducing the arguments in support of his statement is the *σκέψασθε* or some similar expression, which in this case has almost the force of a simple causal particle. If we add to these weakest of hortative imperatives such closely related words as the

<sup>1</sup> It might be interesting to know that the whole number of imperative forms in the orators is about 667. These belong to 373 different verbs, which in turn are referable to 228 simple verbs. The whole number of imperative forms second plural (not all of which, it must be remembered, are addressed to the jury) is 318, and the number of verbs of greater or less difference of signification to which these belong is 229. The number of simple verbs to which these 229 different verbs may be referred is 147.

imperatives of *θεωρεῖν*, *θεᾶσθαι*, *ὁρᾶν*, *νομίζειν*, *οἶεσθαι*, *ἡγεῖσθαι* and a few others, we have disposed of about one-half of all the imperatives addressed to the jury or person to whom the oration is addressed.

Contrary to the tendency of avoiding the imperative, there is at times discernible a tendency to multiply its use. The explanation of the heaping up of two or more different imperatives in or about the same passage has in part been given on p. 406. The matter will be perfectly clear after the discussion, in Part III, of the position occupied by the imperative in the speech. Analogous to the heaping up of several different imperatives, but much more restricted in its use, is the repetition of the same imperative by anadiplosis. Aristophanes has made us familiar with this phenomenon by his *παῖε, παῖε τὸν πανοῦργον κτέ.*, Eq. 247. Its use would be governed by the general laws of anadiplosis. The tone is that of great excitement, extreme passion or deep pathos. Hence there is little occasion for its use in the orators. For the rhetorical effect and for examples of anadiplosis in general, see, in addition to Volkmann, *Rhetorik d. Griech. u. Röm.*, Rehdantz' note to Dem. 2, 10 and Rehdantz-Blass' index under *Ἐπαναδίπλωσις*. To the example for the imperative there given, namely, Dem. 28, 20 *βοηθήσατε*, add Dem. 18, 139 *δότε*; 19, 97 *εἴργετε*; 25, 14 *δότε*; Aes. 3, 202 *κἀλε* (parallel with the *παῖε, παῖε* of Aristophanes); and Din. 1, 29 *μὴ ἀφήτε*.<sup>1</sup> Compare also Dem. 19, 46 *μὴ νῦν—μὴ νῦν ἀφίστασο* (cited by Rehdantz-Blass, l. c.), Aeschin. 3, 156 *μὴ . . . μὴ . . . ἴστατε*, and Din. 1, 85 *μὴ, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, μὴ*.

Essentially different is the repetition of *λέγε* in such passages as Dem. 18, 37 *ὅτι δ' οὕτω ταῦτ' ἔχει, λέγε μοι τό τε τοῦ Καλλισθένους ψήφισμα καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τοῦ Φιλίππου ἐξ ὧν ἀμφοτέρων ἅπαντ' ἔσται φανερά. λέγε*. In this and similar cases the order to state the decree, law, etc., is issued to the clerk, but instead of allowing him to act in obedience to the order at once, the speaker goes on talking at greater or less length. Meanwhile the clerk is naturally waiting for the signal to start, which is eventually given by the *λέγε*. Examples of this anaphoric use of *λέγε* are common enough in Demosthenes, but none have been noted in the other orators, excepting Aeschines 2, 61, where *λέγε* resumes a preceding *παράγνωθι*, and Din. 1, 52, where *λέγε* resumes *λαβέ*. It must, how-

<sup>1</sup> Wurm, *Comment. ad Din.*, p. 130, does not mention this example among his collection of instances of anadiplosis in Dinarchus, and Mätzner's text has *μὴ ἀφήτε* but once. Blass, Thalheim and Bekker repeat the *μὴ ἀφήτε* in their texts.

ever, be borne in mind that while the imperative forms ἀνάγνωθι, ἀναγίνωσκε, κάλει, λαβέ, ἀνάβηθι and ἀνάβητε, and ἀκούσατε are more or less freely used in Andocides, Isocrates, Isaeus and Lysias, the imperative form λέγε is found but once, namely, Lys. 10, 16 (Lys. 1, 18 contains the λέγε in a quotation), and Antiphon, who cites no laws, decrees, etc., in calling up his witnesses, uses only the expressions παρέξομαι, παρασχίσομαι and κάλει. Examples of λέγε—λέγε are Dem. 18, 28 (but second λέγε is omitted in S according to Weil); 37; 73 ("A et vulg. Ce mot a été omis dans S, L, F par suite, sans doute, du déplacement de la phrase qui le précédait." —Weil); 105; 115; 155; 212 (λέγε resumptive of λέγε in 211); 221 (λέγε resumptive of λέγε in 218); 289; 19, 38; 40; 63; 86 (particularly long parenthesis); 168? (Bekker, but neither Blass nor Weil); 20, 95 (*dis*); 21, 113; 23, 88; 159 (second λέγε omitted in S, according to Weil, and not found in Blass' text; it certainly is missed here); 160; 24, 41? (Bekker; but there is serious trouble about reading); 41, 28; [58], 9? (Bekker). Instances in which a λέγε resumes a preceding ἀνάγνωθι are Dem. 18, 118; 19, 270 (λέγε bracketed by Blass); 23, 151; 162; 45, 8. Cf. also Aeschin. 2, 61 and Din. 1, 52, cited above.

There is a similar but less common use of ἀνάγνωθι and ἀναγίνωσκε, and this is not confined to Demosthenes. An imperative more rarely precedes, as in Isae. 2, 13 ἀνάγνωθι—§16 ἀναγνώσεται—ἀνάγνωθι; 3, 15 ἀνάγνωθι—ἀναγίνωσκε; Dem. 24, 32 ἀνάγνωθι—ἀναγίνωσκε; Aeschin. 2, 60 ἀνάγνωθι—ἀνάγνωθι. The future is more common, as in Isae. 3, 53 ἀναγνώσεται—ἀναγίνωσκε; 5, 2 μάρτυρας παρεξόμεθα—ἀνάγνωθι; 6, 7 ἀναγνωσθήσεται καὶ οἱ παραγενόμενοι μαρτυρήσουσι—ἀνάγνωθι; 6, 8 παρέξομαι—ἀνάγνωθι; Dem. 24, 39 ἀναγνώσεται—ἀναγίνωσκε; 27, 8 παρέξομαι—ἀναγίνωσκε; [47], 24 παρέξομαι—ἀνάγνωθι. Cf. also Isae. 2, 16 above.

We have up to this point confined our discussion to the use of the imperative in the orators viewed as a unit. Let us now examine the variations of its use in the different departments of Greek oratory. We prefix a table showing the comparative frequency of the imperative in the different departments of Greek oratory.

TABLE FOR DEPARTMENTS.<sup>1</sup>

## 1. λόγοι ἐπιδεικτικοί.

Lysias 2 <sup>2</sup> and 33,	0	0	18.25		
Isoc. 9-13,	5	8	118.73		
Dem. 60 and 61,	13	14	24.97		
Total,	18	22	161.95	11	14
Dem. 61 (paraenetic),	12	12	14.75		
Balance,	6	10	147.20	4	7

## 2. λόγοι συμβουλευτικοί.

And. 3,	8	11	11.63	69	95
Lys. 34,	0	0	2.25	0	0
Isoc. 1-3 (paraenetic),	197	201	36.82	535	546
Isoc. 4-8 (with epid. turn),	16	25	160.54	10	16
Dem. 1-11 } symbouleutic,	71	97	161.20	44	60
13-17 }					

## 3a. λόγοι δικανικοί ἰδιωτικοί.

Lys. 10. 11. 17. 23. 32,	14	30	19.53	72 <sup>3</sup>	154
Isoc. 16-21,	16	34	62.76	25	54
Isaeus (entire),	48	149	127.79	38	117
Dem. 27-59,	193	571	433.06	45	132

## 3b. λόγοι δικανικοί δημόσιοι.

Ant. (all),	43	51	73.38	59	70
And. 1. 2. 4,	34	59	58.16	58	101
Lysias (remainder, exc. 34),	129	181	179.93	72	101
Dem. 18-26,	310	644	436.29	72	148
Lycurg.	21	41	39.81	53	103
Aeschin. (all),	136	243	178.82	76	136
Din. (all),	39	55	45.72	85	120

Of the three great departments of Greek oratory, the epideictic is represented chiefly by Isocrates. Ps.-Lys. ἐπιτάφιος (2) and Lys.

<sup>1</sup> The first column gives the number of imperatives directed to persons addressed; the second the entire number of imperatives; the third the number of solid Teubner prose pages; the fourth the percentage (number of imperatives per 100 pages) of the first column; and the fifth the percentage of the second column. Isoc. 14 and 15, [Dem.] 12, and Hyperides were excluded from the count for evident reasons.

<sup>2</sup> It was found impracticable to distinguish between spurious and genuine speeches.

<sup>3</sup> This number, owing to the inadequate material upon which it is based, has no special significance.

Ὀλυμπιακός (33), Ps.-Dem. ἐπιτάφιος (60) and ἑρωτικός (61), and Hyp. ἐπιτάφιος are the only extant specimens of show speeches from the rest of the Attic orators. On purely epideictic soil there is but little room for the imperative. The Greek eulogy, or its counterpart, the invective, usually remains true to its name. While there was every temptation for exhortation or for administering a bit of friendly advice, yet the narration of glorious deeds,<sup>1</sup> the recounting of excellent qualities, formed the principal object of the encomium, and the paraenetic part, if not entirely wanting, receives but little space, the advice being given in an indirect way. This gives the speech an air of dignity and reserve entirely appropriate to the occasion. The use of the direct imperative second person would betoken a certain amount of familiarity and personal interest, and hence we are not surprised to find a few imperatives in the funeral oration of Pericles, Thuc. 2, 35-46, and in an imitation of it in Plato, Menex. 236 D-249 C, though in the latter the dead are ingeniously made responsible for all the advice there given. I was curious enough to know how the imperatives in all the extant funeral orations of the classic times ran, and so present the results of my investigation.

*Imperatives in funeral orations.*—Gorgias ἐπιτάφιος. Cf. Blass, Attische Bered. I<sup>2</sup>, p. 61. We possess one large fragment and probably several smaller fragments. There is no imperative in the larger fragment.—Thuc. 2, 35-46, Pericles' funeral oration. §43, 4 ζηλώσαντες καὶ . . . κρίναντες, μὴ περιορᾶσθε τοὺς πολεμικοὺς κινδύνους. §44, 4 ἡγείσθε . . . καὶ . . . κουφίζεσθε to such of bereaved parents as are too old to have any more children. §46, 2 νῦν δὲ ἀπολοφυράμενοι δὴν προσήκει ἕκαστος ἀποχωρεῖτε. There are a number of substitutes for the imperative. The length of the oration is 7.19 Teubner pages.—Ps.-Lys. ἐπιτάφιος. No imperative.—Plato, Menex. 236 D-249 C. Length about 15.38 pages. 247 A πειρᾶσθε; ἴστε; 247 C τοῖς μὲν οὖν παισὶ ταῦτ' εἰρήσθω; 249 C ἀπολοφυράμενοι ἄπιτε. There are quite a number of imperative substitutes.—Ps.-Dem. ἐπιτάφιος. §12 μηδεὶς δ' ἡγείσθω; §37 ὑμεῖς δ' ἀποδυράμενοι καὶ τὰ προσήκοντ' ὡς χρὴ καὶ νόμιμα ποιήσαντες, ἄπιτε.—Hyper. IV, 6 (7), 14 καὶ μηδεὶς ὑπολάβη με. No imperative in the epilogue, but χρὴ θαρρεῖν is a substitute.—The Evagoras of Isocrates, which is considered a λόγος ἐπιτάφιος by Volkmann, contains a single imperative.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dem. 20, 141 on the nature of the funeral oration: ἐπὶ τοῖς τελευτήσασιν δημοσίᾳ ταφὰς ποιῆσθε καὶ λόγους ἐπιταφίους ἐν οἷς κοσμεῖτε τὰ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔργα (Bekker's text).

But the epideictic speech may be paraenetic or symbouleutic, and in such cases we may be at a loss as to how to classify. So the first eight speeches of Isocrates have all of them an epideictic stamp, and yet they are plainly paraenetic and symbouleutic. So the *ἐπωικός* of Ps.-Dem. is largely paraenetic. We of course expect to find imperatives in a speech the main object of which is to give advice—a small number if the advice is given on one or two points only, a large number if a line of conduct is to be laid down. Accordingly, we find a very large number of imperatives in the first three speeches of Isocrates. It is self-evident if one is asked to give advice, one could hardly fairly be accused of harshness for using the imperative in compliance with the request. Yet even here the advice given might not be pleasant to the person seeking it, and in anticipation of this might be couched in a milder form. But different is the case with a self-constituted adviser. Unsought advice rarely meets with favor on the part of the old and receives but a doubtful welcome on the part of the young. There are exceptions, of course, and nobody will blame Isocrates for giving advice that was probably very badly needed. But Isocrates even here betrays his gentlemanly spirit, his good judgment and his refined taste for elegant expression by many a skilful evasion of an otherwise legitimate imperative. I need only remind the reader of the striking example from *πρὸς Νικοκλέα* discussed in the early part of this paper.

For a study of the imperative in the purely symbouleutic speeches, Demosthenes is about the only orator to whom we can turn. For of the speeches of Andocides, only oration 3 is a genuine specimen of the *γένος συμβουλευτικόν*, and of Lysias we have only the fragmentary oration 34. Isoc. 4–8<sup>1</sup> have an epideictic turn, and the number of imperatives is almost as low as in the purely epideictic class. The imperative, as we have seen in the previous section, has a perfectly legitimate place in the symbouleutic speech. The very name points to the imperative. But it must also be borne in mind that public orators are really self-constituted advisers. It is true that the better class of them look upon their work as a solemn duty they owe to their country, and this consideration, together with a greater or less degree of popularity, serves to mitigate the otherwise unpardonable harshness of the imperative. But the fact remains that they have not been appointed public counsellors, and their own personal interest,

<sup>1</sup> For 1–3 see above.

as well as the public welfare, would make them desirous of having their advice meet with favor. So a certain amount of caution must be exercised as to the way in which the advice is offered, and, as a matter of fact, there are only 44 imperatives addressed to the jury, in every 100 pages of this kind of Demosthenean speech. The expression *φημι δεῖν* abounds, and other substitutes for the imperative are not wanting. It is interesting to note the comparatively small number representing the total of all the imperatives in this class. This is due to the absence of witnesses, citations of laws, etc., the presence of which calls forth imperatives like *ἀνάγνωθι, κάλει, λέγε*, etc.

The third great class, that of the *λόγοι δίκανικοί*, remains. Here we must again divide into two classes, the public and the private. In the private orations the number<sup>1</sup> of imperatives is very much below the average for all the orators, whereas in the public speeches the number is almost as much above. In the latter class the avowed interest of the speaker in the public welfare made the imperative excusable, and frequently the length of the speech gave ample time for gradually working upon the feelings of the audience, and when their passion was fully aroused, the orator might give vent to his. Cf. Cic. Orat. §26 on Dem. 18.

It is only after the above study of the relative frequency of the imperative in the different departments that we can at all understand the figures for the different authors. For else how could we account for it that Lysias "venustissimus ille scriptor ac politissimus," who, according to Cic. Orat. 29, has nothing "insolens aut ineptum," should use so many imperatives? A glance at the table of departments shows that the vast bulk of Lysias consists of *public* judicial speeches, and in this department Lysias' figures are as low as those of Demosthenes.<sup>2</sup> Demosthenes here runs up to 72, while in his private orations he descends to 45. Isaeus' low number is explained by the fact that all his orations are private and of the class called *κληρικοί*. Dinarchus, the *κρίθινος Δημοσθένης*, abounds in imperatives and heads the list. This is perfectly consistent with his use of the so-called imperative question,<sup>3</sup> where he also leads. Next comes Aeschines, who has

<sup>1</sup> For the rest of this paper, unless otherwise specified, the *number* of imperatives is to be regarded as referring simply to the imperatives addressed to jury, etc.

<sup>2</sup> But the shortness of so many of Lysias' orations must also be taken into consideration. See below, p. 414.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 404.

a high temper and is by no means free from vulgarity. Isocrates must justly be placed at the end of the list, notwithstanding the fact that the table assigns him the number 53. The number of imperatives in his epideictic and symbouleutic speeches (excluding paraenetic) is a minimum. For the private speeches his number is the lowest. It is the paraenetic speeches that swell his proportion of imperatives. We append the following

TABLE FOR AUTHORS.<sup>1</sup>

	Ant.	And.	Lys.	Isoc.	Isae.
Pages,	73.38	69.79	219.96	467.29	127.79
Effective imperatives, <sup>2</sup>	43	42	142	249	48
Do. per 100 pages,	59	60	65	53	38
Ivs. 3d person,	6	6	14	26	17
Other ivs. 2d person,	2	22	55	20	84
Total number of ivs.,	51	70	211	295	149

	Dem.	Lycurg.	Aesch.	Din.	Total.
Pages,	1061.46	39.81	178.82	45.72	2284.02
Effective imperatives, <sup>2</sup>	591	21	136	39	1311
Do. per 100 pages,	56	53	76	85	57
Ivs. 3d person,	130	3	35	..	237
Other ivs. 2d person,	609	17	72	16	897
Total number of ivs.,	1330	41	243	55	2445

Besides this variation in the departments and in the different authors, there is also considerable variation in the number of imperatives of the individual speeches of the same author or of the same department. This variation will depend on a variety of circumstances, and no definite rules can be laid down. In general it may be said that timidity is unfavorable to the use of the imperative, and so we might expect to find more imperatives used by the accuser than by the defendant. So in *περί παραπρεσβείας*, where Aeschines is on the defensive and is in great alarm, he is forced to assume a modest and humble tone, which is indicated by the use of only 45 imperatives per 100 pages. This modesty and humility are conspicuously absent in his first oration, in which 84 imperatives per 100 pages are used, and still more so in the *κατὰ Κτησιφώντος*, in which the number per 100 pages rises to 91. In the opposing speeches of Demosthenes we find precisely the

<sup>1</sup> It was found impracticable to distinguish between spurious and genuine speeches.

<sup>2</sup> For the sake of brevity this term is used in referring to the imperatives addressed to the jury or the person to whom the oration is addressed.



same state of affairs. In the *de corona* Demosthenes is on the defensive and uses only 42 imperatives per 100 pages, but in the *περί παραπρεσβείας*, where he is the accuser, he uses 95 imperatives per 100 pages. Calmness is hardly compatible with the extensive use of the imperative, but a passionate or a pathetic<sup>1</sup> speech would naturally abound in imperatives. Here again it is to be remembered that a speech may be calm at one point and passionate at another. An awkward and inexperienced speaker might in his *naïveté* use imperatives where a more experienced and clever speaker would avoid them. Furthermore, a short speech would in proportion contain more imperatives than a long one of the same kind. All these things have to be taken into consideration for a proper understanding of the number of imperatives in any one speech. For the sake of supplementing and further illustrating the above remarks, there is added the table on p. 415.

## II.

In the treatment of the limitation of the imperative in regard to form, very little need be said about voice and person. The imperative passive occurs but rarely, and then chiefly in the third person. There are only two or three instances of real passives of the second plural addressed to the judges. As far as person is concerned, it is to be remarked that there are only 237 instances of the third person, and of these only a small number refer to the jury. In regard to the tone of imperatives of the third person, it would probably be safe to say that while, as a rule, such imperatives, because less direct, are less harsh than those of the second person, yet they were not used as mollifying substitutes. Of very much greater importance is the question of the tone of the *negative*. This question has been pretty thoroughly discussed by Prof. M. W. Humphreys in his paper on Negative Commands in Greek, published in the Transactions of the Am. Phil. Association for 1876, p. 46 ff. Though the views there set forth on the tone of the negative imperative would seem, upon the whole, to be untenable, it is but due to Prof. Humphreys to say that his interesting discussion of the matter proved both suggestive and stimulating to the writer, and has been of considerable service in the formulation of the results presently to be given.

<sup>1</sup>Cf. the string of imperatives in the pathetic appeal of Dem. 28, 19-20. See above, p. 406.

TABLE FOR INDIVIDUAL SPEECHES.<sup>1</sup>

Ant.	2	3	And.	Lysias.	2	3
7.06 14	.50 0	2.06 97	38.06 63	9.22 43	10.06 139	2.00 250
2.22 0	2.81 142	1.94 52	7.91 76	16.56 0	7.72 13	19.16 89
3.19 63	3.22 93	2.56 78	11.63 69	8.88 45	3.91 0	19.31 67
2.44 123	2.38 120	25.19 71	12.19 33	3.66 109	3.56 84	9.69 31
2.69 74	1.28 0	13.84 14	.. ..	1.06 0	5.34 131	2.34 85
Lysias.	5	6	7	Isoc.	2	3
4.63 43	5.09 20	5.38 74	6.88 87	11.88 783	26.25 11	11.47 35
2.25 89	4.59 65	2.97 67	6.88 0	9.56 607	19.22 5	67.00 0
5.38 56	3.06 0	3.66 27	1.69 0	15.38 299	33.41 3	5.66 0
11.94 118	5.41 166	2.69 0	2.25 0	45.38 0	19.13 5	14.06 36
7.06 99	8.09 25	7.59 132	.. ..	36.28 30	15.47 0	74.38 13
Isoc.	5	Isaeus.	2	3	Dem.	2
12.13 8	4.47 22	11.00 82	14.91 7	14.03 14	7.19 42	7.88 38
14.28 21	.. ..	10.59 47	10.91 18	.. ..	8.03 25	9.75 21
15.00 27	.. ..	17.88 34	12.53 31	.. ..	9.16 131	16.84 53
12.16 33	.. ..	7.22 83	9.19 98	.. ..	12.94 54	17.28 29
4.72 64	.. ..	12.56 8	6.97 29	.. ..	5.81 0	17.59 45
Dem.	4	5	6	7	8	9
5.31 75	7.03 0	57.66 82	6.94 72	3.66 55	15.53 103	7.94 113
5.94 67	7.50 13	21.78 64	18.41 22	7.47 0	13.44 22	8.84 23
9.13 88	77.75 42	59.53 74	6.09 197	10.22 88	7.38 27	18.03 50
10.22 29	90.47 95	52.31 44	15.63 26	13.19 61	10.47 57	17.16 23
8.94 45	43.72 94	26.13 65	9.53 0	11.84 34	15.31 105	21.28 80
Dem.	11	12	13	Lycurgus.	Aeschin.	Din.
6.13 131	5.53 18	12.84 78	14.75 81	39.81 53	52.16 84	32.38 83
19.38 10	9.34 11	18.19 66	.. ..	.. ..	50.91 45	7.50 107
14.22 35	7.84 0	18.94 27	.. ..	.. ..	75.75 91	5.84 68
17.09 17	12.66 16	32.72 24	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..
18.38 22	8.38 60	10.22 98	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..

The whole number of imperatives in the orators, as pointed out above, is 2445. Of these the number of negatives is about 384, or a little less than 16 per cent. Of the effective imperatives, the number of negatives is 21 per cent. That this small proportion of prohibitions is not due to any greater inherent harshness of the negative command as compared with the positive, but to the fact

<sup>1</sup> For the sake of saving space the figures are arranged in rows of blocks of five, the first column of each block giving the length in solid Teubner pages, the second column the number of effective imperatives per 100 pages. For information regarding the authenticity, etc., of the different speeches, the reader must be referred to Blass, *Attische Beredsamkeit*, and to Blass' text edition of Demosthenes.

that there was no occasion to use the negative more frequently, would appear from the following considerations. To the Greek mind there seems to have been no difference between command and prohibition. "τὸ γὰρ κελεῦσαι," says Protagoras, according to Aristotle, poet., §19, "ποιεῖν τι ἢ μὴ ἐπιτάξις ἐστίν." In the same way, there is no difference to our mind. Whatever distinction is made is a logical one, and not one of tone. A positive imperative may, according to circumstances, be more harsh or less harsh than a negative imperative. To measure the effect of an imperative, three things must be taken into consideration—the person who issues the command, the person to whom the command is directed, and the thing commanded. In the case of the person commanding, the most important item is the spirit that prompted the use of the imperative. If the tone was an imperious one, the imperative, whether positive or negative, meant that the command was to be executed simply because the master (would-be or real) so ordered it, and, as far as the person using it is concerned, is a harsh imperative. If the tone is simply hortative, the imperative is less harsh, and if suppliant entreaty characterizes the imperative, all harshness must be lost, so far as the speaker is concerned. In the case of the person to whom the command is issued, the most important point is again the spirit with which he receives the command. If his be a mind that will endure no imposition, if he be self-willed or of a rebellious spirit, or if he be a brute annoyed by even the most pitiful entreaty, every form of the imperative will be harsh. Lastly, other things being equal, a thing that is easy to do will be less disagreeable, if commanded, than a thing that is hard to do. If the above remarks are true, the conclusion would be that, other things being equal, the negative is not harsher<sup>1</sup> than the positive, and other things being *unequal*, the negative may be harsher than the positive, or the positive harsher than the negative. The view that the orators had no occasion to use prohibitions more frequently seems further to be confirmed by the facts we could gather regarding the use of the positive and the negative imperative in other authors. In the first six books of the Iliad about 230 imperatives (excluding ἄγε unless real imperative) were counted, and of these 37, or 16 per cent., are negatives. In

<sup>1</sup> Aken, *Modus u. Tempus im Griech.*, p. 32, top, is still more radical. He says: "die Beschränkung auf das *Verbot* rührt daher, dass eine Aufforderung etwas *nicht* zu thun, nicht eines so starken Ausdrucks bedurfte, als die positive, die erst in Bewegung setzen --ll."

Xenophon's *Anabasis*, according to Joost, *Sprachgebrauch Xenophons in der Anab.*, there are 144 positive imperatives and only 11 prohibitions. So of the 155 imperatives, only 11, or 7 per cent., are negatives. According to Wagner, *Gebrauch des Imperativischen Infinitivs im Griech.*, there are in the *Iliad* 76 imperative infinitives of the second person and in the *Odyssey* 123, and of these 12 and 10, or a little less than 16 per cent. and a trifle more than 8 per cent. are respectively negative. That there are large numbers of prohibitions in Hesiod's *Works and Days* and in *Theognis* does not militate against our view. The frequent use of prohibitive forms in didactic poetry is to be expected. It is the duty of the adviser not only to tell his friend what to do, but also, by a timely word of warning, to caution him against making the same mistakes he himself has made or seen others make.<sup>1</sup> Isocrates, who knows how to avoid a harsh imperative, is fond of the balance of positive and negative imperative, as his large use of *μη—ἀλλά* in the speech to Nicocles shows. In the third speech of Isocrates, Nicocles gives his subjects a good deal of fatherly advice as to what they must not do, and in oration 6, one-half of Archidamos' exhortation is in the negative. Of the ten commandments, two are positive and eight negative. The truth is, virtue is a simple thing, but vice a many-headed monster, and the above only shows that, except in admonitions, the negative imperative is not generally of frequent occurrence. As far as the harshness of the form, apart from its meaning, is concerned, we should be inclined to say that the negative, because less short, would be less harsh than the positive. It might be well to note, in passing, that in the orators the negative is used by preference with certain imperatives, while it rarely occurs with others. This is of course due to the circumstances of the case. So positive forms of *ἀκούειν* occur 61 times, but negative forms only four times. Positive forms of *ἀναγινώσκειν* occur 185 times, but there is no occasion to use a single negative. Positive forms of *σκοπεῖν* and *σκέψασθαι* together occur 225 times, while negative forms are found only three times. Of *ἐνθυμείσθαι* only positive forms are used. On the other hand, *περιορᾶν* is used only in the aorist subjunctive with *μή*. Of *ἐπιτρέπειν* only prohibitive forms are used. The imperative of *εἶναι* is used overwhelmingly with the negative, etc.

<sup>1</sup> τὰ μὲν ποιεῖ is faced by τὰ δὲ μὴ ποιεῖ, Plat. *Protag.* 325 D; *hoc facito* by *hoc ne feceris*, Cic. *Div.* 2, 61, 127.—B. L. G.

Intimately connected with the consideration of the negative is that of the use of the tenses. The rule for prohibitions in Attic Greek is to use μή with the present imperative or μή with the aorist subjunctive, though, exceptionally, μή with the third person of the aorist imperative is found. This at once leads to the question as to why this curious distinction is made in the construction of positive and negative. Various answers have been given. The investigators that have treated the matter from an exclusively psychological point of view, however widely divergent their views may otherwise be, agree in stating that μή with the aorist subjunctive is a milder form of prohibition than μή with the aorist imperative. Delbrück seems to be about the only one that has attacked the problem from the historical side, and his results have been accepted without modification by Vogrinz, *Gram. des hom. Dialektes*, p. 269. Monro, *Homeric Grammar*, 2d ed., §328, thinks that Delbrück's conjecture is a highly probable one, and Brugmann, *Griech. Gram.*, §168, referring to Delbrück, remarks: "Dass man gewöhnlich nicht μή δείξον, sondern μή δείξης sagte, hing vielleicht mit dem Ursprung des Ausgangs -σον zusammen." The curious behavior of μή with the aorist subjunctive in prohibitions in Homer first seriously attracted the writer's attention to the historical side of the question, and as the matter has a direct bearing on the subject under discussion, he begs leave to present his results. To Delbrück, whose account of the origin of the prohibitive constructions under consideration differs materially from that presented in the following pages, grateful acknowledgment is made for the valuable service derived from his *Altindische Syntax* in the course of this special investigation. To Professors Gildersleeve and Bloomfield special thanks are due for the encouragement received by the writer while working out this side of the question, and the present opportunity is gladly seized of thanking Prof. Gildersleeve for the many valuable suggestions by which this entire paper has been benefited. Prof. Bloomfield has also had the kindness to read the manuscript of this portion of the article, and the writer has profited greatly by his friendly criticism.

The main points of Delbrück's view regarding the origin of the imperative use of μή with the aorist subjunctive are stated by him, *Syntakt. Forsch.* IV, p. 120, as follows: "Es diene also wahrscheinlich der Imperativ ursprünglich nur der positiven Aufforderung, bei negativen Aufforderungen gebrauchte man *mā* mit

dem unechten Conj. Im ältesten Sanskrit hat sich dies Verhältniss erhalten, im Griechischen dagegen dehnte sich, da der gesammte Imperativ (erster und zweiter Schicht) als eine einheitliche Formation empfunden wurde, die Verbindung mit  $\mu\eta$  von der zweiten Schicht, bei der sie überliefert war, auch auf die erste aus. Da nun der Imperativ präs. von allem Anfang an im Griechischen eine geläufige Form war, so befestigte sich als dauernder Typus die Construktion von  $\mu\eta$  mit dem Imper. präs. Der Imper. aoristi dagegen war, wenn die oben angedeutete Hypothese Grund hat, im allerältesten Griechisch so gut wie nicht vorhanden. Man musste desshalb beim Aorist um ein Verbot u. dgl. auszudrücken, zum Conjunctiv mit  $\mu\eta$  greifen, und so entstand als ein zweiter fester Typus  $\mu\eta$  mit dem Conj. aoristi. Als nun der Imperativ aoristi später häufiger wurde, war der Conjunctiv-Typus schon so eingelebt, dass ein Imperativ mit  $\mu\eta$  fast garnicht dagegen aufkommen konnte. Es scheint mir also, dass die Bevorzugung des Imperativs im Präsensstamme und des Conjunctivs im Aoriststamme keinen logischen, sondern einen historischen Grund hat." There are two points in the above theory that seem particularly objectionable. The first is that while the existence of the aorist imperative is virtually denied for the earliest period of Greek, the need of an aorist form of prohibition is asserted. Or, if the view as expressed Syntakt. Forsch. I, p. 20 f. be preferred, a severe critic might be prone to detect a slight inconsistency between the two statements "der auffordernde Conjunctiv aber würde, wie das Sanskrit zeigt, mit dem Imperativ wesentlich gleichbedeutend gewesen sein, er ist also im Griechischen aus Streben nach klarer und deutlicher Ausdrucksweise abgeschafft worden" and "Was zunächst die Sätze mit  $\mu\eta$  betrifft, so beruht die Verbindung von  $\mu\eta$  mit dem Conjunctiv des Aorist auf einer vorgriechischen Gewohnheit, sie stammt aus einer Zeit, in der höchst wahrscheinlich ein Imperativ vom Aoriststamme noch nicht, oder wenigstens erst in schüchternen Anfängen vorhanden war." The second objectionable point is the assumption that the aorist imperative barely existed in the earliest period of Greek. As this is the essential point of Delbrück's theory, an attempt will, in the first place, be made to show that the aorist imperative is probably anterior to the present imperative and that it is certainly at least as old.

When the manifold uses of what Brugmann calls the Injunctive are considered and the facts of its history in Sanskrit are carefully

weighed, the view that the oldest mass of this injunctive represents, if not the oldest, yet at least the largest part of the oldest forms of the verb, appears highly probable (Delbrück, *Altind. Syntax*, §205). These oldest forms of the verb, according to this view, "designated only the connection of an action with a person, without reference to tense and mood, and, according to circumstances, they might express a present, a past, or a postulated (subjunctive-imperative and future) action." See Thurneysen,<sup>1</sup> *K. Z.* 27, 173. Compare also Brugmann, *Morphol. Unters.* III, p. 11 (bottom), and Thurneysen, *l. c.*, p. 174. Now "Avery has shown that numerically even in AV, the aorist preponderates until in P,<sup>2</sup> and that, in connection with the particle *mā*, it is almost all that is left of the injunctive" (Delbrück, *l. c.*, §204), and in classical Sanskrit, while the *present* imperative is all there is left of the imperative, not *mā* with the *imperfect* injunctive, but *mā* with the *aorist* injunctive survived, and that in spite of the general breaking down of the aorist tense. From this the inference may justly be drawn that the oldest aorist injunctives constituted the oldest mass of the injunctive and that the imperfect injunctive was merely an analogical formation that did not have vigor enough to live.<sup>3</sup> From these very ancient aorist forms of the injunctive and by the side of them, other forms of the verb were developed. The development may have been about as follows: Presents were differentiated by various processes of expansion, and, by means of the augment or similar syntactical device, or simply the absence of what had come to be considered distinguishing characteristics of the presents, the original forms became preterits. In some cases the simple form of the present was retained, and so we have forms like *φημί* and *ἔφην* in Greek; in other cases the process of expansion went on, the simpler form of the present was lost, the longer form being retained, and so a present *δίδωμι* is found by the side of an aorist *ἔδομεν*, a present *βαίνω* with aorist *ἔβην*. By the time that another past had been formed from these longer presents by the use of the augment, or secondary endings or other means, the perfect had probably been introduced, and, for that matter, may be as early a form as the present. Other modes of forming the aorist were adopted, and

<sup>1</sup> Thurneysen states that the theory is not essentially new.

<sup>2</sup> Delbrück's notation for Vedic prose.

<sup>3</sup> Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*, 2d ed., §779 a, speaks of the aorist and perfect tenses as though it were an established fact that they are older tenses than the imperfect.

their augmentless forms were by analogy used as injunctives. The subjunctive came into use as a more transparent mode of designating futurity and other modal relations that were represented more vaguely and less exclusively by the injunctive. The optative made its appearance. Injunctives, as has been pointed out above, were formed from the imperfect tense after the analogy of the aorist, etc., etc.

But whatever may have been the precise order and the exact processes of these developments, there must have existed in the very earliest times some form of the imperative, a mode of the verb as indispensable as the indicative itself. It is true, the injunctive originally expressed indicative and other modal relations, and it was also used as an imperative. Compare the imperatives *σχεῖς*, *ἄγες*, *δός*, which, according to Brugmann (*Griech. Grammatik*, §143), are injunctive forms. But this imperative use of the injunctive is to be regarded simply as on a par with the imperative use of the present indicative that is so common in German, e. g. "Du gibst ihm das Messer," "Du liest mir das Buch," and at the side of these injunctive-imperative forms there must have been shorter forms, forms that lacked the personal ending, forms that held the same relation to the verb that the vocative holds to the noun (cf. Brugmann, l. c., §144, 1). Furthermore, the forms in *-θι* and in *-τω* date back to Indogermanic times (cf. Brugmann, *ibid.*). If the above reasoning be correct, the priority of the aorist imperative as compared with the present imperative is an established fact, and Thurneysen's view (*K. Z.* 27, p. 175) in regard to the origin of the imperative termination *-ου* appears very plausible indeed. Compare, however, Brugmann, §144, 3, last section. The great antiquity of the aorist imperative, to say the least, cannot be disputed; for a string of what would universally be conceded to be genuine aorist imperative forms is found in the RV. and the older Sanskrit literature. But it is important, in this connection, to note the fundamental difference between the Sanskrit and the Greek in the life and growth of the moods and tenses. In the case of the Sanskrit, there is a levelling influence at work, and some of the superfluous material is discarded. So, among other things, classical Sanskrit has lost the aorist (Whitney, l. c., §826) and the perfect (§780) imperative. In Greek, on the other hand, there is manifested a desire for variety without redundancy. The result for classical, and even for earlier Greek, is a most highly developed system of mood and tense usage. There is a full



complement of present and aorist imperative forms, and even the perfect is not wanting. There appears to be nothing in the history of the aorist imperative in Greek that would argue in favor of a later origin of the aorist. This tense of the imperative is fully developed in Homer, and even *-σον* forms are frequent enough. Moreover, some aorist forms go back to Indogermanic times. *ἰδέ*, *λαβέ*, *εὔρε*, *εἰπέ* and *ἐλθέ*, for instance, have retained the original accent, and *κλῦθι* equals the Sanskrit *śrudhí*.

If, as has been shown above, the aorist imperative existed at a very early time, the question arises as to why *μή* with the aorist *subjunctive*, and not *μή* with the aorist *imperative*, is used for aorist prohibitions. The solution of this problem is to be found in the Sanskrit use of *mā* with the injunctive. It has been pointed out before that while it is true that there was an injunctive of the imperfect in Sanskrit, and *mā* was by analogy used with that tense also, yet the aorist always preponderated, and when the injunctive had practically died out in the oldest prose, *mā* with the aorist injunctive survived, and was about all there was left of that mood (see Delbrück, *Altind. Synt.*, §§204 and 205), and even in classical Sanskrit, amid the general decline of the aorist tense (Whitney, *Sanskrit Gram.*, 2d ed., §§600 *a* and 826) and the extension of the uses of *mā*, *mā* with the aorist injunctive was a more favorite form of prohibition than *mā* with the present imperative (cf. Speijer, *Sanskrit. Synt.*, §353). It is this *mā* with the aorist injunctive that is undoubtedly the origin of the Greek *μή* with the aorist subjunctive. Classical Sanskrit lost the injunctive and the subjunctive, but clung to its *mā* with the aorist injunctive. The Greek merged the injunctive and subjunctive, which were closely related, and *mā* with the aorist injunctive became *μή* with the aorist subjunctive. The Greek might have lost this peculiar prohibitive construction, but could never have transferred it to *μή* with the aorist imperative. It yet remains to show the growth of *μή* with the present imperative and give the reason for the practical exclusion of *μή* from the aorist imperative.

Grassmann's observation that *mā* is never used with the imperative in the Veda led Delbrück, *Syntakt. Forsch.* IV, p. 120, to the conclusion that the imperative was probably originally confined to the expression of positive commands. This conclusion becomes almost a certainty when by the side of Grassmann's observation is placed the statement of Delbrück, *Altind. Syntax*, §206, that in Vedic Sanskrit no certain example of the pure

imperative in negative sentences can be found.<sup>1</sup> But in a living language the particle *μή*, which was originally confined to the injunctive (Delbrück, l. c., §267), must gradually have found its way into the imperative and elsewhere limited the scope of the other negative particle. Hence we find in classical Sanskrit *mā* with the so-called pure imperative, with the optative, and even with the future indicative (cf. Speijer, Sanskr. Synt., §353 and elsewhere). In Greek we not only find that *μή* has become the regular negative of a number of clauses other than direct prohibitions, but we can even watch the encroachment of *μή* on *οὐ*.<sup>2</sup> As for the imperative, *μή* acquired full sway over the present and perfect, but so tenacious of life was *mā* with the aorist injunctive, and so vigorous was its growth on Greek soil in the form of *μή* with the aorist subjunctive, that, by the side of it, *μή* with the aorist imperative could lead but a miserable existence. Homer's *μή ἔνθεο* (*bis*) may possibly be an example of a possible confusion between present and aorist imperative, and the majority of examples in the orators may be regarded as attempts at a more forcible mode of expression.

Prohibitive *μή* with the present subjunctive in independent sentences either never existed in Greek to any considerable extent, or it was swept away by the overwhelming flood of *μή* with the present imperative. Indeed, one can hardly keep from thinking that in Homer *μή* with the aorist subjunctive was in imminent danger of perishing in the same deluge. For of the 209<sup>3</sup> prohibitions (counting only imperatives and subjunctives) in the Iliad and Odyssey, only about 8 per cent. are aorist subjunctives or aorist imperatives, whereas in the Attic orators the percentage of aorist prohibitions is 44.

<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to note in this connection that in Hebrew also the imperative cannot be used in negative sentences, but that instead *לֹא* with the jussive or voluntative, or *אֵין* with the imperfect, must be used in prohibitions (cf. Ewald, Lehrbuch der Hebr. Spr., 1870, pp. 584 and 798; Gesenius, 22d ed., §§46 and 127 c).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Aken, *Lehre von Temp. u. Mod.*, p. 226, and Gildersleeve, *Encroachments of μή on οὐ in Later Greek*, A. J. P. I, p. 45 ff.

<sup>3</sup> The figures in detail are as follows: I. ILIAD. A. 2d person: 87 pres. iv.; 4 perf. iv.; 7 aor. subj. (E 684; I 33; 522; O 115; Ψ 407; Ω 568; 778); 2 aor. iv. (Δ 410 *μή ἐνθεο*; Σ 134 *μήπω καταδίσεο*). B. 3d person: 22 pres. iv.; 2 pf. iv.; 1 aor. iv. (Π 200 *μή τις λελαθέσθω*).—II. ODYSSEY. A. 2d person: 58 pres. iv.; 4 perf. iv.; 3 aor. subj. (γ 55; λ 251; ο 263); 1 aor. iv. (ω 248 *μή ἐνθεο*). B. 3d person: 15 pres. iv.; 1 pf. iv.; 1 aor. subj. (χ 213 *μή παραιπεπίθῃσι*); 1 aor. iv. (π 301 *μή τις ἀκουσάτω*).

If the above theory of the development of μή with the aorist subjunctive be correct, the origin of the construction is not a psychological one, but an historical one, and in so far at least Delbrück's conclusion coincides with the one here given. But this does not in the least militate against the greater mildness of μή with the aorist *subjunctive* as compared with the various forms of the imperative. The fact that μή with the aorist subjunctive is a *subjunctive* construction, and the fact that it is generally a longer form than the present or the aorist imperative, would make it by nature a milder form than other imperative forms. But how far this natural mildness asserted itself in the practical needs the construction had to meet is another question. Unfortunately, we possess no minutely graded *trachyletometer* that might enable us to tell at a glance the precise degree of harshness of any particular form. Careful and extended observation is the only means at our disposal. When μή with the present imperative is regarded by one good authority as differing from μή with the aorist subjunctive chiefly in this, that the former refers to an action going on, the latter to a future action, when a second authority regards μή with the present imperative as more modest than μή with the aorist subjunctive, a third considers the two as practically equivalent in many cases, and a fourth regards μή with the present imperative as harsher than μή with the aorist subjunctive, there is ample excuse for not attempting to give the exact difference of degree of harshness between the two forms.

The difference between the tone of the present imperative positive and that of the aorist positive is also largely a matter of special conditions rather than one of general rule. There can be no doubt that some aorist forms are more disagreeable in sound than presents. Then, too, the aoristic notion might make the aorist in some cases a more vigorous imperative than the present. But, on the other hand, there are some presents of a more disagreeable sound than the corresponding aorists, as, for example, λάμβανε and λαβέ, ἀναγίνωσκε and ἀνάγνωθι, and the present may by its weight constitute a more vigorous imperative than the aorist. The aorist seems to have been the favorite form in prayers. Cf. Gildersleeve, Justin Martyr, p. 137: "As in the Lord's Prayer, so in the ancient Greek liturgies, the aor. imper. is almost exclusively used. It is the true tense for 'instant' prayer." It is curious to note, in this connection, the tenses of the word *ἡλείν*. The aorist imperative occurs five times in the orators—

twice in Demosthenes and three times in Lysias. The present imperative is used only in the negative; namely, three times in Lysias. The positive is the imperative of entreaty (aorist), the negative is the hortative. Attention has already been called to the fact that all the four imperative forms—to wit, the present imperative, positive and negative, the aorist imperative positive and μή with the aorist subjunctive—are found as imperatives of entreaty, and are found so marked by the use of δέομαι or some similar expression. See above, p. 406. The relations of the tenses in mass are as follows:—The total number of imperatives, as stated above, is 2445. The entire number of real perfects is only seven. The entire number of presents and aorists is 2438, and of these 1105, or 45 per cent., are aorists. The entire number of prohibitive forms is 384, and of these 168, or 44 per cent., are aorists. The entire number of effective imperatives is 1311, and of these 587, or 45 per cent., are aorists. The entire number of effective prohibitive forms is 281, and of these 129, or 46 per cent., are aorists. It appears that the proportion of aorists is about the same in each of the four cases, and the tense relations for the orators may be formulated as follows: *The relative proportion of present and aorist is the same for positive and negative commands.*<sup>1</sup> Of the 168 negative aorists, 133 are μή with the aorist subjunctive 2d person, 29 are μή with the aorist subj. 3d person, and 6 are μή with the aorist imperative 3d person. The forms of the third person of the subjunctive are as follows: ἀκούσῃ (bis); ἀποστερήσῃ; ἀχθεσθῇ (ter); εἴπῃ; ἐξαπατήσῃ; ἐξέλῃται; ἐπιτιμήσῃ; θαυμάσῃ (bis); θορυβήσῃ (ter); καταγνῷ; νομίσῃ; ὀργισθῇ; παραστῇ; πείσῃ (ter); ὑπολάβῃ (septies). The six instances of μή with the aorist imperative 3d person are ἀπογινώτω, Aes. 3, 60; γενέσθω, Ps.-Dem. 42, 31; 49, 1; δότω, Dem. 19, 77<sup>2</sup>; ἰσχυσάτω, Isae. 9, 35; καταγινώτω, Aes. 3, 60. Besides these six examples, there are five instances in a law quoted by Aeschines in 1, 19–20; namely, ἀρξάτω, εἰπάτω, κηρυκευσάτω, πρεσβευσάτω, συνδικησάτω<sup>3</sup>; and γενέσθω occurs Dem. Pr. 35. Dem. 27, 59 (see below) is only an apparent instance. The

<sup>1</sup>The word *command* is of course intended to include exhortations, entreaties, and the like.

<sup>2</sup>μή—μή δότω.

<sup>3</sup>“συνδικησάτω Rsk. Br. Bk. Bens., συνδικήσῃ abmopqr et pr. h (Di.), συνδικάσῃ corr. h, συνδικάσῃ Vat. Laur., συνδικασάτω g, συνδικήσάτω (άτω in erasis) F, συνδιοικησάτω Abb., συνδικῆσαι BS. Fr.”—Schultz. Schultz himself reads συνδικησάτω.

writer has not examined the letters of Aeschines, those of Demosthenes, and the fragments of the Attic orators for this construction. Of μή with the aorist imperative 2d person no genuine examples have been found. The following *apparent* examples have been noted:—I. Aorist imperative followed by μή—ἀλλά: Aes. 3, 153 γένεσθε (v. l. γίνεσθε) δὴ μοι μικρὸν χρόνον τὴν διάνοιαν μὴ ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ καὶ νομίσασθ' ὁρᾶν κτέ. καὶ λογίσασθε κτέ. Aes. 3, 168 ὑμεῖς δ' ἀντιθέντες ἑκάτερα τούτων θεωρήσατ' αὐτὸν, μὴ ὁποτέρου τοῦ λόγου ἀλλ' ὁποτέρου τοῦ βίου ἐστίν. Cf. Dem. 27, 59 εἰ μὲν γὰρ βέλτιόν φησιν εἶναι μὴ μισθωθῆναι τὸν οἶκον, δεῖξά τω μὴ διπλάσια μὴ δὲ τριπλάσια μοι γεγενημένα ἀλλ' αὐτὰ τὰ ἀρχαῖά μοι πάντ' ἀποδομένα.—II. Aorist imperative preceded by μή—ἀλλά: Aes. 1, 161 μὴ γὰρ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ λεγόμενον ἀλλὰ γιγνόμενον τὸ πρᾶγμα νομίσασθ' ὁρᾶν. Aes. 1, 193 μὴ οὖν εἰς ἀθρόους ἀλλ' εἰς ἓνα ἀποσκήψατε καὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν καὶ τοὺς συνηγόρους αὐτῶν παρατηρεῖτε.—III. Aorist imperative preceded by μὴ μόνον—ἀλλὰ καί: Aes. 3, 255 μὴ μόνον τοῖς ὥσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ὁμμασι διαβλέψαντες εἰς ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς βουλευσασθε τίνες ὑμῶν εἰσιν οἱ βοηθήσοντες κτέ.—IV. Aorist imperative followed by καὶ μή: Ant. 5, 71 ἀλλὰ πρότερόν γ' εὖ βουλευσασθε καὶ μὴ μετ' ὀργῆς καὶ διαβολῆς. Dem. 18, 265 ἐξέτασον τοίνυν παρ' ἀλλήλα τὰ σοὶ κάμοι βεβιωμένα, πρῶως καὶ (om. Σ) μὴ πικρῶς, Αἰσχίνῃ. In every one of the above examples the aorist imperative, at the moment of its employment, is conceived as a positive, and is so uttered by the speaker. The aorist imperative is as little to be supplied with the μή in the above cases as the aorist subjunctive is to be supplied with ἀλλά in Dem. 51, 10 καὶ μὴδεῖς ὑμῶν ἐπιτιμήσῃ τῷ λόγῳ, πικρὸν εἶναι νομίσας, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τὸ ἔργον αὐτὸ πεποιηκόσι.<sup>1</sup>

### III.

In the discussion of the limitation of the position of the imperative in the speech, the prooemium is the part of the oration that first comes up for consideration. The three great objects of the prooemium are summed up in the short sentence *ἔργον προοιμίου εὖνοια πρόσξις εὐμάθεια*,<sup>2</sup> and of these the securing of the good-will is justly put first. There may be cases in which the good-will of the auditors is a matter of no serious moment to the speaker,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Krüger, §67, 10, A. 3: "An manchen Stellen gehört ein dem Verbum nachgesetztes μή, wenn auch wegen der *Form* desselben gewählt, doch eigentlich zum nächstfolgenden Worte. . . . σκοπεῖτε μὴ τοῦτο εἰ τάλαντον ἔδωκεν ἀλλὰ τὴν προθυμίαν, Δη. 20, 45."

<sup>2</sup> Anon. in Spengel, Rhet. Gr. I, p. 321.

but in the vast majority of the orations that have come down to us from classical antiquity it formed a matter of considerable importance and sometimes of vital importance, and it is needless to say that to the rhetorical artist it must ever be an object of concern to make a good impression at the outset. Hence, while *τραχυτής* may sometimes be a convenient means of producing *πρόσεξις*, and while it may occasionally be a short road to *εὐμάθεια*, yet, in general, everything harsh must be avoided at the beginning of the speech. That this was the feeling of the ancient speech-writers themselves, and not simply a speculation of the rhetoricians, is clearly proved by Demosthenes. In the celebrated prooemium of the *de corona* the orator distinctly states that he wishes to say nothing harsh at the beginning of the speech—οὐ βούλομαι δυσχερὲς εἰπεῖν οὐδὲν ἀρχόμενος τοῦ λόγου are his words. If it be true, then, that, as a rule, a good prooemium should be characterized by the absence of harshness, it would follow that, theoretically at least, the imperative ought, as a rule, to be excluded from the prooemium. An investigation of the extant prooemia of the Attic orators shows that the theory is borne out by the facts, and it is at this point that Hermogenes' dictum on the harshness of the imperative receives a most beautiful vindication. In the 156<sup>1</sup> speeches of the ten Attic orators there are 11 speeches with real or supposed gaps at the beginning, so that there remain only 145 prooemia. These, together with the prooemium of Lysias' *Erotikos* in Plato's *Phaedrus*, the prooemium of Lys. *πρὸς Λισίην*, the three prooemia of Lysias preserved by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, the three prooemia of Isaeus preserved by the same writer, and the collection of 56 prooemia ascribed to Demosthenes, amount in all to 209,<sup>2</sup> and of these prooemia 35, or about 17 per cent., contain imperatives. The 174 prooemia that contain no imperatives abound in mollifying substitutes, thus showing that the absence of the imperative is not due to the fact that there was no occasion to use it, but to the fact that it was avoided on account of its harshness of tone and form.<sup>3</sup> One of

<sup>1</sup> [Dem.] 12 is of course excluded from the count.

<sup>2</sup> For the sake of convenience there have been counted among these also the beginnings of those speeches that have no real prooemia. It is further to be noted that Blass (*Att. Bered.* III A, p. 282) makes about 62 prooemia out of the 56 that compose the Demosthenean collection, by dividing some of them with MS authority, but in his edition of Demosthenes only two of the prooemia are divided.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 402.

the more common substitutes is the expression *δέομαι* or *αἰτοῦμαι* with the infinitive. As this is a substitute for the imperative of entreaty, the question at once arises as to why even the imperative of entreaty, the mildest kind of the imperative, should, as a rule, be excluded from the prooemium.

The whole matter becomes clear by considering it from a psychological point of view. The imperative, as has been pointed out above, may be used to express all manner of desire, from the most suppliant entreaty to the most tyrannical command, but it is evident that the imperative, as such, when not attended by a mollifying expression, or when the mental attitude of the person using it is not known, must be harsh. Hence the orator would display very little tact if he were to use even what was intended as a *mild* imperative at the beginning of the speech, for the audience knows nothing, as yet, of the mental attitude of the speaker, and the speaker does not know how his hearers feel toward him. They may be perfectly disinterested or positively prejudiced against him, and it would be but an act of prudence on his part to assume that they would be unprepared for a form that was capable of such harsh interpretation. The case is, of course, different when the orator and the audience are well acquainted and a matter affecting the welfare of the hearers is to be discussed. A well-known patriot might on such an occasion indulge in an imperative in the prooemium without giving offence, but even here, if the urgency of the case did not demand it, as in the military harangues of Demosthenes at Pylos (Thuc. 4, 10) and Brasidas at Amphipolis (Thuc. 5, 9), he would hardly be guilty of using it at the very beginning. Letters also, for the most part, form a legitimate exception to the rule. In a friendly letter the correspondents are supposed to be on familiar terms, and the tone of the letter may be quite as easy as that of a conversation would be. The *εὐνοία* is there, and the *πρόσθεξις* and the *εὐμάθεια* may at times be considerably helped by the use of an imperative. Accordingly, one need not be surprised at finding that a number of the letters in the *Epistolographi Graeci* begin with the imperative, positive as well as negative. To be sure, if the letter is more formal, if the writer's interests are involved, the tone of the letter will vary. Isocrates, Ep. 2, may serve as a specimen of such a letter. The letter is written to Philip. It consists of two parts. In the entire first part (§§1-13), which is in reality only an introduction to the other part, there is not a single imperative, though

there are a number of mollifying substitutes, and the second part, though introduced by the words *πειρατέον παρακαλέσαι σε*, contains but two imperatives, the *πράκλῃσις* being made by means of substitutes for the imperative.

After this preliminary discussion of the theory of the use of the imperative in the prooemium, it will be well to scrutinize the facts somewhat more in detail. The following is a brief account of the exceptions to the rule in the ten Attic orators. In questions of authorship, Blass, *Attische Beredsamkeit*,<sup>1</sup> has been followed. ANT. 3 γ, the common reading is *δέομαι ὑμῶν μὴ πεισθέντες ἡγήσῃσθε*, but N, according to Maetzner, has *πεισθέντας* and *ἡγήσασθαι* respectively, and this is undoubtedly the correct reading. Cf., however, Ps.-Dem. 50 (see below).—LYS. 19. Prooemium §§1, 2-6, 7-10, 11. §7 *ἐνθυμείσθε* and §10 *μὴ οὖν προκαταγιγνώσκετε*.—ISOC. 4. *προειρήσθω* in §14 at the end of the third part of the prooemium. Or. 5 begins with *μὴ θαυμάσης* (see also below, p. 432, line 16). Or. 6 *μηδεὶς οὖν ὑμᾶς πείσῃ* in §10 at the close of the second part of the prooemium.—ISAE. 1. Prooemium §§1-2, 3-5, 6-7; the first and third parts aim at *εὐνοία*, the second at *εὐμάθεια*; hence the imperative *σκέψασθε* at the beginning of §3. Or. 5, prooemium §§1-4; the real prooemium consists of §1 and contains no imperative; §2 *ἀνάγνωθι (bis)*; §4 *ἀποδειξάτωσαν, μαρτυρησάτω, ἀνάγνωθι*; on this curiously constructed prooemium see Blass, *Att. Bered.* Fr. 15 (Sch.), imperative *ἀκούσατε* in §1. Dionysius de Isaeo, §7, says of this prooemium: *παρὰ δὲ Ἰσαίῳ κατεσκευάσται τὸ δοκοῦν εἶναι ἀφελές καὶ οὐ λήλθεν ὅτι ἐστὶ ῥητορικόν*. Isaeus evidently tries to be *ἀφελής* by being brief,<sup>2</sup> but seems to have mistaken rapidity for brevity. Rapidity, however, is apt, on the one hand, to involve abruptness, and, on the other, to engender excessive *περιβολή* or *μεστότης*.<sup>3</sup> Isaeus has fallen into both errors. The *μεστότης* of this passage is brought about by the heaping up of the genitive absolute and the use of the additional nominative participle *μεταπεμφάμενος*, and the abruptness is marked by the use of the imperative, among other things. Lysias, in the prooemium

<sup>1</sup> Except in the case of Dem., where Blass' text edition of Dem. has been followed.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the *μικρὰ δέ μου ἀκούσατε* and the heaping up of the genitive absolute.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Gildersleeve, *Stylistic Eff. of Greek Ptc.*, A. J. P. IX 144: "*περιβολή*, then, may have a rapidity, but it is the rapidity of a current. It is only when the current is choked, when the multiplication of participles becomes confusing, it is only then that we have *μεστότης* or plethora of style. This is *περιβολή* overdone."



cited by Dionysius (l. c., §6), is not in such a hurry. He avoids a harsh imperative by taking the time to say *ἀναγκαῖόν μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι, ὧ ἄνδρες δικασταί, περὶ τῆς φιλίας τῆς ἐμῆς καὶ τῆς Φερηνικοῦ πρῶτον εἰπεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς*, and so, to use the words of Dionysius, a "*ῥῥεῖα εἰσβολή*" is secured.—DEM. 9. §3 *σκοπεῖτε γὰρ ὧδί*. The prooemium, according to Blass, III A, p. 331 sq., is divided into three parts. One of the scholiasts does not reckon the third part (in which the imperative occurs) as part of the prooemium. At any rate, the sentence preceding the imperative<sup>1</sup> indirectly contains the apology for the use of *σκοπεῖτε*. Or. 21. Two prooemia §§1-4 and §§5-8. Two imperatives in §8 at the end of the second prooemium. But this speech was not delivered and not carefully worked out (cf. Blass, l. c., p. 287). Or. 23 begins with *μηδεὶς ὑμῶν . . . νομίση*, and in §5 *εὖ ἴστε* is found. See also below, p. 432, line 19. Or. 25. Imperative *σκοπεῖτε* in §3 in the second prooemium. Or. 41. Prooemium §§1-2. Imperative at the end of the prooemium. PROOEMIA. Of the Dem. collection the following prooemia contain one or more imperatives respectively: 2, 18, 34, 35, 36, 41, 45, 53, 54. The imperative is nowhere found at the beginning.—PS.-DEM. 10. Imperative *λογισάσθω* (§2) in the third prooemium. Or. 13. §2, minatory *εἰ* with the future indicative followed by *ὁρᾶτε μήποθ' . . . νομίσητε*. Or. 34. *ἀκριβῶς ἴστε* used parenthetically in §2. Or. 35. Prooemium §§1-2, 3-4, 5. No imperative until the end of §5, where *βοηθεῖτε* is used for *βοηθεῖν*, which would be necessary if perfect symmetry was desired. Or. 48. §2 *εὖ ἴστε*, but §3 *δέομαι οὖν ὑμῶν* with three participles and three infinitives. Or. 49. Prooemium ("weitschweifig," Blass, p. 464) §§1-5. The speech begins with *μηδενὶ ὑμῶν ἄπιστον γενέσθω*, and in §5 *θανμάση δὲ μηδεὶς ὑμῶν* is found. See also below, p. 432, line 20. Or. 50. Prooemium §§1, 2-3. §2 *δέομαι ὑμῶν μή με ἡγήσησθε*, and *ἐξελεγξάτω*. §3 *ἀναμνήσθητε καὶ . . . φράζεστε*, preceded by the expression *δέομαι ὑμῶν ἀπάντων δικαίαν δέησιν*. Or. 53. §1 *ἔστω τεκμήριον*. The imperative might have been avoided by the use of some such expression as *ἀξιῶ ὑμᾶς (δέομαι ὑμῶν) τοῦτο ποιέσθαι τεκμήριον*. Or. 59. Strictly speaking, no exception. §1 is the prooemium of the speech of Theomnestos. The whole speech of Theomnestos, §§1-15, is the prooemium of the speech of Apollodorus. There is no imperative in the prooemium of the first speech, nor in the introduction of the *συνηγορία*. The imperative *σκοπεῖτε* occurs in §11.—HYP. 2.

<sup>1</sup> *ἀξίω δ' ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἂν τι τῶν ἀληθῶν μετὰ παρηρησίας λέγω, μηδεμίαν μοι διὰ τοῦτο παρ' ὑμῶν ὀργὴν γενέσθαι.*

Fr. 1 (Bl.), according to Blass, l. c., III B, p. 62, contains what there is left of the prooemium. In line 3 *ἐᾶτε* is probably imperative. In lines 6-7 *καὶ μηδεὶς ὑμῶν | ἀπαντάτω* is used, and in lines 9-10 *μηδὲ | προστίθετε*. Owing to the fragmentary nature of the prooemium, it would not be safe to pronounce judgment upon it, but from all appearances it is saucy to the last degree.—LYCURG. Prooemium §1 to beginning of §16. *εὐ . . . ἴστε*, §10 and §15.—AESCHIN. 3. Prooemium §§1-9 *προειρησθαι*. §6 *μηδεὶς—ἀγνοεῖτω ἀλλὰ σαφῶς ἕκαστος ἐπιστάσθω*. §7 *αἰσχύνηθε*. §8 *αἰσχυρόμενοι καὶ . . . μεμνημένοι . . . λύετε . . . βεβαιούτε . . . κολάζετε*. The hypothesis says: *μίμψαιτο δ' ἂν τις τὸ προοίμιον ὡς τραγικὸν καὶ περιττὸν καὶ ἐπιλόγῳ μᾶλλον εἰκόσ*. The prooemium resembles an epilogue in this respect at least, that it contains a large number of imperatives.—DIN. 2. Prooemium §§1-4. Blass, III B, p. 283, thinks that this speech was the principal speech against Aristogeiton, but that the nature of the circumstances was such as to make the speech resemble a *δευτερολογία*. From the point of view of the use of the imperative, it resembles an epilogue (cf. Aeschin. 3 above). So §4 *ἀποκτείνετε . . . καὶ . . . ἐκκόψατ'*. Cf. also the string of imperatives in §5.

From the above account it appears that Antiphon has no certain exception to the rule of the avoidance of the imperative in the prooemium. Andocides does not violate it. Lysias has but one certain violation in 26 prooemia.<sup>1</sup> Ps.-Lysias has no exception to the rule. Isocrates violates it in 3 out of 18 prooemia. Isaeus runs up his exceptions to a little more than 23 per cent. (3 out of 13). Demosthenes has 14 per cent. of exceptions (5 out of 35) in his orations and 16 per cent. (9 out of 56) in his collection of prooemia. Of the prooemia of the Pseudo-Demosthenean speeches nine out of a total of 25 contain imperatives. Of Hyperides, Lycurgus, Aeschines and Dinarchus, there are not enough prooemia to make the mere percentage of violations have any special significance. Remarkable is the fact that in the earliest of the Attic orators the rule seems to have been stringent in the case of prooemia of not too great a length. The first serious violations occur in Isaeus, and they are a mark of the artificiality of that author. Demosthenes, the master of oratory, uses the imperative to advantage, even in the prooemia. In Hyperides, Aeschines and Dinarchus the fine perception of the harshness of the imperative in the prooemia seems to have been dulled in a

<sup>1</sup> The prooemium of the *ἑρωτικός* is not included in the 26.

measure, and the desire for cheap and boisterous eloquence begins to crop out, especially in Dinarchus.

While it was the rule in Attic oratory to exclude the imperative from the entire prooemium, and while there are only 17 per cent. of exceptions, yet it must be remembered that the important point is that the imperative be kept as far as possible from the beginning of the speech. The longer the prooemium, the more liable we should be to find the imperative. On the other hand, when the matter is urgent and the time allotted for the speech is short, the prooemium is shortened or omitted altogether, and the almost inevitable imperative comes nearer the beginning of the speech, especially if there be no narrative, or at least but a short one. If the 35 exceptions mentioned above be examined in this respect, it will be found that only three speeches—to wit, Isoc. 5, Dem. 23 and Ps.-Dem. 49—begin with an imperative or, rather, with a prohibitive. Isoc. 5 is in reality a long letter, and the prohibitive is not an uncommon beginning for letters, as has been pointed out before. *μὴ θαυμάσης*, likewise, is not a harsh expression. In Dem. 23, *μηδεὶς ὑμῶν νομίση* reflects the inexperience of the speaker, Euthycles, and in this case, as well as in Ps.-Dem. 49, the first object is to remove the strong prejudice existing in the minds of the audience.

It will be well to note, in passing, that the imperative is not found at the beginning of Gorgias' *Helena* and *Palamedes*, Antisthenes' *Aias* and *Odysseus*, Ps.-Alcidamas' *Odysseus*, Alcidamas' *περὶ σοφιστῶν*, Ps.-Demades' *ὑπὲρ τῆς δωδεκαετίας*, and the few prooemia, or fragments of prooemia (not included in the above count), that a rapid survey of the fragments in Sauppe's collection enabled the writer to observe. In the list of 40-odd speeches given by Wilkins, *Speeches from Thuc.*, and Jebb in *Hellen.*, p. 322, the imperative occurs only twice in the first sentence of the speech; namely, Thuc. 4, 10 and 5, 9, referred to above, p. 428. An examination of a number of orations of Cicero yielded similar results.

With reference to the theory of the imperative in the body of the speech and in the epilogue, a few remarks will suffice. By the exercise of good judgment at the beginning of the speech, the orator will have secured the attention and the good-will of the audience. At this stage an *ἀκούσατε*, or an *ἐνθυμείσθε*, or a similar imperative may be used without offence. A skilful narrative may win for the speaker the full sympathy of the       ers, and he may

multiply his *σκέψασθε*'s, etc., and when, in the course of his arguments, he has shown the justice of his cause and has kindled the wrath of the jury, he may indulge in one or more vigorous hortative imperatives, urging the jury to mete out the deserved punishment, or his imperatives may assume the milder form of a pathetic appeal for either mercy or revenge.

It follows, from what has been said in the previous section, that the imperatives of such verbs as *ἐνθυμῆσθαι*, *σκοπεῖν*, *σκέψασθαι*, *θεωρεῖν*, etc., are used principally in the argumentative parts of the speech, and that the more effective imperatives are used in exhortations and appeals. Appeals and exhortations may be scattered throughout a long speech, but the place for which they are especially adapted is the epilogue. Hence the epilogue is the proper home of the imperative. Of course, there is a great deal of variation even here. So, for example, Lysias has one or more imperatives in the epilogues of 16 orations, but in the epilogues of 11 other orations there are no imperatives, though substitutes occur. There seems to be no special harshness connected with the imperative at the very close of the oration. In Lys. 12 the asyndeton and the imperative make a vigorous close, but the *ἀπτε* of Ps.-Dem. *ἐπιτάφιος* and of the funeral oration in Plato *Menex.*, and the *ἀποχωρεῖτε* at the close of Pericles' funeral oration, cannot have been anything but a polite dismissal. Antiphon's tetralogies are interesting, inasmuch as they illustrate very prettily the normal use of the imperative. The imperative is avoided not only in the prooemia of each of the 12 speeches, but also in the entire first speech of each tetralogy. The first speech forms, as it were, a prooemium to the tetralogy. On the other hand, the epilogues of each of the 9 remaining speeches, excepting that of 4 γ, contain imperatives.

With reference to the point from which this whole discussion started—the Greek feeling of the imperative—it may not be amiss, at the close of the investigation, to consider somewhat more in detail the Protagorean criticism of Homer, referred to by Professor Gildersleeve in his introductory note. Unfortunately, Aristotle does not give a full account of the reasons that called forth this criticism. All we know is that Homer was reproved for using a command in saying *μῆνιν ἄειδε*, thinking that he was using a form of prayer. For, says Protagoras, *τὸ κελεύσαι ποιῶν τι ἢ μὴ ἐπιτάξις ἴσται*. Two explanations have been suggested. The one—not a very complimentary one, it must be confessed—is given by such

men as Susemihl, Arist. poet., ad loc.; Wolf, Prolegg. ad Hom., p. clxvii; Bernhardt, Wissensch. Synt. d. griech. Spr., p. 392, and Lersch, Sprachphilosophie, II, p. 200 sq. According to it, Protagoras had just discovered the fact that the form that is grammatically termed the imperative is the proper form to use when a command is to be expressed, and that the optative of the grammars is the proper form to use for the expression of a wish. In his great zeal he utterly lost sight of the fact that the imperative may also express an entreaty and the optative a command, and began to accuse everybody that did not use language in conformity with the rule he had discovered. Even Homer did not escape his criticism. It was, to use the words of Lersch, the "behaglich-stolze Anwendung einer neuen Kunst." The other explanation credits Protagoras with a little more sense. According to this view, Protagoras' division of all language into *εὐχολή*, *ἐρώτησις*, *ἀπόκρισις* and *ἐντολή* is a rhetorical division (cf. Quintilian, III 4, 10), not a grammatical one, and Homer is blamed simply for *beginning* with an imperative. This seems to be the view, at least in part, of such men as Düntzer, Rettung d. arist. Poet., p. 82, and Spengel, *σ. τ.*, p. 44 sq. It may perhaps never be possible to arrive at the exact truth of the matter, but, in view of the rule of the Attic orators to exclude the imperative from the beginning of the speech, it would seem that the second explanation comes nearer the truth. Protagoras was more or less of a rhetorician. Why not, then, according to Prof. Gildersleeve's view, give Protagoras the benefit of the doubt, and look upon his criticism as proceeding from an oratorical or a rhetorical point of view? This certainly is the most satisfactory solution of the problem, and until valid proofs to the contrary are offered, it may be safe to maintain that, to the mind of Protagoras, the terms *εὐχολή* and *ἐντολή* did not convey the same meaning as attaches to the later technical terms *εὐκτική* and *προστακτική*. The *εὐχολή* and the *ἐντολή* are determined by the sense, and not by the form. It is Homer's rhetoric that is criticised, not his grammar.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> That Protagoras' criticism made a lasting impression is shown by the fact that even the late scholiast finds it necessary to defend his poet for having used the imperative *αἰεῖδε*. Cf. Dind., Sch. Gr. in Hom. II. I, p. 4: *ὅτι κατὰ τὴν ποιητικὴν ἦτοι ἄδειαν ἢ συνήθειαν λαμβάνει τὰ προστακτικὰ ἀντὶ εὐκτικῶν· καὶ γὰρ Ἡσίοδος φησι "δεῦτε δὴ ἐννέπετε," καὶ Πίνδαρος "μαντεύεο Μοῦσα," καὶ Ἀντίμαχος ὁ Κολοφώνιος "ἐννέπετε Κρονίδαο Διὸς μέγαλοιο θυγατρὸς." δεύτερον δέ, ὅτι οὐ κατὰ ἀλήθειαν ταῖς Μοῖσαις ἐπιτάσσουσιν, ἀλλ' ἑαυτοῖς.*

The results of the study of the limitation of the imperative in the Attic orators, as recorded in the above pages, may, in conclusion, be summed up as follows:—

It may be roughly said that there are three kinds of imperatives—imperatives expressing a command, hortative imperatives and imperatives of entreaty. Of these three classes, the first, owing to its unmitigated harshness, is not represented among the number of the effective imperatives, whilst the use of imperatives of the second class, and even of the third, which is almost free from harshness, is permitted only under certain restrictions.

So far as the use of the positive and the negative, and so far as the use of the tenses is concerned, the greater harshness, whether real or imaginary, of one form as compared with another seems to have given rise to no rhetorical limitations. For, on the one hand, the small number of prohibitions is due to the lack of occasion to use these forms more frequently, and, on the other hand, not only is the proportion of aorist and present the same for commands and prohibitions, but *μή* with the aorist subjunctive, which is by nature adapted for the expression of a mild imperative, occurs less frequently than *μή* with the present imperative. As for the origin of *μή* with the aorist subjunctive, the writer agrees with Delbrück in thinking that it is not psychological, but historical, though he differs with him as to the manner of accounting for it on this basis. According to the writer's view, this peculiar prohibitive expression must be traced back to the use of *μά* with the aorist injunctive.

Though there are no limitations as to the form of the imperative, the other limitations as to its use are all the more strongly marked. In the first place, the numbers of the imperative are considerably reduced by the use of mollifying substitutes, even the imperative of entreaty being frequently replaced by *δέομαι* with the infinitive, or some similar expression. In the second place, the constant recurrence of imperative forms of the same verb, and the varying usage of the departments, and of the authors and of the individual speeches, show that the imperative, when used, is used largely under stress of circumstances, and even then it is frequently attended by some unmistakable mollifying expression. Lastly, the distribution of the imperative in the speech was made in strict conformity with the views of the ancients as to the functions of the different parts of the oration. For the humble tone of the prooemium is marked by the complete absence of the imperative,

the calm reflection of the argumentative parts is pictured by the mild hortative forms *ἐνθυμείσθε*, *σκοπεῖτε* and the like, and the passion or the pathos of the epilogue is marked by the presence of one or more vigorous hortative imperatives or by the use of one or more imperatives of entreaty.<sup>1</sup> In fine, the whole investigation seems to be a complete vindication of the views of the ancient rhetoricians. It justifies the doctrine of Hermogenes as to the harsh tone of the imperative, and makes Protagoras' well-known criticism of Homer at least comprehensible.

C. W. E. MILLER.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Walz, Rh. Gr. VII 1, p. 33: *ἔργον ῥήτορος, ὡς φησι Θεοδέκτης, προσιμῶσθαι πρὸς εἰνοῖαν, διηγῆσθαι πρὸς πιθανότητα, πιστῶσθαι πρὸς πειθῶ, ἐπιλογίσασθαι πρὸς ὀργὴν ἢ ἔλεον.*

## II.—MISCELLANEA GRAECA.

### (ALTERA SERIES.)

#### 1. DE ARTEMIDIS VERILOQUIO.

Fere omnes Graecorum dii deaeque initio, antequam reliquis Graecis noti essent, singulis locis praesidebant. Veluti Athena Athenarum, Artemis Arcadiae dea erat. Itaque sicut Athena ab Athenis, ita Artemis a substantivo, quod graece *ἄρκος* est, nomen duxisse videtur, nota autem est Arcadum et *ἄρκων* cognatio, cfr. quae de hac re disputavit Odofredus Müller (Prolegomena zu einer wissenschaftlichen Mythologie, p. 73). Comparatis enim tribus particulae temporalis formis *ὄρε* et *ὄτα* et *ὄκα* cum duplici nominis huius deae specie, quae est *\*Ἀρτεμῖς* et *\*Ἀρταμῖς*, tertiam formam *\*Ἀρκαμῖς* coniciendo assequeris. Genuinas quidem formas *ὄρε* et *ὄκα*, *\*Ἀρτεμῖς* et *\*Ἀρκαμῖς* fuisse verisimile est, *ὄτα* et *\*Ἀρταμῖς* autem illis permixtis ortas esse suspicor, cfr. quae de litterarum *τ* et *κ* et *π* vicissitudine disseruerunt Carolus Brugmann in Grammatica graeca editionis prioris p. 33, editionis posterioris p. 54 et Ricardus Meister, Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift, 1892, p. 516.

#### 2. DE HELENAE VERILOQUIO.

Illis temporibus, cum carminum homericorum principia conderentur, non Peloponnesum sed Thessaliam Helenae patriam fuisse probari potest Iliadis libri tertii versu 75. Illa Iliadis parte, ad quam hic versus pertinet, antiquissimum exemplum expressum esse videtur. Quaecumque enim inter libros primum et undecimum inserta sunt, ab antiquo Iliadis contextu aliena sunt. Liber autem tertius et ea, quae proxime praecedunt, ex carminis cuiusdam, quo primus Graecorum adventus narrabatur, imitatione orta sunt. An non describitur prima Graecorum notitia quae ad Troianos pervenit, versibus libri secundi 798 et 799?

Ἦ μὲν δὴ μάλα πολλὰ μάχας εἰσῆλινθον ἀνδρῶν,  
ἀλλ' οὐ πῶ τοιόνδε τοσόνδε τε λαὸν ὄπωπα.

Quid quod Helena, quae ex muro hostes miratur, principales duces Graecorum Priamo enumerat, quasi Troianis nunquam illos



cognoscendi occasio fuerit. Ne Menelai quidem et Paridis certamen in principium sed potius in finem belli convenit. Huic parti, qua nonnulli versus antiquissimi conservati esse videntur, haec Paridis verba inserta sunt (Γ 71-75):

Ὅππότερος δέ κε νίκησῃ κρείσσων τε γένηται,  
κτῆμαθ' ἑλὼν ἐν πάντα γυναῖκά τε οἰκαδ' ἀγέσθω·  
οἱ δ' ἄλλοι φιλότῃτα καὶ δορκια πιστὰ ταμόντες  
ναίοιτε Τροίην ἐριβόλακα, τοὶ δὲ νέεσθων  
Ἄργος ἐς ἱππόβοτον καὶ Ἀχαιίδα καλλιγύναικα.

Commentariolorum homericorum scriptores, qui nunc sunt, ultimo versu Peloponnesum et reliquam Graeciam dicta esse volunt. At "reliquam" illud furtim illatum est. Praeterea illius versus duae imitationes in Iliade exstant, quae sunt B 683:

Οἳ τ' εἶχον Φθίην ἢδ' Ἑλλάδα καλλιγύναικα,

et I 447:

Οἷον ὅτε πρῶτον λίπον Ἑλλάδα καλλιγύναικα.

Ex quibus apparet poëtas homericos Achaidem pulchrarum mulierum patriam ita intellexisse, ut Hellas thessalica esset. Denique non licet neglegere quattuor versus Odysseae (α 344, δ 726, δ 816, ο 80) ubi quater recurrunt verba Ἑλλάδα καὶ μέσον Ἄργος. Videlicet Hellas et Argos vel Achais et Argos sollemnis appellatio earum, quas Achivi incolebant, terrarum erat, et omnis interpretandi ars et ratio everteretur, si eadem verba in Odyssea et Iliadis libris secundo et nono Peloponnesum et Helladem thessalicam, in Iliadis libro tertio Peloponnesum et reliquam Graeciam significarent. Itaque Achais, pulchrarum mulierum patria, Achaia thessalica est. Constat autem Paridem Achaiam pulchrarum mulierum patriam appellasse τῷ ἔρωτι Ἑλένης. Thessalicae originis igitur Helena erat. Quae ratiocinatio si cui non placeat, concedamus, quamvis absurdum sit, Achaidem reliquam Graeciam esse. Sed quid proficitur? Ergo Peloponnesus equorum pascuum, reliqua Graecia Helenae patria appellatur. Sed mittamus ioculos, cum iam satis superque constet Helladis et Argorum nomina antiquissimam appellationem terrarum Achaicarum esse. Patet vero genuina verba, quae sunt Hellas et Argos Odyssea et Iliadis libris secundo et nono conservari, novatam autem esse finium Achaicorum appellationem in Iliadis libro tertio. Id, quod metri causa factum esse videtur, nam antiquissimam versus Γ 75 formam

Ἄργος ἐς ἱππόβοτον καὶ Ἑλλάδα καλλιγύναικα

fuisse suspicor. Hexametrum enim κατ' ἐνόπλιον antiquissimum versuum dactylicorum, qui sex pedes continent, exemplum esse mihi propter Prosodiorum graecorum rem metricam, quam alio loco explicabo, constat et ipsius Homeri arte probari potest. Nam eorum versuum, qui propter locum, quem habent, vel propter verba sollemnia, quae continent, insignes sunt, maior numerus quam pro hexametrorum κατ' ἐνόπλιον summa hanc metri formam exhibent. Exempli gratia primus Iliadis versus

Μῆνιν ἄειδε, θεά, Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος

hexametri κατ' ἐνόπλιον rythmo insignis est, et antiquissimae, quam coniectura assequimur, Iliadis clausula ex hexametro κατ' ἐνόπλιον et versu quodam quinque dactylis et caesura penthemimere conspicuo—haec forma hexametro κατ' ἐνόπλιον aequalis esse Prosodiorum re metrica demonstratur—composita est:

Σ 241: Ἥλιος μὲν ἔδν, παύσαντο δὲ δῖοι Ἀχαιοὶ  
φυλόπιδος κρατερῆς καὶ ὁμοίου πολέμοιο.

Denique simillimus erat eius, quam Iliadis libri tertii poeta imitatus est, carminis exitus:

Γ 446: Ὡς σεο νῦν ἔραμαι καὶ με γλυκὺς ἔμερος αἰρεῖ.  
ἦ ῥα, καὶ ἥρχε λέχσασθαι κίων· ἅμα δ' εἶπετ' ἄκοιτις.

Itaque, cum Helladis civis Helena fuerit, quis non intellet etymologiae arte et ratione confusus Helenae et Hellorum Hellenumque cognationem? Equidem confidenter conicio Helenam deae hellenicae, sive Παλλάδος (Virginis) Ἑλενης, sive Κόρης (Puellae) Ἑλενης, sive Ἥρας (Dominae) Ἑλενης, appellationem fuisse. Ἑλενός enim idem fere adiectivum est atque Ἑλλός (= Σελλός), quod ex Ἑλνός ortum est, substantivum autem nomen βαρύτονον esse oportet. Cfr. Ἀθήνης nomen proprium, quod ab adiectivo Ἀθηνός derivatum est.

### 3. DE HELLAE VERILOQUIO.

Uno veriloquio duarum heroinarum indolem explicavimus, nam Hellam olim Helenae gemellae instar fuisse apparet. Cuius fabula a Minyis ex Thessalia in Boeotiam lata est. Neque intellego qua ratione ducti nonnulli viri docti Hellae nomen ex Hellesponti appellatione ortum esse dicant. Sane fieri potuit, ut Romulus a Roma nomen duceret; sed oportet, ut ei, qui Hellam ab Hellae mari nomen accepisse volunt, etiam Petrum propter Petropolim, Alexandrum propter Alexandriam appellatum esse probent.

Praeterea non intellego cur iidem primas partes Phrixo, secundas Hellae dent. *Φρίξος* substantivum enim e *φριξός* adiectivo, quod per "crispus" interpretari licet, factum esse et principio ipsius arietis appellatio fuisse videtur.

Hella dea illarum una est, quae sicut Helena et Iphigenia orientem versus vectae sunt. Ipsa quidem non redit, sed Medea Solis alia filia reducitur, quae "Medica" appellata est sicut Hella "hellenica." Hoc, quod dico, veriloquium iam Theogoniae hesiodae poetae (v. 1001) notum fuisse facile intellectu est, et quoniam Cimmerii in Odyssea, Assyrii in Iliade reperiuntur, cur negemus Medos in Argonautarum fabula locum habuisse? Hellae vero mare illa, qua haec fabula orta est, aetate non fretum illud, quo Asia et Europa dividuntur, esse potuit, nam *Ἑλλης πόντος* non *Ἑλλης εὐριπος* nominatur et ab Homero *ἀπείρων* appellatur. Quid ergo erat *Ἑλλης πόντος* nisi illud mare, quod ab Hellade thessalica, cui regioni Helena et Hella, deae hellenicae, praesidebant, ad orientem spectat?

#### 4. DE AGAMEMNONIS PATRIA.

Thessalicae originis fuisse principales reges, qui antiquissimis carminibus de Troia capta compositis celebrantur, probari potest. Quod ut demonstramus, segregemus eos, qui ab Ionibus et Doribus additi sunt. Dores enim in Iliadem Idomeneum introduxisse non est cur dicam, quia omnibus constat. Iones autem Nestorem et Diomedem et forsitan Ulixem adiunxerunt. Nestor quidem Colophoniorum regum proavus quin ad ionicam stirpem pertineat, dubitari nequit. Diomedem autem qua ratione ducti ionici poetae in poësin homericam intulissent Wilamowitz, in Euripidis Hercules, I, pag. 280, docuit.<sup>1</sup> Ulixes utrum ex ionica an aeolica gente oriundus fuerit nescimus, sed constat earum rerum, quas fecit et passus est, gravissimam et antiquissimam partem non bellum troianum sed errores et reditum esse. Itaque Ulixis, quem cum Sindbadio fabuloso illo nauta arabo comparare licet, mores et res gestas celeberrima fuisse, priusquam belli troiani heroibus adderetur, facile est ad coniciendum.

Praeter hos Graecorum homericorum principes Agamemno et Menelaus, Achilles et Ajax Telamonius sunt. Helenam heroinam

<sup>1</sup> "Der Kampf um Ilios war durch das äolische Epos geschaffen. Schon als die Ionier dieses übernahmen, liess der Vorrang der äolischen Helden es unstatthaft erscheinen, ihnen die vornehmsten Ioniens an die Seite zu stellen. Man führte also ihre 'Epigonen' ein: nicht Tydeus sondern Diomedes."

adicere possumus, de qua supra egi. Agamemno quidem Argis regnabat, at Argos Diomedes tenebat, itaque Agamemno Mycenarum rex fuisse dicitur, at Amyclis sepultus est. Iam vides neque constantiam neque rationem inesse in eis, quae de Agamemnone narrantur, qui veluti rex regno spoliatus erraticam vitam per Peloponnesum degit. Menelaus quoque peregrinus erat Spartae, cuius regnum Tyndaridae habebant; Tyndaridarum non Atridarum affinis Echemus erat Arcadum rex, qui Hyllum Dorem vicit: Tyndaridae, non Atridae in Lacedaemoniorum finibus profundas radices iecerant. Quae cum ita sint, ubi Agamemnonis et Menelai patriam fuisse statuemus? Sane Argorum rex erat Agamemno neque tamen peloponnesiacorum sed pelasgicorum. Quodsi ei poëtae, qui hanc, quam manibus versamus, Iliadem composuerunt, Argos peloponnesiacos Agamemnonis patriam esse voluerunt, tamen antiquis quibusdam versibus certa vestigia conservantur, quibus ad Argos pelasgicos ducimur. In Argis enim "sitientibus" Peloponnesi impastos esse equos non nego, sed "Argorum ab equis depastorum" appellationem magis ad Argos pelasgicos quadrare quis est, qui non videat? Praeterea ter scriptum est in Odyssea (a 344, δ 726, δ 816) τοῦ κλέος εὐρὺ καθ' Ἑλλάδα καὶ μέσον Ἄργος, semel (o 80) εἰ δ' ἐθέλεις τραφῆναι ἀν' Ἑλλάδα καὶ μέσον Ἄργος neque ex rerum conexu μέσος adiectivum explicationem habet. Claudicaret enim sententia, si μέσον Ἄργος per "medius Peloponnesus" interpretaremur. Cui obscuritati lux affertur, si illud Ἑλλάδα καὶ μέσον Ἄργος antiquius esse statuimus quam illam qua nunc comprehenditur, verborum copulationem: videlicet "Hellas et Argos" antiqua Achaiae thessalicae appellatio, a poëtis indita, fuit. Recte igitur Argi "medii" appellantur, quod medium locum Thessaliae tenent. Agamemnonem vero, ὃς μέγα πάντων Ἀργείων κρατεῖ καὶ οἱ πείθονται Ἀχαιοί (A 79), Argi pelasgici regem et cunctorum Achivorum thessalicorum ducem fuisse apparet.

Achillem Thessaliae civem fuisse satis constat. Aiax autem in recentioribus Iliadis partibus Salaminus esse fertur. Quod qua ratione factum esset Wilamowitz Quaestionum homericarum, p. 244 explicavit. Itaque Aiace, Achillis socium et simulacrum, antiquissimis temporibus eiusdem patriae participem fuisse conicere licet. Etiam eorum, qui secundas partes in Iliade agunt, multi Thessalici generis sunt, velut Philoctetes et Protesilaus; Antiphus quoque et Phidippus, Coorum duces, thessalicae originis sunt. Inprimis Eurypylus, Euaemonis filius, nominandus est, qui Troia

rediens ventis Patras in urbem Achaiae peloponnesiacae latus est, ubi Dionysi Aesymnetae sacra condidisse dicitur. Quae fabula ita explicari potest, ut thessalicam gentem Patras transmigravisse statuamus. Thessalicos quidem colonos Achaiam peloponnesiacam occupavisse constat, nam Achaei e Thessalia originem habebant; sed Eurypylos propter eas, quae de patre eius Euaemone narrantur, fabulas non achaici sed aeolici generis fuisse existimandus est. Itaque verisimile est non solum Achivos sed etiam Aeoles quosdam e Thessalia in Peloponnesum venisse. Simillimus fuisse videtur Eurypylos ille Oleni heros, cui huius urbis cives priores partes deferebant narrantes eum cum Hercule troianam terram visisse.

Notabilis vero Eurypyli et Orestis similitudo est. Uterque enim in insaniam incidit propter nefas, Apollinis oraculum adit,<sup>1</sup> sanatur, postquam in terram venit, ubi Artemidi deae humana hostia fiunt. Orestes autem Agamemnonis filius, temporum ordine miro modo perturbato, Achivorum patria expulso instar esse videtur. Quos ad Parnassum substitisse et cum Phociis foedus fecisse ex eis, quae de Orestis apud Strophium mansionem et de Orestis et Pyladae amicitia narrantur, intellegitur. Equidem nescio an Gephyraei, qui per aliquod tempus in Boeotia commorati ab Atheniensibus recepti sunt, Achivorum palantium pars fuerint. Nam Achaeae, quam Athenienses eandem atque Demetrem esse credebant, sacra faciebant.

Denique ipse Agamemno in Peloponnesum a poetis translatus est. Cuius rei causa ea fuisse videtur, quod Achivi ex Thessalia expulsi in Peloponnesum transmigraverunt. Achaei enim Graecorum doricorum primum agmen fuisse et prius quam ipsi Doros in Thessalam et Peloponnesum venisse videntur. Neque est, cur negemus Achaeos per aliquot temporum spatia Peloponnesi summam imperii habuisse. Nec tamen illorum Achaeorum, Dorium quasi ducum, rex erat Agamemno, qui non in Argis sitientibus sed in Argis ab equis depastis regnavit.

##### 5. DE ACHIVIS ET HELLENIBUS HOMERICIS.

Graeci in duas partes indole diversas divisi erant. Etenim quidquid grande et magnum ea gens fecit, eius auctores Iones aut Aeoles esse solebant, e reliquis autem ei magis animum mentemque excoluerunt, qui maiorem usum cum illis haberent, cum ei, qui

<sup>1</sup> Hanc, quae de Eurypylo fertur, fabulam Vergilio notam fuisse ex Aeneidis II versu 114 colligere licet.

remotiores essent, veluti Aetoli, Acarnanes, Epirotae, in barbarorum fere conditione permanerent. Alteros, Dores scilicet et Pseudodores—hac appellatione Phocios, Locros, Aenianes, Aetolos, Epirotas, Acarnanes, Eleos, Achaeos notabo—Graecorum doricorum nomine comprehendam, alteros, Udalrico de Wilamowitz auctore, Graecos hellenicos vocabo. Quarum partium differentia in sermonis quoque proprietate dilucet. Quam rem ut probem, unum exemplum proferam: namque qui doricae aut pseudodoricae stirpis sunt, articuli numerum plurativum *ροί* et *ραί* esse voluerunt, cum Iones, Attici, Aeoles asiatici, Aeoles thessalici, Arcades, Cyprii *οί* et *αί* formas usurparent. Quae lex non infringitur homericis illis formis *ροί* et *ραί*, quippe quae non articuli sed pronominis demonstrativi et relativi vice fungantur. Boeoti, quibus formae *τ* littera insignes familiares sunt, ex Aeolibus cum Pseudodoribus mixtis orti sunt; Aeoles thessalici, qui tantum prominebant temporibus fabulosae vetustatis, postea a Thessalis pseudodoricis oppressi iacebant; Arcades, a Doribus et Pseudodoribus cincti tamquam muro, reliquorum Graecorum hellenicorum processum aequare nequibant. Haec bipartitio probabilior est quam illa antiqua, qua Iones a reliquis Graecis separabantur, nam id quod ionico sermoni peculiare est, alpha longum in eta mutatum et digamma perditum, conspicuum quidem est neque tamen nationes graecas distinguendi norma esse potest, quia unius dialecti finibus continetur.

Eduardus quidem Meyer scrupulum nobis iniecit, cum graeci sermonis varietatem ea perturbatione, cuius pars est Dorium migratio, antiquiorem non esse pronuntiaret in Philologi nova serie, in tomi II paginis 268–75,<sup>1</sup> et in tomi III paginis 479–92.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Pag. 274: "Die Frage nach dem Wohnsitz der Ionier vor der Wanderung ist gegenstandslos: vorher hat es eben in dem Sinne, in welchem wir den Namen allein kennen, keine Ionier gegeben. Auch der ionische Dialekt ist erst in Ionien entstanden; denn die Heimath eines Lautwandels (in diesem Falle die Umwandlung des *d* in offenes *ē* und der Verlust des *vau*) ist da zu suchen, wo derselbe am stärksten und consequentesten auftritt. Von Ionien hat sich die Spracherscheinung auf die Inseln und schwächer und durch Gegenströmungen gehemmt nach Attika verbreitet. Dies ganze Gebiet, das Mittelstück des ägäischen Meeres, bildete sprachlich, commercieell, culturell eine eng zusammengehörige Gruppe, deren Einheit in der grossen Messe von Delos ihren deutlichsten Ausdruck fand."

<sup>2</sup> Pag. 482: "Wo sind denn die Ingaevonen und Istaevonen, die Markomannen und Cherusker zur Zeit der Völkerwanderung, wo die Franken, Alamannen, Sachsen, Bajuwaren, Gothen in der Zeit des Cäsar und Tacitus? Und wenn sich ja irgendwo Spuren von ihnen finden, so erscheinen sie als

Sane mihi non displicent exempla, quae ex Germanorum historia protulit, ut probaret magna illa populorum septemtrionalium migratione antiquum Germanorum ordinem et distributionem perturbata et novas nationes conditas esse. At Goti, Franci, Anglosaxones, reliqui quamquam ex migratione gentium orti sunt neque ex una veterum Germanorum civitate originem trahunt, tamen antiquioris rerum ordinis vestigia aperte prae se ferunt; veluti Goti, qui olim mare balticum accolebant, etiam tum, cum Italiam et Hispaniam obtinebant, certis sermonis proprietatibus cum Scandinavis cohaerebant, Anglosaxonum autem et earum nationum, quae peninsulam cimbricam incolunt, consanguinitas usque ad hunc diem manifesta esse non desiit. Corruit vero tota illa Meyeri coniectura, si dialectorum graecarum condicionem terrarum ordine describimus. Quomodo enim Aeolum thessaliorum, Boeotorum, Lesbiorum sermonis similitudo explicatur, nisi has nationes ex una patria provenisse sumimus? Praeterea nullo modo probari potest terrarum situ et natura factum esse, ut Graeci asiani in tres partes, Aeoles, Iones, Dores, discederent, praesertim cum sciamus Aeoles et Dores asianos litterarum formas ionicas sibi assumpsisse: ex hoc exemplo elucet, quae futura fuerit linguae graecae partitio, nisi sermonis varietas ex ea aetate, qua alias sedes Graeci tenebant, descenderet. Accedit, quod Arcadum linguae genus non solum cum dialectis doricis et pseudodoricis, quae vicinae sunt, sed etiam cum ionicis et aeolicis, quae longo terrarum spatio distant, manifestam similitudinem habet. Quae res quomodo explicari possit, Meyeri doctrina probata, non intellego.

Graeci hellenici priores eam regionem, quae nunc Graecia appellatur, occupaverunt. Qui cum Boeotiam capere non possent, quia veteres Thebarum cives eis fortiter resistebant, fretum Naupactoum videntur transgressi esse, ut Peloponnesum expugnarent, et tum demum Atticam invasisse. Peloponnesii enim, ex quibus Arcades originem ducunt, Aeoles cum Ionibus conectunt. Quorum quidem sermo, qui ex lapidibus cognoscitur, magis ad aeolicarum quam ad ionicarum dialectorum similitudinem accedit, sed ipsi proprio cognationis vinculo cum Atticis et Ionibus cohaerere videntur. Peloponnesiacae enim stirpis Iones sunt, qui postea

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kleine Volksstämme ohne grössere Bedeutung, genau wie wir von den Ioniern angenommen haben. Das gleiche lehrt die Geschichte der kanaanäischen und noch mehr der arabischen Stämme von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf den heutigen Tag."

insulas et oras maris aegaei incoluerunt. Qui cum maturius quam ceteri graeci ad perfectiorem cultum et humanitatem properarent, tantopere linguam suam recoxerunt, ut multum ab antiquo sermonis hellenici exemplo discederet. Attici autem novarum illarum formarum magnam partem receperunt.

Posteriores apparuerunt Graeci dorici. Quorum adventus magnam illam perturbationem effecit, cuius ultima pars migrationis doricæ nomine nota est. Hac nationum semibarbararum invasione cultus Graecorum minutus et in aliquibus regionibus fere recisus est, sed eadem Graecorum genti vires novae et recentes infusae sunt, ita ut Hercules ille fortis et rudis Graecorum doricorum apta imago esse videatur.

Achaeos Graecorum doricorum partem fuisse probari potest. Achaeorum enim nomen tribus terrae partibus impressum est Achaiae phthioticae, Achaiae peloponnesiacaе, Achaiae italicae. Ingeniose autem Eduardus Meyer, in *Philologi nova serie*, tomi II pagina 274, demonstravit Achaeos thessalicos, peloponnesiacos, italicos unius generis fuisse, cum doceret Italiam Magnam Helladem non appellatam esse, ut ipsa Graecia et coloniae italicae Graecorum distinguerentur, sed propter Helladem phthioticam Achaeorum peloponnesiacorum et italicorum patriam. Helladis enim nomine aut Hellas thessalica aut omnes, quas Graeci tenebant, regiones, nunquam Graecia appellata est.<sup>1</sup> Sequitur ergo, ut Achaei thessalici, peloponnesiaci, italicus eiusdem originis fuerint. Achaeos autem peloponnesiacos et italicos et propter sermonem et propter indolem Graecis doricis adnumerandos esse Wilamowitz, Euripidis Hercules, pag. 273, pronuntiavit.<sup>2</sup> De Achaiae

<sup>1</sup> Meyer dicit l. l. in adnotatione: "Ich weiss nicht, ob man schon bemerkt hat, dass diess von den Achäern besetzte Gebiet in Unteritalien seinen Namen das grosse Hellas nicht führt im Gegensatz zu dem eigentlichen Griechenland auf der Balkan-halbinsel—das wäre sachlich absurd und sprachlich unmöglich, da der Name Hellas in der classischen Zeit niemals diesen beschränkten Sinn hat, sondern alles Hellenenland von Massalia bis zum Phasis bezeichnet—sondern im Gegensatz zu der Urheimat der Achäer, dem thessalischen Hellas. Damit verglichen ist Unteritalien allerdings das grosse Hellas. Zugleich lernen wir dadurch, dass in der That die Namen Achäer und Hellas untrennbar zusammengehören; wie jener in Ilias und Odyssee auf alle griechischen Stämme ausgedehnt wird, ist offenbar auch Hellas und Hellenen durch das Epos zur Gesamtbezeichnung der Nation geworden."

<sup>2</sup> "Kroton, Sybaris, Metapont sind allerdings eines Stammes mit den Bewohnern der Küste von Pallene bis Dyme. Darf man aber diese für reine vordorische Bevölkerung halten? Ihre Sprache, so wenig sie auch bekannt



phthioticae sermone non constat, sed suspicor, sicut Thessalorum, qui Graeci dorici erant, sermonis proprietas periit, ita Achaeorum quoque linguam in illa terra oblitteratam esse. Itaque Achaei videntur cum reliquis Graecis doricis Graeciam invasisse, deinde aliquamdiu Phthiotidem incoluisse, tum in Achaïam peloponnesiacam transmigravisse, denique colonias in Magnam Helladem, quae perperam a Romanis Magna Graecia nominata est, deduxisse.

Haec de Achaeis historia docet; alia tradit Homerus, qui Achivorum nomine omnes Graecos comprehendit. Sed quis eorum, qui hodie antiquitatis studio sedant, credat illis temporibus Achaeos totius Graeciae imperium habuisse, quis ignoret fabulosa esse ea, quae Homerus de magna illa omnium Graecorum expeditione troiana narret? Confer exempli gratia quae Robertus Pöhlmann dicit in Iwani Müller Antiquitatum Classicarum Epitoma.<sup>1</sup> Itaque cum Homerus omnes Graecos Achivos nominet, praesertim autem eos, qui Phthiotidem incolebant Achilli subiectos (Iliadis B685), facile mihi videtur conicere belli troiani socios graecos olim solos Achivos phthioticos fuisse, postea, cum aliarum nationum regum laudes cum illa expeditione a poetis conecterentur, sicut fieri solet, Achivorum nomen omnibus datum esse, qui rerum in troica terra gestarum participes essent. Neque alio modo Minyarum nomen in Argonautarum fabula ita valere coepit, ut omnibus Iasonis comitibus attribueretur.

Venio ad Hellenes, de quibus in Iliadis libro secundo vv. 681–85 haec dicta sunt:

Nῦν αὖ τοὺς ὅσσοι τὸ Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος ἔναιον,  
οἳ τ' Ἄλῳ οἳ τ' Ἀλόπῃν οἳ τε Τρηχῖνα νέμοντο,  
οἳ τ' εἶχον Φθίην ἥδ' Ἑλλάδα καλλιγύναικα,  
Μυρμιδόνες δ' ἐκαλεῦντο καὶ Ἕλληνες καὶ Ἀχαιοί,  
τῶν αὖ πεντήκοντα νεῶν ἔεν ἀρχὸς Ἀχιλλεύς.

Myrmidones Achillis milites fuisse constat, neque tamen ulla natio nota est, cui haec appellatio propria fuerit, neque Myrmidonum

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ist, zeigt am ehesten mit den nordgriechischen Mundarten, keineswegs mit dem Arkadischen oder Ionischen Verwandtschaft. Die geistige Bedeutung der Achäer ist um keinen Gran höher als die der anderen Einwanderer."

<sup>1</sup> Tom. III, pag. 367: "Das achäische Argos ist, wie die ganze heroische Staatenwelt, für uns nichts als ein leeres Phantom trotz des Wustes scheinbarer Überlieferung, welchen genealogische Mache und pseudohistorische Spekulation aufgehäuft haben. Das Vorbild des homerischen Argos ist kein anderes als das dorische, das uns eben in den Anfängen der beglaubigten hellenischen Geschichte als der mächtigste Staat im Peloponnes regentritt."

nomen in alia regione apparet. Nam Myrmidones Aeginenses propter falsum grammaticorum veriloquium fictos esse iam dudum constat et nuper ab Udalrico de Wilamowitz novis rationibus confirmatum est. Equidem Myrmidonum etymologiam ut repere-rem, ad Mormo potius quam ad *μύρμηκας* animum adverterem. Mormo enim substantivum ipsa forma Gorgus nomini comparatur. Mormo et Gorgo, quae inter antiquissimos Graecorum deos numerandae sunt, eiusdem originis fuisse videntur, quamquam posterioribus temporibus altera sororum, quoniam in Athenae familiaritatem intravit, alteram nobilitate praecurrere videbatur.

Hellenum et Achivorum gentem eandem fuisse ego negaverim. Duas enim nationes Homeri aetate Achaia thessalicam habitasse constat, nam Achivi, qui sicut Thessali Graecorum doricorum pars erant, in Aeoles dominationem habuisse existimandi sunt. Quodsi duarum nationum in Achaia thessalica nomina comparent, alterum Graecorum doricorum alterum Graecorum hellenicorum fuisse verisimile est. Accedit quod Hellenum et Achivorum appellationes in Achaia thessalica concurrunt, discedunt alibi. Achivi enim in Achaia thessalica, peloponnesiaca, italica, Hellenes in Achaia thessalica, in Epiro, in Euboea reperiuntur. In Epiro quidem circa Dodonam *Σελλοί* vel *Ἑλλοί* sedem ac domicilium habebant, quos Hellenum consanguineos fuisse veriloquio et Achillis precibus (*Ilias* II 233 sqq.) declaratur, quibus ita deum patrium alloquitur:

*Ζεῦ ἄνα Δωδωναίε, Πελασγικέ, τηλόθι ναίων,  
Δωδώνης μεδίων δυσχειμέρου· ἀμφὶ δὲ Σελλοὶ  
σοὶ ναίουσ' ὑποφῆται ἀνιπτόποδες χαμαιεῦναι.*

Hellopie autem appellatione, quae ab Hellenum nomine derivata est, non solum Epiri sed etiam Euboeae pars significabatur.

Graeci igitur lesbiaci illa aetate, qua fabula troiana exculta est, in tres partes discedebant, scilicet in Aeoles, qui primi insulam coluerunt, quorum heros erat Macar, et Achivos doricis generis, quorum heros erat Agamemno, et Hellenes aeolici generis Achivis subditos. Homericorum autem carminum poetas non Achivos sed rhapsodas vel bardos hellenicos, qui a Penthilidis Agamemnonis posteris mercedem acciperent, fuisse consentaneum est. Quis enim credat poesis homericæ conditores Graecos doricos fuisse?

Hellenici autem poëtae, Agamemnonis cantores, simul suum heroem Achillem in fabulam troianam introduxerunt. Achillem

enim Hellenem fuisse precibus eius, quibus Iovem ab Hellis cultum alloquitur, manifestum est. Sane Molossorum reges ex Achille gentis suae originem ducebant, sed facile intellectu est, qua in re nisi sint, cum talia dicerent. Nam Molossi, natio pseudodorica, illas regiones occupaverunt, quae olim Hellorum erant. Itaque illos, cum gentis suae originem subtexerent Achillis precibus, quas supra laudavi, confisos esse apparet.

FRIDERICUS HANSSSEN.

Scripti Santiagine Chilenorum, mense augusto anni 1892.

### III.—VERBALS IN -ΤΟΣ IN SOPHOCLES.

#### III.

#### ETYMOLOGICA.

O. C. 471 ἀκήρατον (χεῦμ'). "Ridiculum est," argues Gross (I, p. 8), "qua ratione Etym. M. derivet: παρὰ τὸ κηραίνω, inquit, ὠφείλεν εἶναι ἀκήραντος· ἀλλὰ ποιητικὴ ἡ λέξις· ἢ παρὰ τὸ γήρας γήρατος. καὶ μετὰ τοῦ στερητικοῦ α ἀγήρατος καὶ ἀκήρατος, ὁ ἀφθαρτος καὶ μὴ γηρῶν. Another etymology was suggested by Eustathius, as follows (p. 852, 38): ὁ ἀκήρατος, ὁ ἐστερημένος δηλαδὴ κηρὸς καὶ ἄτης. Since these etymologies were suggested philologists have been doing little more than contenting themselves with the one or the other of them, while a few are unable to decide themselves for either explanation. Lobeck (Path. Sermon. Graec. Prol., p. 371: "et a κήρ compositum ἀκήρατος"), Moisisstzig (I, p. 13: "nam ἀκήρατος non ortum ducit a κεράννυμι . . . sed ex substantivo κήρ egerminavit"), Blomfield (Gloss. in Aeschylī Persas, 620: "ἀκήρατος, incorruptus. Vox profuit a κήρ ποχα, unde κηραίνω, non a κεράω, quod putarunt interpretes, qui vertunt *merum*"), and Ebeling (Lex. Hom.) derive it from κήρ, while Schrader (Quaestiones dialectologicae graecae; Curt. Stud. X 323) and Peppmüller (Commentar zu Il. II vs. 303) cannot accept the derivation from κεράννυμι because of the difficulties arising out of this (as well as the other) etymology. As long as the question remains *sub lite* we have no reason for giving up the etymology accepted by Passow, Schneider, Schmidt (Synonymik d. g. S. IV, S. 657) and others, who derive it from κεράννυμι. If this etymology is accepted, the verbal is passive. O. C. 690 ἀκηράτω σὺν δμβρω.—O. C. 538 ἄλαστ' ἔχειν (ἔπαθον). The Etymologicum Magnum (p. 57, 40 sq.) says: ὁ δὲ Φιλίξενος λέγει· ἔστι ρῆμα ἀλῶ, τὸ πλανῶ, γίνεται παράγωγον ἀλάζω, ὡς ἀνιῶ ἀνιάζω, σκεδῶ σκεδιάζω· ἐκ τούτου ἀλαστός, ὡς σκευάζω σκευαστός . . . σημαίνει χαλεπαίνω. And again, further on: ἢ παρὰ τὸ ἀλάζω γέγονεν ἄλαστα, ὧν οὐκ ἂν τις λάβοι, ἀνεπίληστα τινὰ ὄντα, τουτέστι φευκτά κ. τ. λ. Herodian (I, p. 224, 2, Lentz): ἄλαστος ὁ ἄδικος ἀπὸ τοῦ λάζω, τὸ λαμβάνω. Reisig (Enarratio O. C. vs. 1477) argues: "Nomine illo (ἀλαστον) a λελῆσθαι orto vel id designatur, quod oblivisci νοα

licet, et in malam quidem partem, ut sint crudelia aut scelerata etiam, uti hic. Vel is qui non obliviscitur, ulciscendi caussa." Hermann (O. C. 1480): "ἄλαστος et quidquid verborum ad hanc familiam pertinet, non adducor ut a λήθειν derivata credam, sed facta illa esse omnia a λάζομαι puto, primariamque notionem habere *non tolerandi*, ut ἄλαστος proprie sit *intolerabilis*." Vaniček (Griech.-lat. etymologisches Wörterbuch, II, p. 788) derives it from the stem λαθ or ληθ, seen in λανθάνω, etc.: the verbal is translated "nicht zu vergessen, nicht zu verschmerzen, unerträglich." Döderlein (Hom. Gloss., No. 101) finds the derivation from λ/λαθ quite absurd, and hence seizes "mit beiden Händen" the accentuation ἀλαστά, which adjective he (with Philoxenos) derives from ἀλάω, and translates 'rasend.' Bekker also accentuates ἀλαστός, but Düntzer (Kuhn's Zeitschrift, XII, p. 12) argues that the root λαθ always appears in the form ληθ, save in the word λάθρα, which circumstance precludes the correctness of the popular etymology, which derives it from λ/λαθ; he therefore suggests the root λα "mit vorgeschlagenem α, in der Bedeutung *verderben*." Hartung (Eurip. Phoen. 333) derives both this adjective and ἀλάστωρ (the etymology of which latter word was a puzzle to the ancients; cf. An. Bekk., pp. 206, 211 and 374) from ἀλάσμαι and ἀλύω. Göbel (Lexilogus, II, p. 230 ff.) accentuates ἀλαστός, will hear nothing of its being connected with λανθάνω, and refers it to the same root as neut. pl. ἀλαζα, αἰσχροί (Hesych.). Blomfield (Gloss. in Aeschyli Persas, 983): "Ab ἄλη, *mentis error, delirium*, venit ἀλάζω, *decipio*, unde ἀλαζών . . . ἀλάστωρ, *qui in errorem perniciosum trahit* . . . ἄλαστος, *qui in errorem perniciosum inducitur* . . . Vel potest ἀλάστωρ venisse ex ἀλαίνω, sicuti μιάστωρ α μαιίνω." Ebeling (Lex. Hom.) prefers the form ἀλαστός and cites Philoxenus' definition, while Passow and Veitch derive it from λαθεῖν. Where all is in such uncertainty and confusion, it is well-nigh, if not quite, impossible to more than express one's preference, and we follow Philoxenus' definition. O. C. 1483 ἄλαστον ἄνδρ'. O. C. 1672 ἄλαστον αἶμα.—O. R. 177 ἀμαιμακέτου πυρός. E. M., p. 76, 9: παρὰ τὸ μήκος μάκετος· διπλασιασμοῦ μαμάκετος· καὶ πλεονασμοῦ τοῦ 1, μετὰ τοῦ Α, ἀμαιμάκετος, ὁ μακρὸς καὶ ὑπερφυῆς· τὸ δὲ—πνέουσιν ἀμαιμάκετον πῦρ,—παρὰ τὸ μαιμῶ, μαιμάκα. Χίμαιραν ἀμαιμάκετην, ἄμαχον, ἀκαταγώνιστον, φοβερὰν, ἀνυπόστατον· ἢ ἀπροσμάχητον, καὶ μεγάλην· πηρὰ τὸ μαιμῶ μαιμῶ, τὸ προθυμῶμαι, μαιμάκετος. ἐξ οὗ τὸ θηλυκὸν μετὰ τοῦ στερητικοῦ Α, πρὸς ἣν οὐδεὶς προθυμείται μάχεσθαι. ἢ παρὰ τὴν μάχην, ἀμαιμάχητος, καὶ ἀμαιμάκετος, καὶ ἀμαιμακέτη!! "Ad stirpem MAX pertinere videtur ἀμαιμάχητος, at quomodo explican-

dum sit pro certo non licet statuere" (Bräuning, de adiect. compos. apud Pindarum, p. 40). Göbel (Lexilogus, I, p. 293, and cf. p. 408) connects it with the root of Ἀμαζόνες "die Stürmerinnen": ἀ-μαι-μάκετος st. ἀ-μα-σμάκ-ετος. Reisig (Enarratio, O. C. 125): "equidem non dubito, quin sit a μαιμῶν ortum . . . atque est proprie: *adversus quem aegre contendas*." Leo Meyer (Vgl. Gr. I 423) takes it to be a sort of reduplication of μάχεσθαι: others connect it with μῆκος or ἄμαχος, while Curtius (Das Verbum, II, p. 387) doubts if it be a real verbal at all; cf. Eustathius, 634, 33; 1760, 20. The correct etymology is that embraced by Vaníček (Et. Wörterbuch, p. 666); it is derived from the verb μαιμάσσω, the α is an *intensivum* (cf. Lobeck, Path. Ser. Graec. prolegomena, p. 374; Clemm, de alpha intensivo, pp. 51-52), and the neuter verbal means "tobend, anstürmend"; cf. Ameis-Hentze, Anhang to Od. ξ 311. O. C. 128 ἀμαιομακετᾶν κορῶν. ἀμαιομακέταν, codd. Schol. ἀκαταμαχήτων ἢ ἀπροσπελάστων.—Trach. 110 ἀνανδρώτοισι (εὐναῖς). Schol. ταῖς ἐρήμοις τοῦ ἀνδρός. But how does the verbal—if derived from ἀνδρώ—get the meaning which it evidently has here? "Discessit poeta" (Schindler says, p. 20) "a vulgari verbi ἀνδρώ significatu, quem si secutus esset, ἀνάνδρωτον eum vocasset, qui puber nondum factus esset. Immo prorsus non respexisse illud verbum et ab ἀνανδρος adiectivo novum verbum ἀνανδρώω induxisse Sophocles est putandus." Or is it merely a -τος formation from ἀνήρ, such as Brugmann tells us are not infrequently made from noun-stems? Such ἀπ. λεγ. often show anomalous forms.—Fg. 432 ἀτρυγέτου γλανκᾶς ἐπ' οἶδμα λίμνας. E. M., p. 167, 21 ff.: ἀτρύγετος . . . εἰ μὲν παρὰ τὴν τρύγην, ὡς ἔνιοι, οὐ πλεονάζει . . . εἰ δὲ παρὰ τὸ τρύειν, πλεονάζει. Ἀτρυτος γὰρ ἀτρύετος, καὶ πλεονασμῷ τοῦ Γ, ἀτρύγετος· οὕτως Ἡρωδιανός. Ἡ παρὰ τὸ τρύχειν. Eustathius (p. 1003, 58) gives a different etymology, according to which the meaning of the word is 'unfruitful.' "Quid proprie de eo existimandum sit," confesses Gross (I, p. 10), "in huius rei obscuritate ego non perspicio, nisi ἀτρύγετος ex ἀτρύγητος correptum esse licet accipere, ut βίотος ex βιωτός et fortasse βροτός ex βρωτός." Lobeck considers it a compositum, like ἀμάχετος, εὐέργετος (cf. Path. Ser. Graec. Pro., p. 374), but is unable to fix its etymology (Paralipp., p. 459). Göbel (Lexilogus, II, pp. 348 sq.) demands for the word some such meaning as "fluitans, fluctuans, wogend," the word being used of sea, air, etc., only when they are represented as being in motion. This signification he finds in the verbal, if we assume the original form to have been ἀ-στρύγ-ετος, and thus the

verbal is at once explained as being akin to *τρύγη*, *τρύξ* and *τρύξω*, but not as being *derived* from them, as is commonly thought. He, however, emphatically denies that *τρυγητός* could ever have arisen out of *τρυγητός*, as Gross suggested. Johannes Schmidt (*Zur Geschichte des indogermanischen Vocalismus*, II 337) derives *ἀ-τρύγ-ε-το-ς* from a root *τρνγ* 'to dry.' Curtius, however, argues as against this theory (*Etymol.*<sup>5</sup>, pp. 598–99) that the only passage in which \**τρύγειν* seems to occur at all is Nicand. Ther. 368, which passage he is compelled to suspect, on account of its introducing an unbearable tautology into the context; nor does comparative philology at all establish the existence of such a root. Curtius himself suggests *ἀρύτερος* as the original form which then—with transition of the *υ* into *φ*—became *ἀτρύφερος* and so *ἀτρύγετος*; and many Greek authorities, e. g. Hesychius, define it *ἀκαταπόνητος*. Fritz Schöll (*Acta societatis phil. Lips.* IV, p. 325 sqq.) objects to this etymology, first because it would put the transition of the *υ* into *φ* back in the oldest times, secondly because of the meaning which the adjective would thus acquire. "Unaufreibbar, unermüdlich" does not fit nicely in e. g. the Homeric passages, where the adjective is applied to the air, etc. He begins operations on the last part of the compound, *γετος*, which he cannot explain otherwise than that it means "born," just as in *τηλύγετος*, *ταίγετος*: the first part of the compound is not so easy to explain, but surely it is, after all, connected with the root *tru*, Lat. *trux* and *truculentus*, and hence the meaning "born of darkness" or something so: thus explained, the lines in Hesiod's Theogony, 123–32, receive a new meaning. Leo Meyer (Vgl. Gr. II 255) is not disinclined to favor this explanation. Döderlein (*Gloss.* No. 2436) boldly asserts that *ἀτρύγετος* is the verbal to *ἀνατρύζειν*, and signifies "aufgährend und aufbrausend, und murrend nach Art des gährenden Mostes, τρύξ." This etymology is objected to by Göbel (*Lexilogus*, II, pp. 348 sqq.) on the ground that it cannot be proved that Homer ever uses the prefix *ἀ-* in the sense of *ἀνα-*: furthermore, even if the sea does "brausen . . . nach Art des gährenden Mostes," the *air* does not. Not a few of these objections to given etymologies of the word, which have to do with the *meaning* alone of the verbal, are easily met, we think, it being plain that the grammarians championing or rejecting these etymologies are guilty of translating the adjectives in question all too *literally*, long after consciousness of the etymologically original meaning of the word had been

With Nägelsbach

(Anmerkungen<sup>3</sup> zu Ilias, I 316, note), Clemm (de alpha intensivo, No. 36), Vaniček (Et. W., p. 289), we accept Curtius' etymology, and explain the verbal as a modally neuter, meaning "unermüdl-lich." Benfey (I 594) derives it from the root *τρνγ*, and translates "wogend, schwellend, schäumend."—Ant. 256 λεπτῇ δ', ἄγος φεύγοντος ὥς, ἐπὶν κόνις. This adjective does *not* belong—despite the numerous etymologies suggested in the E. M.—to the words of doubtful etymology, but rather to that class of words whose verbal nature has so far been weakened that they should be mentioned apart from those in which the etymological meaning seems to have been still fresh. λεπτός is from λέπω 'to peal'; cf. e. g. Göbel, Lexilogus, II, p. 242. Fg. 508 λεπταῖς ἐπὶ ῥιπίσιν.—O. C. 768 μεστός ἢ θυμούμενος. Schol. ὥς ἐπὶ κεράμου, ὃ ἐστὶν ὅτε κορεσθεὶς τοῦ θυμοῦ λοιπὸν τὰ συμφέροντα ἐβουλεύμην καὶ οὐκέτι ἤβελον φεύγειν. E. M., p. 580, 44: μεστός: παρὰ τὸ ἔω, τὸ πληρῶ· ὁ μέλλων, ἔσω· ἐκ τούτου ἔστος, ὁ πλήρης· καὶ πλεονασμῷ τοῦ M, μεστός· καὶ οὐδέτερον, μεστόν, τὸ πλήρες: similarly Eustathius, p. 425, 34. Gross (I, p. 8) derives it from μέω, which verb does not exist. Curtius (Et.<sup>5</sup>, p. 243) suggests that it may be connected with the Sanskrit root *mā*, so that it would mean 'full *measured*.' Neither Stephanus nor Passow know of an etymology, while Bergk refers it to a verb σμέω 'implere,' σμεστός being the original form, whose loss of the initial sibilant is explained by the analogy of other examples (Opuscula, II, p. 332). Vaniček translates (p. 652) "wohlgemessen," but refers it to the stem μεδ, derived from a *European* root MAD.—Ant. 627 νέατον γέννημ(α). Rather than derive the adjective παρὰ τὸ νέω, we consider it a sort of irregular superlative to νέος, like δέκ-υτος, μέσ-σατος, etc. E. M. 599, 4: παρὰ τὸ νέος γίνεται νέατος, καὶ πλεονασμῷ τοῦ I, ὥσπερ παρὰ τὸ μέσον γίνεται μέσατος. Νέατον δέ, τὸ ἔσχατον. So Passow, Ascoli (Curt. Stud. IX 350), Döderlein (Hom. Gloss. No. 2414), Vaniček (p. 438), Chandler (Greek Accentuation<sup>2</sup>, §408), Ebeling (Lex. Hom.). Ant. 807-8 νεάταν ὁδὸν στείχουσιν, νέατον δὲ φέγγος λεύσσουν. Ai. 1185 νέατος . . . ἀριθμός.—Fg. 124 προσφάτους ἐπιστολάς. E. M., p. 691, 6: Κυρίως ἐπὶ τοῦ νεωστὶ πεφονευμένου εἴρηται . . . Ἐκ τοῦ φῶ, τὸ φονεύω. Καὶ πρόσφατον κρέας, τὸ νεοσφαγές. καταχρηστικῶς δὲ ὁ πρὸς ὀτιοῦν νεωστὶ ἐληλυθὼς πρᾶγμα. Eustathius, p. 1374, 24: τὸ δὲ πρόσφατος ἀντὶ τοῦ νεωστὶ καὶ ἐγγὺς φατός, ὃ ἐστὶ πεφονευμένος, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ἀρτίφατος. παρὰ δὲ τοῖς μεθ' Ὅμηρον πρόσφατον τὸ νεαρὸν καὶ ὥς εἰπεῖν ἐγγὺς φατὸν ἦτοι φανέν καὶ δειχθέν· ἢ καὶ ἄλλως, ἐγγὺς καὶ προσεχῶς φατὸν ἦτοι λεκτὸν, ἐξ οὗ καὶ φατεὺς: Eustathius, p. 1728, 15 ff.: καὶ νεκρὸς πρόσφατος ὁ ἐγγὺς χρόνῳ



ἔργον ἐκ νέου πεφονευμένος . . . ἔτι φάω φῶ λέγεται καὶ τὸ λαλῶ τὸ πρωτότυπον τοῦ φημί. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ φάσις ὁ λόγος καὶ πρόφασις καὶ τὰ ἐξ αὐτῶν. καὶ φατὸς καὶ φατεῖος ὁ λεκτὸς, καὶ πρόφατος ὁ πρὸ ὀλίγου φατὸς, ἄλλος οὗτος παρὰ τὸν δεδηλωμένον πρόσφατον νεκρὸν: Eustathius, p. 564, 10: πρόσφατος νεκρὸς, ὁ ἐγγὺς καὶ πρὸ ὀλίγου φονευθεῖς. Cf. An. Bekk., p. 293: πρόσφατος: κυρίως μὲν ὁ νεωστὶ ἀνηρημένος, καταχρηστικῶς δὲ ὁ πρὸς ὁτιοῦν πρᾶγμα νεωστὶ ἐληλυθὼς πρόσφατός ἐστιν. Phrynichus, p. 374 (ed. Lobeck): Πρόσφατον: καὶ περὶ τούτου πολλὴν διατριβὴν ἐποίησάμην ἐπισκοπούμενος, εἰ μόνον λέγεται πρόσφατος νεκρὸς, καὶ μὴ πρόσφατον πρᾶγμα. Lobeck adds, in his note ad loc., "Propria huius adiectivi vis posita est in carnibus et esculentis recentibus": the same author tells us, in the Rhematikon, p. 106, "Eadem est ambiguitas adiectivorum ἀλλόφατος, νέφατος, . . . παλαίφατος, πρόσφατος, ἐπίσφατος, περίσφατος, quae Grammatici inter se discordes ad φαίνω, σφάζω, φάσκει referunt, sed in nonnullis vis verbi penitus evanuit." Peppmüller (Kommentar des XXIVten Buches der Ilias, pp. 364 f.) says: "Wir glauben, schon für Homer gilt die Ableitung welche Eustath. 1374 (1516) erst der nachhomerischen Zeit zuschreibt . . . Wie πρόσφατος die Bedeutung 'eben geschehen' annehmen konnte, wird aus den Synonymen Adiectivis πρόσκαιρος v. προσεχής klar." Only Döderlein (Hom. Gloss. No. 2196) adheres still to the derivation from φάσθαι, translating πρόσφατος by "ansprechbar, affabilis." Göbel, however (Lexilogus, I, p. 76), goes still further, and argues "so wenig Lat. *re-cens* von *candeo* zu trennen ist, so wenig *προσφατος* von Wf. *σφα* = *lucere*." With the majority of ancient and modern authorities, we assume as the etymological meaning of the verbal 'newly killed.' O. R. 668 πρόσφατα (τὰ, sc. κακά). τὰ πρόσφατα, Nauck; τὰ προσφῶν, L.; τὰ πρὸς σφῶν, Γ.—O. C. 1236 πύματον . . . γῆρας ἄφιλον. E. M., p. 696, 53: Πύματος: ἔλλειψις τοῦ θ' παρὰ τὸ πυθμὴν ὄνομα ἀπὸ μεταφορᾶς τῶν ἀγγείων· ὁ γὰρ πυθμὴν, ἔσχατος, εἰ καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχει. Πύματος οὖν· καὶ ἀποβολὴ τοῦ θ, πύματος. Σημαίνει δὲ τὸ ἔσχατον. But on p. 384, 24, we read καὶ πύματος ἀπὸ τοῦ πεπαῦσθαι! Ascoli (Curt. Stud. IX 350) argues: "Analog auch *μύχματος*, der Verborgenste, von *μυχός* Winkel: sicherlich gehört auch *πύματος* 'der letzte' hieher, obwohl dessen Grundform innerhalb des Griechischen noch nicht erkannt ist." Curtius (Et.<sup>5</sup>, p. 716) suggests "Vielleicht gehört zu diesen Aeolismen auch das homerische *πύμα-τος* der letzte, das sich auch zu dem von Ludw. Lange . . . erkannten osk. *pos-mo-s*, der letzte, verhält wie *ἑβδόμα-τος* zu *ἑβδομο-s*. *Πύματος* steht also für *πύσ-ματος* wie *ἔ-μεναι* für *ἑσ-μεναι*": the root is the same from which Lat.

*post* and *posterius* arose. Johannes Schmidt (Kuhns Zeitschrift, 26, 24) sees rather the weakened form of the preposition *ἀπό* in the stem of the word: this explanation is not accepted by Gustav Meyer, Griech. Gram.<sup>2</sup>, §62. Vaniček (p. 530) follows Curtius, thus referring it to no verb at all, but to the root PAS = 'behind': so Ebeling, Lex. Hom. This epic word Sophocles alone of the tragedians uses, and he only in lyric passages. O. R. 661 *πύματον* *δλοίμαν*. Ant. 877 *πυμάταν* *ὀδόν*. *πυμάταν*, Dindorf; *ἐτοίμαν*, L. O. C. 1675 *ἐν πυμάτῳ*.—Fg. 870 *τετρωρίστῳ* *δίφρῳ*. The adjective—a *ἀπ. λεγ.*—is quite equivalent, in meaning, to the shorter form, *τετρώρος*, to which it is a sort of superlative form.—Ai. 1404 *ὑψίβατον* *τρίποδ' ἀμφίπυρον*. Evidently the adjective means *high*, but the etymology of this, as of other compounds of *-βατος*, is very much disputed. The Etymologicum Magnum strives in vain to give some passable etymology of *ἡλίβατος*, deriving it from *ἀλιτῶ*, *βαίνω*, *θάλω*, *ἀλλ*, etc. Göbel (Lexilogus, II, p. 338 f.), after devoting *seven pages* to the etymology of *ἡλίβατος*, comes to the conclusion that the *-βατος* syllable is the noun *βάτος*, *ῥ βατ* "schwingen, woneben gleichbedeutig *βαθ* und *βαθ* bestehen . . . ursp. 'Rankendes' . . . gedeutet." Döderlein defines *ἡλίβατος* "leichenblass" (Gloss. No. 2452), from the rare noun *ἀλίβας* 'the corpse': thus the *-βατος* is no separate word at all. Bezzenberger (Beiträge, Bd. IV, p. 344) derives *ἡλίβατος* from *λείβειν* 'to pour,' so that it means 'naked, slippery,' while Müller (Der indogermanische Sprachbau in seiner Entwicklung, I, Göttingen, p. 275) derives the *ἡλι* from *λιαν*, *λίην*, and *βάτος* from *ῥ βα* "sich erheben." But possibly after all the *-βατος* may come from *βαίνω*, the word thus (comically enough) meaning 'what goes—or has gone?—high.' "*Alle ingrediens, poetice dictum, cum altos pedes habeant*" (Bräuning, De adiectivis compositis apud Pindarum, p. 38).—Ai. 580 *φιλοίκτιστον* (*κάρτα*) *γυνή*. Says Hermann ad loc.: "Intelligit poeta luctum ante tentorium in loco publico. Addit enim, lamentis mulierum facile hominum miserationem commoveri. Male vulgo haec verba interpretantur, *facile misericordia afficitur mulier*. Et sic etiam Eustathius intellexit p. 1129, 43. 1185, 36. (1175, 37. 1253, 20). Id *φιλοικτον* vel *φιλοίκτιρμον* dixisset. At hoc alienum ab hoc loco." But we are not persuaded of Hermann's position. A verbal can easily contain the meaning here rejected by Hermann, and Lobeck observes "*φιλοικτρος* certe et *φιλοίκτος* a *φιλοίκτιστος*, pro quo Aeschylus *φιλόδυτρος* dixit, dubito an distingui non magis possit quam *φιλερις* et *φιλέριστος* similiaque, si de personis dicuntur," and

surely these forms in -τος are too wide and free in their meaning to be so circumscribed as Hermann will have it. Still less accurate is Campbell's φιλοῦν τὸ οἰκτιζεσθαι "in the sense of inviting commiseration." Is the form a verbal at all, or—as Stephanus suggests—a sort of superlative? Schindler (p. 55) explains the form as follows: "Est enim hic eadem quae supra fuit (p. 53) *binarum stirpium verbalium* consociatio (φιλοθυ-, φιλοθυρ-, φιλαιαγ-, φιλοικτιδ-), qua perspicuum est nihil exprimi nisi fluctuantem et incertam significationem amandi sacrificacionem, commiseracionem . . . Qua terminatione (-τος) hic nihil aliud effectum censendum est quam id, ut composita adiectivorum formam induerent; passivam vero vim vocis Sophocleae in ipsa radice οἰκτιδ- sitam opinor, vel potius ex sententiarum tenore colligi." We do not accept Schindler's interpretation of the 'verbal' as a passive, but much less do we agree with Tessing, who (l. l., p. 136) classes it along with those "*composita, quorum altera pars est stirps verbalis quae alteram regat,*" and so that here the *prior pars posteriorem regit*. There is, so far as I know, nowhere in Aischylos or Sophocles a verbal in -τος in which the latter part of the compound is governed by the former: it is always the reverse. "Nimium enim proclives sunt ad lamentandum mulieres" is Juris' not unhappy version (p. 27): similarly Maurice Seyffert, Ellendt and others. The word consists of the verbal τὸ οἰκτιζέω, and the φιλ-syllable represents the adverb φιλῶς: the meaning is then 'willingly lamenting.' This explanation we think prettier than Jasper's (*Zur Lehre von der Zusammensetzung griechischer Nomina und der Verwendung componirter Wörter in den Tragödien des Sophokles*, pp. 9-10, 26-28), according to which all such composita with φιλ- are "umgekehrte Composita," whose chief part is the φιλ-, so that the word means *ὅς τὸ οἰκτιζειν φιλεῖ*.

#### COMPOSITA POSSESSIVA, AND THE LIKE.

As an appendix to the real verbalia we cite a number of words ending in -τος which are not to be mistaken for verbals, being mere possessives. "Doubtless after the example and model of participles from denominative stems" (says Whitney, *Skt. Gr.*, §1176 b) . . . "derivatives in *ita* are in the later language made directly from noun- and adjective-stems, having the meaning of *endowed with, affected by, made to be* and the like (compare the similar English formation in *-ed*, as *l d, barefooted, blue-*

coated).” Not alone in Sanskrit, but also in Greek and Latin the same thing has happened; cf. *auro-clavatus*, ἀνόμματος. The cases now to be cited are all possessives, to be translated by subjoining the participle ‘having’: ἀκάματος = ‘having no work,’ etc.

Fg. 672 ἀθέμιστα καὶ ἀνόσια δρᾶν. V. L. The etymology of ἀθέμιστος is more correctly given in the E. M., p. 24, 21 (ἀδικος, ἀνομος, ἀπὸ τοῦ θέμις, θέμιτος, θέμιστος, καὶ ἀθέμιτος), than by Eustathius (cf. pp. 92–93). Ant. 338 ἀκαμάταν (τᾶν). We have followed Passow, Autenrieth (Homeric Lexicon) and others (cf. Vaníček, p. 116) in deriving the word from a priv. + κάματος. Stephanus defines it “labore carens, i. e. laborem non sentiens: quo sensu erit ex a priv. et κάματος: ideoque hic apte ponetur post κάματος.”

Ant. 607 ἀκάματοι σκεδῶσιν μῆνες. V. LL. ἀκάματοι θεῶν: ἄκοποι θεῶν: ἄκμητοι. Schütz prefers emending in the antistrophe. El. 164 ἀκάματα προσμένουσ’. Phil. 1191 ἀλλοκότῳ γνῶμα. We accept none of the etymologies given on page 68, 17 of the E. M., following rather Anec. Bekk., p. 14, 28; ἀλλόκοτον: σημαίνει μὲν κυρίως τὸ παρηλλαγμένον τῆς καθεστῶσης διαίτης καὶ τρόπου, πεποιῆται δὲ παρὰ τὸν κότον, ὃ σημαίνει τὴν ὀργὴν καὶ μανίαν καὶ παραπληγίαν, and with Schmidt (Synonymik d. g. S. II, p. 1217) we can easily see how the noun κότος has sunk to the level of a mere ending. O. C. 786 ἄνατος (πόλις). ἄνατος, γ.; ἄναιτος, L. Schol. καὶ ἵνα ἡ Θήβη ἀβλαβῆς ἴσται ἐκ ταύτης τῆς γῆς· ἄναιτος δὲ ἀντὶ ἀβλαβῆς, ἀναιτίματος. The adjective is derived from a priv. + ἄτη; cf. Slameczka, p. 18; Schambach, II, p. 2; Holtze, p. 6. Phil. 856 ἀνόμματος (ἀνὴρ). Fg. 751 ἄπλουτος ἐν τιμαῖς ἀνὴρ. Ai. 324 ἄσιτος ἀνὴρ, ἄποτος. Fg. 550 ἀπυνδάκωτος οὐ τραπεζοῦται κύλιξ. Πυθμὴν λέγεται καὶ πύνδαξ, ὅθεν καὶ παροιμία παρὰ Σωκράτει (Σοφοκλεῖ, Cramer) ἀπυνδάκωτος . . . κύλιξ,” Schol. II. A 634, in Anecd. Paris., vol. 3, p. 16, 11. With Passow, Campbell and others, we derive the adjective from πύνδαξ. Fg. 513 ἀχρήματον (?). Ant. 845 εὐαρμάτου ἄλσος (Θήβας). Ai. 1251 εὐρύνωτοι φῶτες. O. C. 1758 θεμιτόν. θεμιτόν—never θεμιστόν—is the form met with in Attic inscriptions: it, like ἀθέμιστος, is to be referred to the noun θέμις. Fg. 331 ἰσοθάνατον (?). Fg. 774 κωδωνοκρότῳ (σάκει). Fg. 600 παγχόρτοισιν ἐξενίζομεν (σίτοισι). Aethnaeus rather carelessly mentions this word, along with several words derived from χορτασθῆναι. Of course (cf. Passow, Schindler, pp. 70 and 90; Tessing, p. 81) it is derived from χόρτος. Ant. 149 πολυαρμάτῳ . . . Θήβα. Fg. 583 πάμπλουτον ἄλβον. O. C. 1063 ῥιμφαρμάτοις φεύγοντες ἀμίλλαις. The expression has been variously resolved into ἀμίλλαις ἀρμάτων ῥίμφα φευγόντων and ὠκίῳ

ἀρμάτων and ἀμίλλαις ῥίμφα φερομένων ἀρμάτων, etc. But, after all, Stephanus' "celeris currus habens" was right, although the first part of the compound is generally met with in the form of an adverb. The adjective is one of those *artificially formed* ones (cf. Bräuning, de adiectivis, etc., p. 47). Trach. 637 χρυσά-λακάτου τ' ἀκτὰν κόρας. The adjective means "having a golden spindle" (Göbel, Lexilogus, II, p. 347; Stephanus), not "having gold on the spindle" (cf. Jordan, Neues Jahrbuch für Philologie, 1881, p. 85 ff.). Ai. 847 χρυσόνωτον ἥϊαν.

In the Electra, vs. 72, we read ἀλλ' ἀρχέπλουτον καὶ καταστάτην δόμων, while some read ἀρχαίπλουτος; others suspect the verse. Schol. ἄρχοντα <τοῦ> πλούτου καὶ τὴν ἀρχαίαν τύχην ἀποληψόμενον. The text is in an unsatisfactory condition, and the ἀπ. λεγ. difficult to explain. Tessing (p. 136) classes it along with those composita in which the *first* part governs the second. Such composita in -τος not existing in Sophocles, we prefer explaining the first part as a noun; the word thus means "having riches as a prince." The ε (ἀρχέπλουτον) may be explained as an analogue to Pindar's ἀρχέπολις (Pyth. IX 56) or Aristophanes' ἀρχέλαος (Eq. 164).

The following *nouns* are all more or less closely connected with some verb, but they are—in Sophocles—used as nouns *pure and simple*. On the development of the noun in -τος out of the verb, cf. Lobeck, Paralipp. Gram. Graec., pp. 348 sq.; Brugmann, Grundriss, II, pp. 211 sq., 207. As would be expected, the accent of these forms is at times 'irregular,' the forms themselves occupying a half-way position between verb and noun.

ἀθάνατος. ἀμαξιτός, from the root *i* 'to go'; cf. Vaniček, p. 79; Brugmann, Grundriss, II, pp. 209, 212. On the 'irregular' accent cf. Lobeck, Path. Serm. Graec. prolegg., p. 379; Chandler<sup>2</sup>, §323. ἀροτός (or ἄροτος?, cf. Ellendt). From stem of ἀρόω; cf. Curt. Et.<sup>5</sup>, p. 341. ἄτρακτος. Etymology disputed. Gustav Meyer, Griech. Gr.<sup>2</sup>, §173, 2 a, explains it by "Metathesis ohne Vocaldehnung" from ἄταρκτος, cf. Ai. *tarkú*. Brugmann (Griech. Gramm., p. 55) connects it with τρέπω—so also Curt. Et.<sup>5</sup>, p. 468—supposing a U-vowel to have once been present. Vaniček (p. 297) boldly derives it from √TARK, while Göbel (Lexilogus, II, p. 399) is confident (as usual) that the root must have originally had an initial *sibilant*; thus the root would be στραγ. At any rate, the word is no longer an adjective. βίοςτος. βλαστός. Curtius<sup>5</sup>, p. 549, connects it with the Skt. √vardh = to make larger, and Schmidt (Synonymik d. g. S., No. 76, 14) considers it

"eigentlich ein Verbal-adjektiv," whose accent is explained by Chandler<sup>2</sup>, §322. *βοτόν*. *βοτός* is used constantly by Sophocles (and Aischylos), both as adjective and as noun. It always exhibits the same meaning—neuter, modal—and hence the many passages (about 100) are not cited singly, but herewith referred to once for all. *βρῦτος*. *γλουτός*. Vaniček (p. 174) and Ebeling (Lex. Hom.) compare *κλόνις*, *κλωF*: Gustav Meyer (Griech. Gram.<sup>2</sup>, §255) denominates it as "etymologisch unklar." *δάκετος*. *θεμιστός*? *θέσφατον*. *θνητός*—like *βοτός*—often used both as adjective and as noun, but always with modal-neuter sense. *κάματος* is a noun, connected with *κάμνω* (so Ebeling, Lex. Hom.) or *κάμημι* or *κάμνημι* ("passiv: das Erarbeitete . . . neutral: die Ermüdung," Döderlein, Gloss., §2170). Whether the original force of the verbal was passive or neuter, we have no means of ascertaining. *κάπετος* is a noun, but its connection with *σκάπτω* is generally conceded; cf. Bensley, W. L. I 193; Curtius, Et.<sup>5</sup>, p. 167; Hesychius (*κάπετος οἱ δὲ σκαπετόν*). *Σκίδνημι καὶ χωρὶς τοῦ σ ὡς σκάπετος καὶ κάπετος* (Epim. Cram. I 388); cf. Döderlein, Gloss. No. 2101. On the accent cf. Chandler<sup>2</sup>, §320. *κασίγνητος*. On the unsteady accent cf. Chandler<sup>2</sup>, §408. "Von demselben Schosse geboren" (Aug. Fick, Curt. Stud. VIII 313); cf. Vaniček, p. 189; Curt. Et.<sup>5</sup>, p. 175. Sophocles uses the word as an adjective three times. *κύτος*, *κῦ*; cf. Curt. Et.<sup>5</sup>, p. 157; Vaniček, p. 157. *κωκυτός*. On the accent cf. Chandler<sup>2</sup>, §323. *μαστός*, from *μᾶσθαι*? *οἶκτος*. Ebeling (Lex. Hom.) derives it from *οἶ*: similarly Döderlein, Hom. Gloss. 959, "Ein Derivatium ist das Verbale *οἶκτός*, wie *αἰακτός*, substantivirt *οἶκτος*, der Jammerton." Lobeck hesitates between deriving it (Paralipp., pp. 348–49) from *οἶζω* and relegating it to that mass of words "quae . . . a nullo verbo commode repeti possunt." *οἶτος*. Göbel (Lexilogus, II, p. 413), Vaniček (p. 80), Curtius (Et.<sup>5</sup>, p. 401) derive it from *ἵ* 'to go,' while others (cf. Ebeling, Lex. Hom.) will see it akin to *οἶσω*, as *fors* to *fero*—unless, forsooth, it be connected with *οἶ*. *σκηπτός*, the noun, is derived from the root *ΣΚΑΠ* (Curtius, Et.<sup>5</sup>, p. 167; Göbel, Lexilogus, II, p. 151; Schmidt, Synonymik d. g. S. II, p. 248). *φόρτος*. Cf. Curtius, Et.<sup>5</sup>, p. 299; Brugmann, Gr. Gram., p. 96.

#### CRITICA.

Fg. 767 *ἔρρηξάτην ἐς κύκλα χαλκίων ὄπλων*. Plutarch's text (Mor., p. 458 E) reads: *καὶ τὸν Νεοπτόλεμον ὁ Σοφοκλῆς καὶ τὸν Εὐρύπυλον ὀπλίσας ἐκόμπασ' ἀλοιδόρητα, φησὶν, ἔρρηξάτην . . . ὄπλων*. Nauck suggests

that ἀλοιδόρητα is a part of the quotation from Sophocles, in which Schindler follows him (p. 20), and Campbell goes still further, and includes ἀκομπα—which he conjectures for the suspected ἐκόμπασ’—also in the quotation, although we are then, from the metrical condition of the fragment, forced to assume a lacuna after ἀλοιδόρητα.—Fg. 146 Λάβα Πιερίδων στυγερὰ καὶ ἀνάρματος ὠδυνάσεις κ. τ. λ. This text is miserably uncertain. Thus Nauck: “καὶ ἀνάρματος AM, καὶ ἀνάρεστος Voss. et Arsen., καὶ ἀνάρετος cett. . . . Schneidewinus proposuit . . . κἀνάρματος . . . Bergkii Lyr. p. 674 verba . . . καὶ ἀνάρσιος Sapphus esse coniecit et ab iis quae sequuntur dirimi voluit.” Campbell reads ἀνάρσιος. We know nothing as to the correct reading. O. C. 698 βλαστὸν φύτευμ’ ἀχείρωτον αὐτόποιον. La. has ἀχείρητον, which the Schol. seems to have read. Schütz (p. 160) finally comes to the conclusion “Es ist am gerathensten ἀχείρητον zu behalten oder ἀχείρωτον in der von Pollux gegebenen Bedeutung zuzulassen.” Pollux’ words are (II 154): ἀχείρωτον δὲ Σοφοκλῆς εἶπε τὸ ἀχειρούρητον. With Reiske, Hermann, Wolff-Bellermann, Jebb, Schambach (I, p. 9), we accept the reading ἀχείρωτον, which seems to be passive.—Fg. 86 ἐς τε τὰ βατὰ καὶ πρὸς τὰ βατὰ. Surely it is unnecessary to resort to conjectures to relieve the “weak antithesis which βατὰ would give to ἄβατα.” These are the words of Stobaeus, Flor. 91, 27, and ibid. 94, 8, and Plutarch, Mor., p. 21 B, and we promptly reject all conjectures. El. 220 τὰδε τοῖς δυνατοῖς οὐκ ἀρεστὰ πλάθειν. The tradition is τὰ δὲ τοῖς δυνατοῖς οὐκ ἐριστὰ πλάθειν, to which thus the Schol.: τοῖς κρατοῦσιν οὐ δι’ ἔριδος δεῖ εἰς ταῦτα προσπελάζειν ἀντὶ οὐχ οἶόν τε σε ἐρίξειν τοῖς δυνατοῖς. καὶ ἄλλως: ταῦτα δὲ ἀπράττεις οὐκ ἐριστὰ τοῖς κρατοῦσιν ἐστὶν τουτέστι [τοῖς] περὶ τούτων φιλονεικίαν πρὸς τοὺς κρατοῦντας ποιέσθαι ἀσύμφορον. Independently of one another, Fröhlich and Schütz conjectured ἀρεστὰ for ἐριστὰ. In the long discussion to which Schütz (pp. 277–78) subjects this passage he shows that the tradition expresses the thoughts *joined together in the wrong order*, confusing cause and result. The conjecture suggested by him is light, the sense, “dergleichen Dinge sind den Gewaltigen nicht angenehm, ihnen damit zu nahen.” And yet we think Schütz has expressed himself too strongly in commending his conjecture, since the tradition could be defended, although none of the so-called ‘parallel’ passages are quite analogous. Ai. 1113 ἀλλ’ εἶνεχ’ ὅρκων οἶσιν ἦν ἐνώμοτος. ἐνώμοτος, L’; ἐπώμοτος, L. It seems that ἐνώμοτος occurs—this passage excepted—only once in tragic poetry, Eur. Med. 737, where it is rejected by Muretus, Matthiae, Porson and Prinz.

Nor do we know of any such word as *ἐνόμνυμι*; and yet *ἐνώματος* is defined by Suidas, Hesychius and E. M. Or is it a possessivum? Fg. 731 τὰ δ' ἕτερα παρὰ θεῶν ἡγησάμην. So we read with the tradition (Plut. Mor., p. 98 A), while Nauck—so Campbell—suggests τὰ δ' ἐκτά.—Fg. 122 ἡμιοῦτὸν κούρειον ἡρέθη πόλει. Thus Hesychius 2, p. 333. There seems to be no such word as *ἡμουτόν*, for which Scaliger suggested *αἰμόρρυτον* (but cf. Phrynichus, p. 159, ed. Lob.); Moritz Schmidt *ιερόθυτον*; Campbell *ἡμὶν θυτόν*. *Ἱερόθυτον* would be passive. Fg. 489 αἱ δὲ καλυπταὶ κίσται ῥιζῶν κρύπτουσι τομάς. Macrobius (V 19, 9) reads *καλυπτραί*, which Nauck accentuates *καλύπτραι*. Other readings are *καλύπται* (so Eyssenhardt), *καλυπταί* (so Ellendt, Campbell). *Καλυπταί* would seem to be instrumentally passive. Fg. 5 of the Adespota (p. 652, Nauck); *λεπτοσπαθῆτων χλανιδίων*. Ellendt, Schindler (p. 13), Juris (p. 48) and Pape follow Valckner in attributing these words to Sophocles, although his name is not mentioned at all in the context (Plut. Mor., p. 691 D, 496 E) in which they are met. The adjective is plainly passive. El. 1395 *νεακόνητον αἶμα χειροῖν ἔχων*. Schol. τὸ ξίφος τὸ ἡκονημένον εἰς αἶμα καὶ φόνον. Hesychius s. v. αἶμα; ὁ δὲ Σοφοκλῆς ἐν Ἡλέκτρᾳ τὴν μάχαιραν αἶμα ἔφη: so Anecd. Bekk., p. 356, 20; Suidas s. v. αἶμα, and E. M. Hermann thought, by simply changing one letter of the tradition, to have restored a most annoying passage, writing *νεοκόνητον*, a lemma of the Schol. Rom. Alone Kvičala (Beiträge, etc. I, p. 81 sq.) has proved that *νεοκόνητος* ("non est Graecum vocabulum," Cobet, Novae lectiones, p. 193) is "eine unmögliche, jeder Analogie vollständig entbehrende Bildung." The passage is corrupt—was long before the Scholiast or Hesychius wrote—and their guesses all rest on a false basis. Conjectures have been showered upon both the adjective and its noun, αἶμα. *Νεαρόκμητον*, *αἰχμα*, *νεακὴ μάχαιραν*, *νεακόνητον αἰχμὰν*, *νεοκόνιτον ἄμμα*, *νεακὲς πρὸς αἶμα*, *νεοχμόκμητον*, *νεοφόνωτον*, *νεοφόνοισιν*, *νεόρραντον* are some of the conjectures which have been suggested. We hesitatingly retain the *ἀπ. λεγ.* of the tradition, *νεακόνητον*, as do Otto Jahn, Wecklein, Wolff-Bellermann, Kvičala, Schindler, Juris and others. The most serious objection to this reading lies, not in the meaning of the words, but in the length of the second syllable (*ā*), in which the dochmius demands a short. But cf. Lobeck, Phrynichus, p. 701; Kvičala, l. 1., p. 106. O. C. 1570 ἐν πύλαισι ταῖσι πολυξένοις. With Musgrave, Nauck, Merkel, Jebb, Schütz and others, we thus read for the *πολυξίστοις* of the La. In Fragment 384 Bergk includes *χρυσοσπήνιτον* in the quotation: Schindler follows, Ellendt and Campbell oppose him in this.



## ADVERBS IN -τως.

ἀδέρετως (O. C. 130). ἀίλπτως (El. 1263). ἀθαυμάστως (Fg. 892). ἀμείμπτως (Phil. 1465). ἀνετῶς (Fg. 578). ἀνηνότῳ (Fg. 510). ἀνοίκτως (O. R. 181). ἀφράστως (El. 1263). ἀφρορτίστως (Ai. 355; Trach. 366). βαρναλγήτως (βαρναλγητος? Ai. 199). εἰκότως (O. C. 977). εἰωθότως (El. 1456). ἐπαρκούντως (El. 354). εὐπετῶς (Fg. 523). προπόντως (Fg. 195).

CHARLES EDWARD BISHOP.

# IV.—STUDIES IN ETYMOLOGY.

## I.

### THE EUROPEO-ARMENIAN TREATMENT OF *tr̥*.

#### I.

στέλλω :  $\begin{cases} \text{τελέθω} \\ \text{πέλομαι} : \text{τλάω} \\ \text{τέλλω} \end{cases}$

*su-stul-it*

*ab-stulit*

*tollo, tulit, su <b> latus*

*tárati, turáti, tulayāmi*

*trans*

*tirás : clam : πλά-γιος (?)*

*clādes, clandestinus*

ἀ-στήρ

*stella*

*st̥r̥b̥h̥is*

Armen. *a-s'ł*

*πλειάδες*

*\*triones*

*tāras*

*πέλαγος*

*πλάζομαι*

*tarañga*

*celer : táras*

Lith. *kélli, kél̥tas : celsus.*

Sk. *tárati* 'cross over' (river or sky) has not been heretofore connected with the above group of verbs. Collitz, BB. v. 101 fg., compares τελέθω with πέλομαι, from an I. E.  $\sqrt{qel-}$ . Homer uses both these verbs as a copula. Γ 3 κλαγγή πέλει οὐρανόθι 'the noise rises to heaven' and Η 282 νύξ τελέθει 'the night arises' connote, however, upward motion. Lat. *colo* 'till,' Sk. *cáratī* 'wander' (of leisurely motion), 'graze,' Collitz also compares. Neither *colo* nor *cáratī* has the sense of 'rise, cross over,' and, what will be of greater importance presently, no sense of rapid motion.

Joh. Schmidt, in KZ. 25, 138, added Grk. τέλλω, ἀνατέλλω 'rise' to this group, making the striking equation περιτελλομένων ἐναντῶν = περιπλομένων ἐναντῶν.

Fick, however, in the latest edition of his Wörterbuch, refers τέλλω to an I. E. stem *tela-*, which he defines by 'raise.'

But I cannot bring myself to separate the equivalent phrases *περιτελλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν* and *περιπλομένων κ. τ. λ.*, though I separate *τέλλω* from *colo*, Sk. *cáratī*. *Cáratī+ud* is, to be sure, one of the regular phrases for sunrise; with this Schmidt compares *ἀνατέλλω*. The words are, it seems to me, hardly on the same chronological footing. *Ud+√car* is freely used of the heavenly bodies from the earliest Vedic times. *ἀνέτειλε* 'caused to spring up (as food),' E 777, is an *ἀπαξ λεγόμενον*, and *ἀντολαί* 'rising places of the sun,' μ 4, is the same. For *ἀνατέλλω* of 'sunrise' L. and S. cite Hdt., Soph. and Aristoph., but Soph. uses *τέλλω* in the same sense. It is a fair, if not a cogent, inference that in *ud+√car* the specific idea of 'rise' comes from the preposition, just as in the precisely parallel *ud+√i*, *ud+√yā*; whereas *τέλλω* has this force without the need of composition with such a preposition as *ἀνά*.

At this point let us seek to fix the meaning of Sk. *√tṛ*- a little more definitely. In combination with *ava* 'off, down' we find a meaning 'descend,' especially used of the descent of a divine being to the earth; cf. the Anglo-Indian *avalar*. Does this sense derive from compounding *ava* with a general notion of motion, as in the combination *ava+√i* 'come down,' or does *ava* have a force comparable with that of German *ab-* in *absteigen*, or English *dis-* in *dismount*? Delbrück, S. F. v, p. 449, seems to decide for the former derivation. But the compound is susceptible of another interpretation, as e. g. *ava+√sā* 'bind' > 'unbind, take the yoke off horses,' which Delbrück makes 'take the horses (out from) under the yoke,' and *ava+√tan* 'string' > 'unstring (a bow)'; so *ava+√tṛ* 'rise' might suffer reversal to 'descend.'

*Ud+√tṛ* means 'come up out of (the water).' Here again it is questionable whether the signification 'rise' is partly inherent in the verb or wholly acquired from the preposition.

Even in the derivative *tarāṅga* 'wave, billow' it is difficult to decide between the sense of 'rising' and 'going across.'

In Lat. *trans*, e. g. *trans Rhenum*, *trans montes*, the sense is 'over' or 'across,' but just which sense is original it is impossible to decide. If we bear in mind the interchangeability of 'over' and 'across' in our own language, we can see why the primary signification of *√tṛ* is so hard to fix.

If we compare Sk. *√tṛ* with *τέλλω* and its congeners, one or two close coincidences of derived meaning present themselves. Böhtlingk, in the new dictionary, s. v. *tar*, defines 3) 'lay behind one (a road),' i. e. 'complete a journey,' e. g. *ṛtasya pañihām na*

*taranti duḡkḡtaḡ* 'evil-doers finish not the road of the *ḡta*.' Pind. Ol. 2, 126 *ἔτειλαν Διὸς ὁδὸν* is an exact parallel. Out of this special usage comes the general meaning 'complete, fulfil,' which we have in *τέλος* 'fulfilment' and its verb *τελεῖν*.

*στέλλω* in its causative sense 'raise' corresponds still more closely with *ῥίψω* 'rise.' Hesiod, Scutum 288 *ἐπιστολάδην δὲ χιτῶνας | ἐστάλατο* 'they have tucked up their tunics,' etc., is a capital example for this sense, and *ἐπιστολάδην* gives it a clinching force. γ 11 *ιστία . . . στείλαν* 'they took in sail' shows also the sense 'lift, raise.' Etymology comes to our help in the difficult question whether the Homeric ship had the yard fastened to the mast so that the furling was accomplished by raising the sail to the yard, or whether the yard and sail were lowered together in furling. For the former explanation see Smith's New Dict. of Antiquities, p. 218, s. v. *navis*. The causative<sup>1</sup> sense of *στέλλω* 'raise' clinches the connection with *τέλλω* 'rise,' already advanced by Meister, Gr. Dial. II, p. 215, on the basis of the common meanings 'set, place, despatch.' *ἐπιτέλλω* 'enjoin, command,' Hom., and *ἐπιστέλλω*, same meanings, Aesch., Soph., Eur. and Thuc., is proof enough of this equation.

A very common use of *στέλλω* is in the sense 'rig out a ship.' As a matter of definition, *στέλλω* might be turned by 'launch,' i. e. 'make a ship swim on the water,' causative, as it were, to Böhtl.'s definition of *ῥίψω*, 2) 'float on the surface, swim.' It is simpler, however, to recognize that in the act of launching a small boat there is as much lifting as dragging. The sense 'launch' fits well β 287, where Athena says she is one *ὅς τοι νῆα θοὴν στελέω καὶ ἄμ' ἔψομαι αὐτὸς* 'to launch you a fleet ship, and go with you myself.' Later, describing other details, she says, vs. 295, *ὥκα δ' ἐφοπλίσσαντες ἐνήσομεν εὐρέι πόντῳ* 'and we will fit her out, and launch her in the broad sea.' Here *ἐνήσομεν*, as well as *ἐφοπλίσσαντες*, may be regarded as an expansion of *στελέω* in vs. 287. In ξ 247 Ulysses, speaking of his journey to Egypt, adds: *νῆας ἐὺ στείλαντα σὺν ἀντιθέοις ἐτάροισιν* 'featly launching my ships with the help of,' etc., and in the next line: *ἐννέα νῆας στείλα, θοῶς δ' ἐσαγείμετο λαός* 'nine ships I launched, and the folk came trooping together'—a long feast and sacrifice follows, and then the embarkation. If *στείλα*

<sup>1</sup>Greek and Latin have no real living causative conjugation; any verb is liable to have intransitive and transitive, i. e. causative, force. In Sk. *ῥίψω* has causative force without the causative sign *-ḡya-*; cf. Böht. P. W., s. v. *ῥίψω*, 9).<sup>1</sup>

does not signify 'launch,' then there is no mention of 'launching.' Against the interpretation 'launch,' the nine days' duration of the festivities speaks.

The comparison of  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omega$  'lift, bear' (in a transferred sense also) with  $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\omega$ , *tollo* is not new. See Fick's Wörterbuch, s. v. *tela*-.

The following are coincidences of meaning between  $\sqrt{tar}$  and *tollo*: Böhtl. P. W., s. v. *tar*, 6) 'get possession of, overpower (enemies)'; *tollo* 'make away with, destroy';  $\sqrt{tar}$ , 9) 'carry one over or through': *tollo* 'take up a child (to save it 'alive).'  
*Suscipio* may be regarded as a translation of *tollo* 'save,' to suit the technicalities of Roman family life. The custom of saving or destroying infants (by exposing) was Indo-European; cf. Zimmer, *Altind. Leben*, p. 319 ff.

It is perhaps not going too far afield to compare *tollere diem* (Cic. Leg. 3. 18. 40) 'to consume the day (in speaking)' with RV. 5. 45. 11 *tarema çatam himāh* 'may we complete a hundred winters.'

By accepting the equation of  $\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\omega$  with *tollo* we are enabled to explain the form *su-stulit*. Here we have a reduplication as in  $\iota$ -στημι, but the vowel has been affected by the root-vowel *su-stulit* < \**se-stulit*; cf. *spo-pondi* < \**spe-pondi*.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, Lat. *su-stulit* may reflect the original type, and we may regard \**spe-spond-i* as refreshed out of an original type \**se-spondi* or \**pe-spondi*. *Ab-stulit*, *ab-scido*, O. E. *scidan*, Germ. *scheit* 'cut,' *ab-stergo* 'wipe off': *strigilis*,  $\sigma\tau\lambda\epsilon\gamma\gamma\iota\varsigma$  'scraper,' furnish a starting-point for *abs-* before other verbs that never possessed an *s* initial.

*Su* < *b* > *lātus* is a contamination of \**stlātus* and *su-stulit*, and a popular etymology made it *sublatus*.

Regarding the semasiological similarity between Sk. *tarati*, Gr. ( $\sigma$ ) $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\omega$  (in some of their senses) and Lat. *tollo* as sufficiently established, let us now examine the phonetic processes involved in comparing them.

I begin with  $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\omega$  =  $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ , or rather  $\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega\upsilon\upsilon$  = \* $\pi\lambda\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega\upsilon\upsilon$ . The explanation of Collitz, out of an original *velar*, is entirely satisfactory from the phonetic point of view, but Sk.  $\sqrt{car}$  signified a leisurely, wandering, horizontal motion, whence its application to the grazing of cattle. In Gr.  $\beta\omicron\upsilon\kappa\omicron\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  'cow-herd,'  $\alpha\iota\pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  'goat-herd,' Lat. *o-pilio* 'shepherd' < \**ovi-pilio* (with a *p* due to Oscan influence; cf. Brug. I, p. 321), we see a derivative noun meaning 'pasturer.' In *agricola* 'tiller of the soil' we must

<sup>1</sup> Cf., however, *infra* p. 479.

recognize a civilization advanced a trifle beyond the nomadic stage. Gr. *πολεύω* 'turn up land with a plough, plough,' *πολέω*, *ditto*, and *πόλος* 'land turned with a plough' are fossils from the same age of civilization; *πέλεθρον* 'a square measure of land' is doubtless to be referred here also. Out of such compounds as *βουκόλος* it was easy for Greek to impart the notion of speed into our root. The prehistoric *\*ἵπποπόλος* was doubtless a horse-rider and racer, whence Homeric *κέλης* 'race-horse,' afterwards transferred to the other racing sphere, *κέλης* 'light, rapid boat.' Lat. *callis* 'path trodden by cattle, mountain-path'; 'mountain pasture' is the passing-note for still another possible derivation of meaning to *celsus* 'lofty,' etc. *κολωνός* 'hill,' Lith. *kálnas*, Lat. *collis*, have also, perhaps, reached their meaning by the *callis*-path, if I may be pardoned the pun. The hills were the grazing places of the cattle. Sophocles fames *Κολωνός* as *εὐπιπον*, *εὐπωλον*, Oed. Col. 711. My friend, Dr. Kirby Smith, has called my attention to the following passages in Latin lyric. Cuique pecus denso pascebant agmine colles, Tib. Eleg. IV 1, 186; jungere et in solito pascere monte pecus, ibid. I 2, 72; Quid tibi cum speculo montana armenta petenti, Ov. A. A. 1, 305. Further passages are Ov. Met. 2, 841; 3, 408. Similarly, to use a modern instance, the word *pasture* always implies 'hill, mountain' in Vermont. In point is also 'Lebt wohl, ihr Berge, ihr geliebte Triften.' As O. E. *hyll* shows, this sense was already reached in the I. E. time. Cf. Sk. *cāraṇa* 'pasturing.'

Sk. *cāraṇa* 'path, road' is perhaps to be compared with *callis* < *qəl-ni*. It is to be remarked that Sk. *√car* shows no forms with lingual vowel save *cīrnā* (Upan.). *Cultus* may derive from *\*cōlitus* > *\*collus*, but, in composition, *adcultus*, etc. It is not necessary to deny the kinship of *κελευθος*, and *κελεύω* 'order' may be perhaps connected with *βουκόλος*, etc.

Sk. *√car*, however, shows no trace of the meaning 'rise' which was claimed above to be the primary signification of *τελλω*, *τελίθω* and Sk. *√tṛ*, for *caraṇa*- 'pillar' derives from the meaning 'goer, foot,' and so probably does Lat. *columen*. I repeat again that the characteristic notion of I. E. *√qel* is that of leisurely, wandering motion. We find a Greek representative of this root in *πλανάω* 'wander, roam,' denominative to *πλάνη* 'roaming.'<sup>1</sup> *πλάνη*: *√qel* :: *ὑπνος* : *√suep*.

<sup>1</sup> *πλάνη* does not occur in literature till Aesch. and Hdt. *πλανάω* is an ἀπ. λεγ. in Hom. § 321—a late book; cf. Jebb, Hom., p. 124.

But how are we to mediate between Sk.  $\sqrt{t\tau}$  and  $\pi\epsilon\lambda\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ ? A Greek  $\sqrt{\tau\epsilon\lambda-}$  would in its reduced stage become  $\tau\lambda-$ . But this is a group particularly difficult of utterance in initial position. Meyer, in his *Organs of Speech*, p. 326 (Appleton's Science Series), characterizes this group as follows: "These (i. e. the groups  $p\ell$ ,  $ll$ ,  $kl$  and  $ql$ ) are all formed easily at the commencement of words if the mouth is adjusted for the  $l$  position before the formation of the explosive, so that the liberated air, in passing over the dorsum of the tongue, will produce the sound of  $l$ . The only difficulty lies in  $ll$ , for the apex of the tongue, which had been removed from the palate for  $t$ , has to be instantly replaced for the formation of  $l$ , and thus a small hiatus can scarcely be avoided." . . . 'This combination is mostly confined to names derived from the ancient language of Mexico.'

Apart from theoretical phonetics, we have the actual practice of Latin and Lithuanian, where  $ll$  is converted into  $kl$  in the interior of words, and, as I shall hope to show, initially also; cf. Brug. Gr. I, pp. 281, 288.<sup>1</sup> Greek  $\tau\lambda\acute{\alpha}\omega$  seems to vouch for the Hellenic mastery of  $\tau\lambda$ . Greek furnishes also a very limited number of suffixes in  $-\tau\lambda\omicron-$ , e. g.  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  1) 'bilge-water,' 2) 'bucket' (cf.  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\lambda\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon\omicron$  'bucket' in Aristophanes),  $\chi\acute{\upsilon}\tau\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  'liquid' (< 'to be poured') and  $\epsilon\chi\acute{\epsilon}\tau\lambda\eta$  'handle.'  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  contains, I believe, the  $\sqrt{\tau\epsilon\lambda-}$  in its suffix, and derives from the meaning 'to be raised up' its sense of 'bilge-water,' whence 'hold,' the place of the 'bilge-water.'<sup>2</sup>  $\chi\acute{\upsilon}\tau\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  seems to be a late epic analogon of  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ . Possibly  $\epsilon\chi\acute{\epsilon}\tau\lambda\eta$  'plough-handle' is a combination of derivatives from  $\epsilon\chi$  'a handle to hold by' and  $\tau\epsilon\lambda$  'a handle to lift by.'<sup>3</sup>

The permanence of the initial group in  $\tau\lambda\acute{\alpha}\omega$  is capable of explanation even on the theory that the Greek tongue did feel the difficulty of the group and avoided it. Beside  $\tau\lambda\acute{\alpha}\omega$  are the forms  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\varsigma$  'suffering' > 'wretched' and  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$  'lifting machine' > 'scales,' which derive from  $\tau\lambda\lambda-$ . Further,  $\epsilon\tau\lambda\eta$  and  $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\tau\lambda\alpha\mu\epsilon\upsilon$  were susceptible of the syllabication  $\epsilon\tau-\lambda\eta$ ,  $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\tau-\lambda\alpha\mu\epsilon\upsilon$ , thus allowing for the unavoidable hiatus of  $\tau\lambda$  (cf. supra Meyer, l. c.). In  $\tau\lambda$  forms we might expect a difficulty of articulation. In Latin that diffi-

<sup>1</sup> The apparent exception  $l\acute{a}tus < l\acute{a}tus$  will be discussed below, under 'Splendidus and its Congeners.'

<sup>2</sup> Is  $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\alpha$  'milking-pail, cup' a congener of  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  'bucket' from the  $\sqrt{\tau\epsilon\lambda}$  'lift'?

<sup>3</sup> Cf., however, Brug. Gr. II, p. 113.

<sup>4</sup>  $\chi\acute{\upsilon}\tau\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  and  $\epsilon\chi\acute{\epsilon}\tau\lambda\eta$  may well proceed from  $*\chi\upsilon\theta\lambda\omicron-$ ,  $*\epsilon\chi\theta\lambda\omicron$ . The latter almost certainly does. Cf.  $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\theta\lambda\omicron\upsilon$ .

culty results in *cl*, but as in Greek λ exerts a labializing influence on *q*, it would scarcely exert a palatalizing influence on *τ*. Alliteration would have been a further compelling motive in combinations of, say, \*τλόμενος with ἐπὶ and περὶ. An analogous change is shown by West Germanic and Norse *fl* < *pl* < *tl*, e. g. O. H. G. *flēhan* 'fondle, flatter, beseech,' Goth. *gafláihan* 'fondle, comfort, exhort,' Brug. Gr. I, p. 287.<sup>1</sup>

The change of initial *tl*- to *cl*- for Latin is on the same phonetic basis as the change of interior *tl*.

Out of a Gr. \*τλ° > πλ° a new series would be evolved: πλ°, πελ-, πολ- beside \*τλ°, τελ-, τολ-; out of a Latin *tl*°, in the same way, *cl*°, *cel*-, *col*-; e. g. \*πλομενος : πέλομαι : πόλος.

Leaving the ground of analogies in other languages, a very striking instance of this change in Greek is furnished by δλ° > βλ°, in Aeolic βλήρ : δέλεαρ 'bait.' I see no good reason for separating δέλεαρ from δόλος 'trick,' but, μ 252, 'bait.' Osc. *dolum*, Lat. *dolus*, O. Norse *tál* belong to the same group. Cf., however, Brug. Gr. I, p. 318, who claims a connection with βάλλω < I. E. √ *gel*. Joh. Schmidt's comparison with O. H. G. *quērdar* 'bait' (KZ. XXV 153, but accessible to me only in Kluge's synopsis, Wört., s. v. *köder*) involves a dissimilation out of \*δέραρ, \*δέρετρον, and does not seem to me to be forceful enough to separate δέλεαρ from δόλος.

I take the following equation to be certain at any rate. Hom. βλωθρός 'tall' = Sk. *dirgh-a* 'long'—reported also to be the name of several varieties of trees and grass. βλωθ-ρο- is < \*d<sub>l</sub>ǵh-ro-. O. Blg. *dlugu* 'long' is from the same stem. Lat. *longus* < \**dlongus* shows perhaps the stem of the compv. *drāghiyāns* (cf. *longius*), with infixed nasal. For θ instead of φ in βλωθρός cf. Brug.'s explanation of ελαθρός (Hesych.), I, p. 320. Of course, the connection of δολιχός with *dirgha* is not affected by the further association of βλωθ-ρός. Brugmann, however, I, p. 245, compares βλωθ-ρός with Sk. *mūrdhan* 'head,' and Kluge, Wört., s. v. *lang*,

<sup>1</sup> It seems to me possible to equate Goth. \**pldihan* with O. Bulg. *tlǝiti* 'tap, knock' and Gr. *πλίσσομαι* 'knock with the feet, trot,' vgl. μ 318 αἰ δ' ἐν μὲν τρώχων, εὐ δὲ πλίσσοντο πόδεσσιν 'And they ran well, and pattered merrily with their feet.' My command of Slavic lexical material does not enable me to learn whether this explanation is impossible for *tlǝiti* or not. The transfer of meaning from 'strike, pat, tap' to 'fondle' and 'beseech' is not difficult. Cf. 'love-licks.' *πλεκώ, σπλεκώ* 'of sexual intercourse' may be for *πλικώ*, popularly interpreted in the light of *συμπλεκω* 'have sexual intercourse with.' O. Bulg. *tlǝka* beside *tlǝiti* is probably for *tlǝka*; cf. Lesk., Hdbch. Abg. Sprach., §§11, 2, 5; 19.



denies the connection of *longus* with *dirghá-*. The Lat. *lago* 'a sort of clematis' has perhaps the weak stem = *\*dǵh-*. Cf. above what is said of the definitions of *dirghá-*.

Under the phonetic conditions above urged, the following comparisons are submitted: *πéλαγος* 'wave' > 'sea': Sk. *taraṁga* 'wave'; cf. Hom. ε 335 νῦν δ' ἄλδς ἐν πελάγεσσι θεῶν ἐξ ἔμμορῃ τιμῆς 'and now, 'mid the waves o' the sea, the gods yield her honor.' Sk. *taraṁga* does not occur in any of the accented texts. We may, however, infer its accent from *paṭāṁga* 'bird': *√pat* 'fly,' variously reported as paroxytone and oxytone, paroxytone *paṭāṁga* coinciding with Brugmann's latterly much attacked rule of *ṛ* under the accent (Gr. I, p. 195). In terms of Brugmann's rule, *πéλαγος* was an original oxytone, shifted, like *πέλεκυς* and *ἐλυτρον*, to proparoxytone; cf. Wheel., Gr. Nom. Acc., p. 110. The suffix *\*ǵgo-* is also preserved in Lith., e. g. *vargingas* 'miserable': *vaĩgas* 'misery,' where the accent is paroxytone. Whether my comparison of *πéλαγος* with *taraṁga* should be accepted or not, the I. E. character of the suffix *\*ǵgo-* has, I think, been demonstrated (cf. Brug. Gr. II, p. 261). In Lat. *prop-inquus* the nasal vowel is perhaps to be recognized before the suffix *-go-*. Brug. Gr. II, p. 261, rem., suggests a relationship between *-go-* and *-go-*.

With this explanation of *πéλαγος* is combined a possible one of *πλάζομαι* 'wander' < 'to be wave-tost.' Eng. *waver*: *wave* shows another facet of the same signification. The connection with *πλάγιος* will come later into discussion.

Sk. *tírdś* 'over, past, beyond, through' = Zend *taro* are undoubted congeners of the *√tṛ*. Eng. *beyond* means 'more than, except.' Murray, New Eng. Dict., s. v. *beyond*, β 9) puts it as follows: "in negative and interrogative sentences almost = 'except,' e. g. Shaks. Hen. VIII, III i 135 'Bring me a constant woman to her husband, One that ne'er dream'd a joy, beyond his pleasure.' Carlyle, Sart. Res. II vi 'No prospect of breakfast beyond elemental fluid.'" Lat. *praeter* as adverb and as preposition means 'beyond, more than, except.' The various adverbial derivatives of the *√per*, to which *praeter* belongs, illustrate very fully the semasiological developments of the root of which *tṛ* is the Aryan representative. The *√per* I define as 'pass by,' in which action there are three stages—the motion towards one, the motion past or by (before) one, and the motion from or beyond one; all the various ramifications of meaning reduce to one of these three: Sk. *parás*, adv. 'beyond, afterwards'; prep. 'beyond,

more than, except'; *purds*, adv. 'in front, forwards'; prep. 'before'; *purā*, adv. 'before, hitherto'; prep. 'before (temporal), before (in defence of), except'; *pāri*, adv. 'round about'; prep. 'opposite, beyond (past), more than,' and the grammarians report the meaning 'except,' and a distributive force as in *ὑπερκαὶ ὑπερκαὶ pari simcati* 'he sprinkles tree after tree,' cf. Gr. ἡμέραν παρ' ἡμέραν 'day after day'; *pra* 'before, forwards, on past'; *περαν-* 'across, over, over against'; *περῶ* 'beyond, across, more than'; *παρὰ* 'beside, by, at (e. g. παρὰ θύρῃσιν 'before the door,' παρ' οἴνῳ 'over wine'), along (τρέψας πὰρ ποταμόν 'turning along the river'), beyond (πὰρ δύναμιν 'past his strength'), 'except' (οὐκ ἔστι παρὰ ταῦτ' ἄλλα 'there is nothing except this'); *περὶ* 'roundabout, around, beyond (= more than) (e. g. περὶ πολλοῦ ποιῆσθαι); *πρὸς* so nearly covers *παρὰ* that no examples need be given: it may be remarked in passing that *per vim* and *πρὸς βίαν* 'by force' are etymological as well as syntactical parallels, and so are *per Jovem* and *πρὸς Διός*, in asseveration and ascription of agency; a by-form of *πρὸς* is *πάρως* < \**πρῶς*: Lat. *por* in *por-rigo* 'put before one,' *porrectus* 'laid out' > 'dead'; *porro* 'forward, onward'; *per* 'exceedingly,' e. g. *permultus*, *permagnus*, *perceler*; cf. Hom. II 186 *πῆρι μὲν θείειν ταχύν* 'passing swift at running.' Eng. *passing* is a perfect parallel, e. g. "O passing traitor; perjured and unjust," Shak. 3 Hen. VI, V i 106; "This Ewein was a passinge faire childe, and bolde and hardy," Merlin (E. E. T. S.), II 238; "For she was passing weary of his love," M. Arnold, *Tristram and Iseult* (cited from the Cent. Dict., s. v. *passing*); *per-fidus* 'un-faithful' mirrors just as accurately *παρὰ δίκην* 'contrary to right,' *παράνομος* 'lawless'; *per-rexi* 'I went forward'; *pro* 'before, in front of (for defence)'; *prae* 'before'; for *prae* in *prae-clarus* cf. *per-magnus* above; *prae-ter* 'past, beyond, more than, except.' Lat. *pernix* 'nimble, fleet' may well be a derivative of the *√per*. A stem *perno-* is extended to *pernigo-* > *pernic-*.

Now the Aryan *√tr* has had much the same line of development as I. E. *per-*; *tr* was employed of vertical motion, *per* of horizontal, and the former doubtless extended to any motion in a vertical or obliquely rising direction. We have seen above in the semasiology of *trans* how 'over a mountain' became 'over a river'; a bird 'rises, shoots up, shoots *through* the air, crosses the sky'; 'over the mountain' was 'out of sight.' Sk. *tirás* has all these significations, 'through, on through, past, beyond, except, cross-wise, secretly'; *tirás* + *√kr* 'overpass, surpass,' etc. For Greek

we have one stage of development in *πλάν* 'except,' to be explained as an acc. adverb from an *-u* stem. Certain it is that *πλάν* can have no phonetic relation with the stem of *πλέ(ξ)ων*. In *πλά-γιος* 'cross-wise, deceitful' we have another shade of meaning. Certain elements in the semasiology of *πλάζομαι* might connect it as well with *πλάγιος* as with *πéλαγος*.

For the semasiology of *tirás* + *√ kṛ* 'despise, look down upon' we may compare Grk. *ὑπερ-φρονέω* 'despise.' Eng. *over-look* has *over* in precisely the same force.

It has been the fashion, where the Europeo-Armenian group shows *l* and the Aryan group *r*, to attribute *l* to the parent-speech, I suppose on a sort of democratic plan, but this is, after all, a mere convention (cf. Brug. Gr. I, §254). In Sanskrit *l* gains on *r* constantly (Wh. Gr.<sup>2</sup>, §53 b). Why, then, believe there was an earlier Aryan tendency when *r* gained on *l*? With the explanation of *trans* as belonging to a Eur.-Arm. *√ tel*, we gain a new point of view. Let us present to ourselves a state of things in which there was an *r*, verging toward *l*, then a root *ter*, would pass into *tel-*, *tol-*, but the difficulty of *tl* made the stage *tr*; a laggard. Any isolated form might then loose the bondage of phonetic law; or we might put it that *tr*; regularly went into *tr'*, unless dragged by *tel-*, *tol-* into *tl'*. Now, *trans* is just such an isolated form, for Meister, by his explanation of *τέρμα*, Gr. Dial. II 213, has deprived it of its supposed Greek and Latin congeners.

Interesting testimony for a serial *cl'* < *tl'*, *cel* is furnished by equating *cel*er with *tarás* 'quick.' The suffixes are, it will be seen, identical; *κέλης* 'race-horse,' with which *cel*er is generally compared, has been explained above in a different way.

*clam* 'secretly' shows a very close kinship of meaning with *tirás* and of form with *πλάν*: (*haud*) *clam me est* 'it is (not) unknown to me' is a close parallel to Eng. 'it is beyond me' > 'past my comprehension.' In combination with *√ dhā* *tiras* signifies 'drive away, conquer.' If we suppose *clam* to be extended by the *s* so common with prepositions and adverbs, e.g. *ἐκ*: *ἐξ*, then we may explain *clādes* 'disaster, defeat' as out of \**clausdi-s*. To this formation Sk. furnishes abundant parallels; e.g. *antar* 'within' + *dhi* < *√ dhā* = 'concealment, disappearance'; *pari* 'about' + *dhi* = 'enclosure'; *ud* 'up' + *dhi* = 'seat of a wagon'; *ni* 'down' + *dhi* = 'setting out (down) food.' *tiro-dhā* 'concealment' < 'setting aside' is a closely allied formation. In \**clausdi-* we have a different meaning, but one very close to *tiras*

+  $\sqrt{dhā}$  'conquer.' Indeed, the grammarians report a *\*tirohita* 'one who has taken flight,' which presents the same facet of meaning as *clādes* 'rout.'

But in *clandestinus* 'secret' we have the very force of *tiro-dhā*. *Clandestinus* is composed of *clam*+a stem *-des-*. For the stage *\*clandes-*, Sk. *vayo-dhās-* 1) adj. 'health-giving,' 2) nom. 'strengthening,' *puro-dhas* '\*one set before' > 'house-priest,' *\*payo-dhas* 'water-holder, sea,' *reto-dhas* 'semen-implanting' are sufficient testimony. The next stage in Latin was the addition of the *to*-suffix, as in *mod-es-tus* : *modo-s*, *vetus-tus* : *vetus*, st. *\*vetes-*; cf. Brug. Gr. II, p. 392. *\*Clandes-* was 'concealment,' *\*clandesto-s* was 'one concealed.' To this the suffix *-īno-* was added, as *divīnus* : *divo-s*. *Libertinus* : *libertus* is a precisely parallel formation.

The connection is thus broken between *clam*, *cēlo* and *oc-culo*, with their Germanic congeners O. H. G. *hēlan*, e. g. *Oc-culo* could be phonetically connected with *clam*, but a reason for not doing so lies in the fact that Sk. *tārati* never shows a force 'conceal,' either in or out of composition.

*Pro-cella* 'hurricane, onrushing wind' shows the same meaning as Sk. *tarāṇi* 'pressing forwards,' and so does *percello*, e. g. *ventus percellit* 'the wind rushes past, overpowers.' It is possible to connect Lat. *celsus* 'lofty' with *collis*, *callis*, above explained, out of I. E.  $\sqrt{qel}$ . It is possible, too, to explain from I. E.  $\sqrt{ter}$ , 'rise,' trans. 'raise.'

In Lithuanian also the group *tl* became *kl* (Brug. Gr. I, p. 288), and thus I explain *kėliti* 'raise' and *kėlta-s* 'elevated.'

Let us turn now to a consideration of the words for 'star,' which I believe must be associated with the group above discussed. The comparison of *πλειάδες* 'the pleiades' and *\*triones* in *seplem triones* 'the seven stars, the great Bear' has not heretofore been made. Cf. King and Cookson (Sounds and Inflexions, p. 203), who compare *\*triones* with *stella*. The phonetic question is to be solved as for *πλάν*, *trans*, above. *Πλειάδες* is perhaps an extension from an *-ižen*-stem, just as *\*triones*. The *-ei-* is an affection of popular etymology, perhaps, from *πλείω* 'to sail.' The lengthening in Hom. *πληϊάδες* is doubtless due to de Saussure's *loi rythmique*, e. g. *σοφώτερος* < *\*σοφοτερος*. Greek *ἀ-στερ-* never became *\*ἀ-στελ-*, because it was felt to be an agent noun in *-ter-*. So the retention of *r* in the Germanic languages is to be explained. Latin *stel-la* may be from *\*ster-la* (cf. *agellus* to *ager-*), or it may be original. The Armenian is *a-stλ-* where *λ* is a *tertium quid*,

neither *r* nor *l*. Its phonetic worth is unknown to me (cf. Brug. Gr. I, p. 27). In *ελπ* 'stag': *ελαφος* and in *αλυξ* 'fox': *αλώπηξ* this *λ* agrees with Gr. *λ*. The only other occurrences of this *λ* cited by Brug. Gr. I, p. 216, are in the combination *λδ* = I. E. *δhr*, where we may explain the affection as due to the labial. By my explanation *a-slλ-* falls with Gr. *λ*, not with *ρ*.

In Sk. *tāras* beside *str̥bhīs* we have the initial variation as in *τέλλω* : *στέλλω*.

We reach from these comparisons the sense 'riser, mover across the sky' as the primary one of the words for 'star.' Sk. *tarāṇī* 'sun' has had the same semasiological development as *tāras* 'stars.'

By the equations submitted I do not wish to deny all connection of (σ)τέλλω with Sk. *√car*. Certain meanings of the former, e. g. 'send, despatch,' correspond with Böht.'s P. W. definition of the causative of *√car*. 2) 'put in motion,' 5) 'cause one to practise something'; with the sense of 'dress' (στολή) we can compare *colo*, which has the same connotation. It is interesting, too, to know that Sk. *√car* appears in the Māitrāyaṇī Samhitā in the form *√scar-*, that is to say, with an initial sibilant. We may regard (σ)τέλλω as containing relics of both the roots *qel* and *ter*.

In Sk. *tṛ* I believe we have also relics of I. E. *ter* 'penetrate' (cf. *τίρετρον* 'gimlet,' *τόρνος* 'lathe-chisel,' Lat. *terebra* 'auger,' Sk. *tiras* 'through') and *ter*, 'rise' as discussed above. *turātī* is the phonetic representative of *tṛr*, and *tirātī* of *tṛr*. There is, doubtless, no trace of this difference of signification in the verb-forms, for the notions of motion over (obstacles) and motion through (obstacles) enabled the verbs to thoroughly assimilate even in the non-transferred meanings. The epic *torāṇa* 'arch' has the sense of 'rise' implicit in it; *tulā* 'scales,' which occurs, according to Whitney's Verb Roots, in Brāhmana, shows the sense 'lift,' causative to 'rise.' The vocalization in *torāṇa* and *tolayati* 'weigh' is a secondary analogical gradation to *tur-* < *tṛr*, and *tul* < *tur* < *tṛr*.

## II.

### *Splendidus* AND ITS CONGENERS, WITH AN EXPLANATION OF *Vṛddhi* IN SANSKRIT.

Sk. *prathilā*, *prāthas* : *πλάτος* : *splendidus*, *splendor* : O. Ir. *less*.

*πλάθος* : *lātus*, *plānus* : Lith. *plēsti*.

*πρήθι* : *πλάτυς* : Lith. *platūs* : O. Ir. *lethan*.

*ώμο-πλάται* : *latus* : O. Ir. *less* : O. Blg. *plašti*, *plešte*.

The Sk.  $\sqrt{prath}$  means 'broaden,' its ptc. *prathita* 'broadened, wide,' and in a transferred sense 'glorious, famous, splendid.' With the latter sense *splendidus* agrees in its so-called transferred meanings. The primary meaning is retained in *lāt-us* 'broad.' The transferred meaning of *splendidus* may, however, be that of 'shining,' as when we speak of a 'glorious day, sun,' etc. Chronologically, to judge by the citations in Lewis and Short, the sense 'shining' emerges in Latin literature earlier than 'glorious.' Perhaps, on this account, we had better regard 'shining' as an extension of 'spread out': an 'outspreading' that is a 'brilliant' body—the sun, say, like the rayed pictures one makes of the sun.

The phonetics involved in the equation of *prathitá* to *splendidus* is as follows; The I. E. root was  $\sqrt{prath}$ . Lat. *splendidus* did not become *\*lendidus* (cf. *lien* :  $\sigma\lambda\eta\nu$ ), because of its use in compounds, e. g. *re-splendeo*. It must be borne in mind that Sk.  $\sqrt{prath}$  combines very freely with prepositions. In Latin the nasal verb system has forced its way even into the ptc., cf. *junctum*. In the present case the nasal was an affix, *\*spla<sup>n</sup>to-* > *\*spla<sup>n</sup>do*, as in *pando* 'open out': *pateo* 'be open' < *\*patno*; cf. Brug. Gr. II, p. 152. From *\*spla<sup>n</sup>do* came a participle *\*spla<sup>n</sup>ditus*, whence, by progressive assimilation, *\*spla<sup>n</sup>didus*<sup>1</sup>; cf. the regressive assimilation in *coquo* < *\*quequo* < *\*pequo*.

We have now the more difficult question of the vowel to be recognized in this root. Bechtel, in his Indoger. Lautlehre, pp. 242, 244, on the basis of  $\pi\lambda\eta\theta\omicron\varsigma$  'multitude, extent' and Lith. *plĩsti* 'make broad': *plātus* 'broad,' makes it fall in an *ē-ā* series. According to the nomenclature of the Brugmann school this *ā* is *ə*. If Bechtel means to compare  $\pi\lambda\alpha\tau\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$  directly with Lith. *plātus*, as he seems to do, he severs the connection with Sk. *pr̥thu*. The

<sup>1</sup> The large class of Lat. adjectives in *idus* may have had this origin. *Splendidus* would have easily influenced *candidus* 'shining': *candeo*, *nitidus* 'glittering': *niteo*, *rubidus* 'reddish': *ruheo*, *sordidus* 'dirty': *sordeo*, etc. In many of these words the *-do-* < *-to-* may have proceeded by an independent assimilation to a preceding *d*, as in *sordidus*, or *ll*, as in *pallidus*, which latter would be dialectic, as in *oleo* 'smell': *odor* 'scent': cf. V. Henry's Comp. Gram., p. 65. Zumpt meant perhaps to recognize the participial nature of these words in *-idus* by giving them in §176 of his Lat. Gram., along with their corresponding verbs. In §249, however, he does not explain himself in this way. I agree with V. Henry, Comp. Gram., p. 162, note 3, as to the improbability of a connection between this suffixal *-do-* and the  $\sqrt{do-}$  'give.' Sk. *jalada* 'water-giving' is doubtless a popular etymology; cf. Brug. Gr. II, p. 383.

The purely adjectival sense of a ptc. to a verb meaning 'to be such and such' would aid in the transfer of *splendidus*, etc., to a purely adjective category.

form *πλᾶθος* labors under the suspicion of being hyperdoric or hyperaeolic; cf. Cauer, *Delectus*, 437, 18. On the Cretan decrees granting rights to the Teians, who were Ionians, the tendency of the Teian stone-cutters was to substitute Ionic *η* for *ā*. The form *πλᾶθος* in such a decree, Cauer 123, 18, resisted the tendency to 'hyperionism.' The form *πλῆθος* is, however, amply vouched for by Doric and Aeolic inscriptions. On my assumption that *πλᾶθος* is the original, the explanation of *πλῆθος* is very simple: nothing closer in language than the notions of fulness, multitude and extent. *πλῆθος* in Doric and Aeolic was a popular etymology with *πλήρης*, where the *η* is Indo-European; cf. *plē-nus* 'full.' Now, in Lithuanian *plėsti* the same association with the *√plē* 'to fill' has been at work. Lith. *plātūs*, Sk. *prathu-s* 'broad' are the same formation. *prathu-s* may have been an affection of *pr̥thū* by *prathis̥ta*. Grk. *πλάτος* 'breadth' and Sk. *prāthas* we may regard as belonging to the normal grade. Further examples of the normal grade are Lat. *lātus* < \**splatus* (cf. *lien* : *σπλήν*) 'side' < 'broadside' and Grk. *ὤμωπλάται* 'shoulder-blades.' Of the deflected grade we have examples in *πλᾶθ-ος* 'breadth' > 'multitude,' *lātus* 'broad' < \**splātus*, a formation entirely analogous to Grk. *ἄδύς*, Lat. *suāvis* < \**suādu-is*, and O. Bg. *plāšti* < \**plātti* 'mantle, covering for the shoulders'; *plešte* 'shoulder.' The vowel in *plešte* is derived possibly in the following way: An early Slavic gradation *ā* : *ā* became *ō* : *ā*; another gradation was *e* : *o*. By mediation of *o*, interchange between *ā* and *ē* was easy; in this way *plešte* may come from \**plātīo*.

Old Irish preserves this stem very faithfully. Stokes has already derived *lēs* 'light' < \**plent-to* and compared *splendor*, BB. 14, p. 313. In \**plent-to le* is the representation of I. E. *l̥*, which sometimes appears in Irish in this form; cf. Brug. Gr. I, p. 238. Windisch, in *Curt. Gr. Etym.*, compared O. Ir. *lethan* 'broad' with *πλάτος*, etc. It proceeds from *pl̥t̥hno-*, as does probably *πλάτανος* 'plane-tree.' *Less* 'hip, haunch' proceeds from *pl̥tes-*; *lāt-us* in the normal grade has a cognate signification, 'side, flank,' represented for O. Ir. by *leth* 'side, half.'

Lat. *lātus* calls for some especial explanation because of the report of Paul. ex Fest., p. 313: *stlata*, genus navigii *lātum* magis quam *altum*, et a latitudine sic appellatum sed ea consuetudine qua stlocum pro locum, et stlitem pro litem dicebant. We know that the ships of war were long and narrow for speed. Juvenal's *stlalaria purpura* 'imported dye,' i. e. 'costly' (cf. McKinley

Bill?), suggests that the *stlāta* was the ship of commerce, adapted to bearing loads. This *stlāta* may very well be from the same root as *τλητός*. I give it an active meaning, 'bearing,' which suits very well the kind of ship indicated. The active use of the suffix *-to-*, though not common in Greek and Latin, need not surprise one. It is quite common in the Avesta as a suffix of agency; cf. e. g. Vendidad, II 7-10: *visaphi mē yima srīra*, [*vīvaφhāna*] *mārēto bərētaca daevayāi* 'come unto me, famous Yima, thou learner and upholder of the faith.' *τλητός* 'enduring, patient' is a Greek case directly in point. The three stages of the treatment of *stl\** in Latin are mirrored by *stlīs* > *slīs* (twice on inscriptions) > *lis*.

*Tlatie*, Umbr. gen. sg. to the proper name Lat. *Latium*, has been formerly connected with *lātus* 'broad,' so Brugmann, in his Grundriss, I, p. 281. The connection with *τλητός* is quite proper, but, as we have argued, *lātus* comes from *\*splātus*. For the sense of *Tlatie* Bücheler, Umbrica, p. 114, compares *τελεσφόρος* 'fruit-bearing.' I would so explain *Tlatie*, *Latium* as the 'bearing, fertile land,' not the 'broad land.' Roman popular etymology had doubtless established a connection with *lātus* 'broad.'

Lat. *plānus* I also connect with the  $\sqrt{\text{pr,ath}}$  < *plātno-*. The treatment of the group *\*tn\** in Latin is not a little difficult; cf. Feist, Got. Etymologie, s. v. *apn*. Lat. *anno-* is derived by Brugmann, Gr. II, p. 137, from *at-sno*, cf. *penna* : Old Latin *pesna* < *petsna-*. But Festus, as cited in Lewis and Short, gives *petna* equally as an old form. Who shall say what is the relation between *petna* and *pesna*? The most natural development of *\*tn\** would be *nn*. But we can operate on *plāt-sno-*, whence, seeing the vowel is long, we would have only a single *n*, as in *mīsi* < *\*mīsi* beside *mīssus* < *\*mīt'to-*. *aēnus* < *aēs-no* might lead one to expect *pēna* < *pesna* < *pet-sna*, but the chronology can doubtless be suitably arranged. *Prōnus* < *\*prōd-no-* (?) and *ra-men-tum* < *\*radmentlo-* shed light on *plānus* < *\*plāt-no*.

I draw attention to the value of this etymology for gradation. The number of examples in the *ā* : *ā* row is not very great. In Greek *ἄγω* 'lead, drive' : *κυνᾶγός* 'huntsman' : *ἄγμος* 'furrow' with prothetic *o* : *δαός* < *\*daFos* 'fire-brand' : *δεῖδε* < *\*δεδῦFe* 'it burns' : *δύη* 'misery.' These are about the only examples where Greek shows all three grades. Between Greek and Latin all the grades can here be made out: *lātus* 'side, flank,' *ώμopλάται* 'shoulder-blades' : *lātus* 'broad,' *πλάθος* 'breadth' : *πλατύς* 'broad.'



It remains to point out, in this connection, a possible explanation of *vr̥ddhi* in Sanskrit, where *ā* represents the *o* of the European languages. I do not agree with Brugmann in explaining Sk. *ā* in open syllables as the representative of I. E. *o*. Let us assume for the proto-Aryan period a series *an*, *ān*, *ṇ*, *n* being symbolic of zero, *i*, *u* the liquids and nasals, and beside that a series *en*, *on*, *ṇ* > *an*, *an*, *ṇ* where the normal and deflected grades reach the same value. It is obvious that the two series become identical in the normal and weak grades: what easier, then, than assimilation between the deflected grades? We have, for example, to the *√bhaj*, *bhājati* in the normal grade, *babhāja*, *abhākṣit*, *abhāk*, *bhājayati* in the deflected grade. Influenced by such forms we have *babhāra*, *abhārṣit*, *abhār*, *bhārayati*. Sometimes the influence of the *e-o* series was predominant. Sk. *√prath* has no forms where we should expect *prāth*, save the caus. *prathayati*. This may be explained from the prevalence of the middle voice in this verb, where we have always a weak stem; cf. Whit., Verb Roots, s. v. *√prath*. The Sk. roots of the *ā-ā* series seem all to have ended in a single consonant, or with a sémi-vowel (*i*, *u*, etc.), as the examples in Hübschmann, Indog. Vokalsystem, show. Hence it is that the assimilation did not take place in closed syllables.

The existence of *vr̥ddhi* in the Europeo-Armenian period has been deemed possible on the basis of *\*lēxi*, *rēxi*, *tēxi*, O. Blg. *nēsū*, *rēchu*, *pogrēsū*, etc., Brug. Gr. I, p. 256; Bechtel, Indog. Lautlehre, p. 157. There seems to me no cogency in this opinion: the Lat. forms are more than easily explained as of secondary origin. *Ēgī* < *\*eagī*, *sēdī* < *\*sezdī* are lengthenings of an organic nature. A very large proportion of perfects in *\*si* were from roots with long vowels (diphthongs), e. g. *dīxi*, *dūxi*, *fīxi*, *fīxi*. There was every enticement to lengthening *\*lēxi*, etc. The simplex *lēgī* beside *\*lēxi* makes it quite likely that *tēxi*, etc., are syncretic formations from *\*lēgī* + *\*lēxi*. It is noteworthy that the forms in question are confined to stems in *g*. The popular etymology of *\*lēxi* was doubtless *\*leg-zī*, for which *\*lēxi* may have been the orthographic representation. *\*Lēxi* shows a syntactic contamination of pf. *\*lēgī*, aor. *\*lēxi*, as well as a morphological, which is perhaps a way of accounting for 'Pure' and 'Aorist' Perfects. Surely no one dreams of interpreting the quantity in *tēctum*, etc., as original.

The O. Blg. forms are likewise possible of explanation without the resort to *vr̥ddhi*. In *bodq* : *basū* the *a-ā* relation obtains; in

*člta* : *čisū* we have *i* and *ei*; in *vrūzq* < *\*vīrzq* : *vrēsū* < *\*versū* we have *r* and *er*. The transition from these roots with *r* to roots without *r* was perhaps made through *rekq*. The impv. (opt.) *rici* < *\*rgois* stands in the same relation to aor. *rēχū* as *žīpi* to *žpēχū*, however the vocalism of the pres. *rekq* is to be explained. The extension was now become easy *rekq* : *rēχū* (< *\*erχū*?) :: *nesq* : *nēsū*.

Again, the relation of *e-ě* may have been patterned on the proto-Slavic *ā-ā*.

It has been seen, then, that Latin and Slavic aorists give no help for a belief in European *vṛddhi*. The 3d sg. pf. act., where in Sanskrit *vṛddhi* is at home, shows for Greek always the deflected, not a lengthened stage, save in, so far as I know, the example γέγωνα 'is capable of being perceived, heard'—surely an insufficient evidence.

The Indian grammarians<sup>1</sup> report that the 2d sg. perf. was liable to accentuation on any of its syllables, and forms like *dadītha* and *tenītha*, not in the earlier language, amply support this view to the believer in the origin of gradation from musical accent. Where there is any gradation as between the persons of the sg., the 2d person is weak. Perhaps the grammarians attributed accentual variations between the 1st and 3d persons to the 2d. Sk. *babhāja* (3d sg.) < *\*bābhāja*, Gr. δίδω(F), but for the earlier language, in the 1st pers. almost exclusively *babhāja*, etc. The I. E. speech certainly had strong 1st and 3d persons for the non-thematic present system, and their accent was on the root. What wonder that this accentual relation stamped itself upon the perfects also! The primordially of Sk. accent is certainly open to suspicion under conditions where analogy was sure to produce assimilation.

We may represent the original conditions to ourselves as follows: A. In the *ā-ā* series, 1st pers. *\*b(a)bhāgṃ*, Sk. *babhāja*; 3d pers. *\*bābhāge*, Sk. *babhāja*; the accent of the 1st pers. prevailed; the reduplication and ultimately the vocalization of the 3d. B. In the *e-o* series, 1st pers. *l(e)-lēpm*, Sk. *latāpa*; 3d pers. *\*llope*, Sk. *latāpa*, cf. Grk. τέτοκε; 1st pers. *\*r,i-r,iqṃ*, Sk. *rirēc-a*; 3d pers. *\*r,iroiqe*, Sk. *rirēca* (with reduplication affected by the 1st pers.), Grk. λελοιπε (with reduplication generalized from the τέτοκε type). A'. In the *ā-ā* series, 1st pers. *i(a)-iāgṃ*, Sk. *\*iyāja* (to be inferred from *tilyāja*); 3d pers. *\*iā(?)iāge*, Sk.

<sup>1</sup> Whit.<sup>2</sup>, p. 283 fg.

## VI.

*vīvo* : *vic-si*, *victus*.

I add to my already printed explanation of these words (*Am. J. Phil.* XIII, p. 226) the following note, an explanation of the guttural in O. E. *cwicu*. This I take to be a contaminated form. The reduplicated ptc. *\*cwecwenð-* and *\*cwiwo-*, the congener of Lat. *vivos*, Goth. *quijs*, were coexistent at some period. Now, *cwicu* is the result of a contamination of *\*cwiwo-* and *\*cwēcwenð* > *\*cwicenð* under the influence of the weak stem *\*cwecunð*.

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different spheres of battle and racing. Zend *pešana* means 'hostile'. The Grk. and Lat. representatives of this root have derived their sense of 'sack, destroy, ruin' along the same lines of hostile rivalry. Lat. *perdo* has been assimilated in inflection to *abdo*, etc. A *perdo* of a not greatly different sense is, however, derivable from the combination of *per*+*do*-; cf. what has been said above in 1) about *per*, etc.

## IV.

*vi* + √ *bhr* (intensive) '\*bear apart' > 'move to and fro, brandish': *vi-bro* 1) trans. 'shake, brandish,' 2) intrans. 'quiver, tremble.'

*Vibro* has been heretofore connected with Sk. √ *vib-* 'tremble.' No phonetic change of *p* before *r* is provable for Latin, however, and so the explanation of *vibro* as denominative < a stem \**vibro-* is untenable. I propose instead a division into a preposition *vi*+*br-ā-*. This *-brā-* stands in the same relation to *fero* as *ῥᾶ* : *ῥᾶλω* in Greek. Note, too, that the Latin frequentatives are all of the 1st conjugation; *vibro* is, to be sure, not from a supine stem, as the others.

For the appearance of the preposition *vi* in Latin compare Pott's explanation of Lat. *vito* 'shun' < *vi*+*ita* 'gone apart,' KZ. 26, p. 154.<sup>1</sup>

## V.

*vi-nc-io* 'to bind': *nec-to* 'bind.'

*Nec-to* is congener to Sk. √ *nadh*, in some way that does not here concern us, gutturalized in Latin. A perf. *nexi* in composition with *vi*\* would give us *vinxi* < \**vi-nc-si*; cf. *reppuli* < \**repe-puli*, *surpui* < \**sub-rapui*. From *vinxi* to *vincio*, *vincit* is an easy step; cf. *spexi* and *specio*, *specit*. That *vincio* should then inflect after the manner of the 4th conjugation is a question to be solved for *venio* and other underived verbs. The effect of *vi*\* in the combination is not easy to see. Perhaps the notion was that of binding to an object *away* from one; we might compare Eng. *tie up*, which comes to mean 'tie to an elevated object'; Sk. *vi*+ √ *sañj* = 'hang up, suspend' and simple √ *sañj* = 'cause to hang, attach, suspend'; cf. Delbrück, Synt. Forsch. v, p. 467. *vinxi* is, then, 'tie up,' i. e. to an object above one or away from one.

<sup>1</sup> This explanation of *vito* I reached independently, but am glad to be able to cite it, on Pott's authority, in confirmation of my recognition of the prep. *vi* in Latin.

## VI.

*vivo* : *vic-si*, *victus*.

I add to my already printed explanation of these words (Am. J. Phil. XIII, p. 226) the following note, an explanation of the guttural in O. E. *cwicu*. This I take to be a contaminated form. The reduplicated ptc. *\*cwecwenð-* and *\*cwīwo-*, the congener of Lat. *vivos*, Goth. *quius*, were coexistent at some period. Now, *cwicu* is the result of a contamination of *\*cwīwo-* and *\*cwēcwenð* > *\*cwicenð* under the influence of the weak stem *\*cwecunð*.

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# NOTE.

SOPH. ANTIG. 1204 sq.

πρὸς λιθόστρωτον κόρης  
 νυμφεῖον Ἰδου [κοῖλον] εἰσεβαίνομεν.

It is inexplicable to me that the traditional reading here seems never to have been disputed. Jebb (with whom Humphreys agrees) says: "κόρης νυμφεῖον—Ἰδου, the maiden's death-bower: cp. 795 n., 929." (The former of the illustrations is different; the latter, debatable, perhaps glossed.) Schneidewin-Nauck also say: "νυμφεῖον Ἰδου (654. 816 [only remotely applicable]), Grabesbrautgemach, wozu κόρης tritt, wie 1184 [hardly parallel]. Eur. Herc. 562 Ἰδου τάσδε περιβολὰς κόρης [the position of words different]. Vgl. Soph. El. 681 τὸ κλεινὸν Ἑλλάδος πρόσχημ' ἀγῶνος" (see below).

A repeated reading of the passage convinces me that I am right in feeling that to a hearer the sense demanded by the order of the words, and also by the fact that νυμφεῖον already has an adjective in λιθόστρωτον, is this: "To the girl's stone-floored bridal-chamber, Hades' (? substantive in app. to νυμφεῖον), we were approaching." If Sophocles wrote κοῖλον he (1) added a superfluous and more than flat epithet to a substantive already well supplied, and (2) gave such epithet a harsh and disturbing position. Either λιθόστρωτον κόρης νυμφεῖον Ἰδου, or (setting aside the metre) κοῖλον κόρης νυμφεῖον Ἰδου, would be all very well; and it is precisely such expressions that the parallel passages support—were there need of supporting them: but not the expression in our texts. Of course, one would not expect of Sophocles that he use κοῖλον as a substantive here; but why not (a natural supposition) regard κοῖλον as a gloss which has supplanted the right word? That right word seems to be either κεῦθος (which may be supported by v. 818 ἐς τόδ' ἀπέρχει κεῦθος νεκύων), or γύαλον (which may be supported, perhaps better, by the scholion of L on Philoctet. 1081: γύαλον δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ κεῦθος· κυρίως δὲ γύαλα τὰ κοῖλα λέγεται). I would therefore read:

νυμφεῖον, Ἰδου (κεῦθος  
 γύαλον), εἰσεβαίνομεν.

MORTIMER LAMSON EARLE.

## REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

**Kleinere Schriften von THEODOR BENFEY.** Ausgewählt und herausgegeben von ADALBERT BEZZENBERGER. Zweiter Band. Dritte und vierte Abteilung. Mit Registern zu beiden Bänden von Dr. Georg Meyer und einem Verzeichniss der Schriften Benfey's. Berlin, H. Reuther, 1892. 237 u. 156 SS.

Mit dem vorliegenden Bande kommt die Sammlung der kleineren Schriften Benfey's, deren ersten Band wir in dieser Zeitschrift, Bd. XI, S. 488 ff., besprochen haben, zum Abschlusse. Wie der vorige Band, so behandelt auch der jetzige das unerschöpfliche Thema, welches wir als Benfey's Lebensaufgabe ansehen und mit seinen eigenen Worten etwa als "Orient und Occident, insbesondere in ihren gegenseitigen Beziehungen" bezeichnen dürfen. Aber während die erste Abteilung mehr die inneren Beziehungen des Orientes zunächst für sich behandelte und die zweite dem Zusammenhange zwischen Morgenland und Abendland ausschliesslich auf dem Gebiete der Sprache nachging, führen uns die beiden vorliegenden Abteilungen—insbesondere die dritte—recht eigentlich in die culturhistorischen und literarischen Beziehungen zwischen Orient und Occident ein. Sie bringen dabei auch eine grössere Zahl von Aufsätzen, die von vorn herein für einen weiteren Leserkreis geschrieben wurden, und dürfen daher auch ausserhalb der Fachgenossen im Sanskrit und der vergleichenden Sprachwissenschaft auf Interesse rechnen.

Die dritte Abteilung bildet ein Seitenstück zu den Untersuchungen, welchen die Einleitung und die Anmerkungen zu Benfey's Uebersetzung des *Pantschantantra* (Leipz. 1859, 2 Bde.) gewidmet sind. Gleich in dem ersten Stücke, einer Anzeige des Anfanges von Brockhaus' Ausgabe der grossen Märchensammlung des Somadeva (der *Kathā-sarit-sāgara*) aus dem J. 1839 trifft man auf den Satz, dass "die indischen Märchensammlungen die Quelle fast aller orientalischen und eines grossen Theiles der occidentalischen zu sein scheinen." Benfey war nicht der erste, der auf den Zusammenhang der indischen Märchen mit den abendländischen aufmerksam machte. Die Aehnlichkeit beider ist so augenfällig, dass sie, sobald man überhaupt mit der indischen Literatur bekannt wurde, nicht lange verborgen bleiben konnte. So leitet z. B. schon im J. 1807 J. Görres (*Die deutschen Volksbücher*, S. 154 f.) das Buch von den sieben weisen Meistern aus Indien her. Die Untersuchung des gegenseitigen Verhältnisses der orientalischen und occidentalischen Uebertragungen förderte dann besonders Silvestre de Sacy in dem *Mémoire historique* vor seiner Ausgabe des *Calila et Dimna* (Paris, 1816) und in den *Notices et Extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, vol. IX u. X. Adelb. v. Keller machte im J. 1836 in der ausführlichen Einleitung zu seiner Ausgabe des *Romans des sept sages* den Versuch, die Erzählungen von den sieben weisen Meistern in ihrer allmählichen Verbreitung und Umwandlung vom Indischen her durch

das Persische, Arabische, Türkische, Hebräische, Syrische, Griechische, Lateinische u. s. w. zu verfolgen. Und noch mehre andre Werke liessen sich in diesem Zusammenhange nennen. Aber trotzdem ist immer anerkannt, dass Benfey's Einleitung zum *Pantschatantra* eine neue Aera in diesen Untersuchungen eröffnet hat, und die Bedeutung der indischen Märchensammlungen für das historische Verständnis occidentalischer Märchen und Sagenstoffe wird erst seit seinem Werke voll und allgemein gewürdigt. Man muss, um dies zu verstehen, folgendes in Betracht ziehen. Gemeinsame Eigentümlichkeiten und Anschauungen bei verschiedenen Völkern lassen an und für sich drei verschiedene Erklärungen zu. Sie können auf allgemein menschlicher Anlage, auf Urverwantschaft oder auf Entlehnung beruhen. Im ersten Falle sind sie von einander unabhängig; im zweiten stehen sie in einem historischen Zusammenhange, aber nicht so, dass die eine Fassung unmittelbar aus der andren herzuleiten wäre; im dritten Falle ist der historische Zusammenhang der Art, dass die eine Fassung direct auf die andre zurückgeht. Wo z. B. ein deutsches Märchen mit einem indischen, eine deutsche Tierfabel mit einer griechischen übereinstimmt, da kann—wenn wir die Sache im allgemeinen ansehen—ein rein zufälliges Zusammentreffen vorliegen, oder ein Zug gewahrt sein der ursprünglich allen arischen Völkern gemeinsam war, oder es kann nachträgliche Entlehnung stattgefunden haben. Auf Grund allgemeiner Principien lässt sich eine Entscheidung zwischen diesen drei Wegen nicht treffen. Principiell ist es nicht nur möglich, in einem Falle den ersten oder zweiten, in einem andern Falle den dritten Weg einzuschlagen, sondern es lässt sich auch denken, dass für ein und dieselbe Erzählung in ihrem Verhältnisse zu einer ähnlichen Erzählung bei einem andern Volke alle drei Erklärungsweisen neben einander in Betracht kommen. Bevor Benfey's *Pantschatantra* erschien, war es üblich, viele Züge der europäischen Fabeln und Märchen, die nach unsrer heutigen Anschauung auf Entlehnung beruhen, als Nachklänge der arischen Vorzeit zu deuten oder als selbstständigen Erwerb anzusehen, der bei andren Völkern eine rein äusserliche Parallele finde. Dies gilt z. B. von den Anmerkungen der Brüder Grimm zu den *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* und von Jacob Grimm's Einleitung zum *Reinhart Fuchs*. Der Fortschritt, welchen Benfey diesem Standpunkte gegenüber erzielt hat, beruht in erster Linie auf seiner überlegenen historischen Methode, die ihrerseits wieder durch erweiterte Kenntnis historischer Tatsachen, namentlich—aber nicht allein—auf dem Gebiete der Literatur und Cultur des Orientes bedingt ist. Es entspricht der Kindheit einer Wissenschaft—und die wissenschaftliche Untersuchung der Märchen und Tiersage beginnt ja erst mit den Brüdern Grimm—dass als Tatsache neben einander gestellt und als principiell gleichberechtigt verglichen wird, was später unter dem Gesichtspunkte eines *geschichtlichen* Causalnexus in der Art erscheint, dass die eine Tatsache von der andern abhängig ist. Sodann stand man in der ersten Hälfte unsres Jahrhunderts noch frisch unter dem Eindrücke der Erkenntnis, dass die unscheinbaren und lange unbeachteten Volksmärchen manche uralte mythologische Anschauung bewahren, sowie der erst eben nachgewiesenen Tatsache des gemeinsamen Ursprunges der Arier. Die Entstehung deutscher Märchen und Tierfabeln in die Epoche der Urverwantschaft zurückzuverlegen erschien damals weniger bedenklich als heute. Und gerade den Brüdern Grimm musste bei ihrer Neigung, für die



Ursprünglichkeit und Eigenart des deutschen Wesens einzutreten, dieser Standpunkt nahe liegen.<sup>1</sup> Die heutige Anschauung, dass die auffällige Aehnlichkeit occidentalischer Märchen und Erzählungen mit orientalischen sich fast stets aus Entlehnung, nicht aus Urverwandschaft oder zufälligem Zusammentreffen erklärt, gründet sich darauf, dass in immer wachsender Zahl sowohl die indischen Originale wie die Mittelstufen, durch welche sie sich im Morgenlande und nach dem Abenlande verbreitet haben, tatsächlich nachgewiesen sind. Und diesen Nachweis eben hat Benfey zunächst für die Märchen, welche dem Kreise des Pantschatantra angehören, geliefert. Schritt für Schritt vorwärts gehend weist er die Grundformen der Märchen wie ihre allmähliche Umgestaltung mit so grosser Belesenheit und Gründlichkeit, mit so durchdringendem Scharfsinn, mit solcher Feinheit und Kunst der Methode nach, dass jeder Zweifel an der Richtigkeit seiner Resultate schwinden muss und sein Werk als glänzendes Vorbild für derartige Untersuchungen einen unvergänglichen Wert behält.

Zu Benfey's Hauptwerke auf dem Gebiete der Märchenkunde bilden die Aufsätze, welche in der dritten Abteilung der Kleinen Schriften abgedruckt sind, eine höchst willkommene Ergänzung, um so willkommener, als die Originale bisher weit verstreut und teilweise schwer zugänglich waren.<sup>2</sup> Der bei weitem grössere Teil, nämlich die Nummern 2 bis 7 (S. 10 bis 223) stammt aus der Zeit kurz vor und während der Veröffentlichung des grösseren Werkes.

Nr. 2 ist ein Abdruck aus dem *Bulletin de la classe hist.-phil. de l'académie impériale des sciences de St.-Petersbourg*, XV, 1858, Sp. 1 ff. (= *Mélanges asiatiques*, III 170), mit dem Titel: "Nachweisung einer buddhistischen Recension und mongolischen Bearbeitung der indischen Sammlung von Erzählungen, welche unter dem Namen *Vetślapañcaviṃśati*, d. i. 'Die fünfundzwanzig Erzählungen eines Dämons,' bekannt sind. Zugleich einige Bemerkungen über das indische Original der zum Kreise der 'Sieben weisen Meister' gehörigen Schriften." Gerade auf diese Abhandlung bezieht sich B. im Pantschatantra häufig und sie bildet für seine Auffassung der Geschichte der Märchen eine der wichtigsten Stützen. Es wird in ihr zunächst der mongolische *Siddhi-kür* als eine Bearbeitung einer alten Fassung desselben Werkes erwiesen, welches im Sanskrit den Namen *Vetślapañcaviṃśati* führt. Da entscheidende Gründe dafür sprechen, dass diese alte Fassung eine buddhistische gewesen ist, so trägt dieser Nachweis dazu bei, die Hypothese B.'s zu stützen, dass die Literatur der Märchen, Fabeln und Erzählungen in Indien vorwiegend aus der buddhistischen Literatur stamme. Dies führt ihn auf die Märchen des Sindbadkreises (*Die sieben Vezier, Sandabar, Syntipas, Die sieben weisen Meister* u. s. w.), deren indisches Original verloren ist. *Sindbad* erweist sich als arabische Umgestaltung des indischen *Siddhapati*, und letzteres als Beiname des buddhistischen Heiligen *Nāgārjuna* oder *Nāgasena*, der im

<sup>1</sup> Diese ältere Auffassung der Märchen und der Tiersage vergleicht sich mit der älteren Erklärung der Runenschrift als einer uralten, von den Schriftsystemen der Griechen und Römer unabhängigen Schreibart der germanischen Stämme.

<sup>2</sup> Um die wichtigsten Beiträge Benfey's zur Märchenkunde zusammen zu benutzen braucht man jetzt zu dem Pantschatantra und dem vorliegenden Bande der Kleineren Schriften nur noch die drei Bände des *Orient und Occident* (Gött. 1860-66) und die Einleitung zu Bickell's *Kalilag u. Damnag* (Leipz. 1876) hinzu zu nehmen.

Ssiddi-kür als *Nangasuna* wiederkehrt. Damit also ist auch für die Erzählungen des Sindbadkreises buddhistischer Ursprung wahrscheinlich gemacht.

Eng mit Nr. 2 gehört Nr. 7 zusammen: eine Besprechung des mongolischen, von Galsan Gombojew ins Russische übersetzten Werkes *Ardschi-Bodschi* (aus Jahrg. 1858 der *Göttinger gelehrten Anzeigen*). Auf das Vorhandensein des Ardschi-Bodschi (der Name = sanskr. *Rāja Bhoja* 'König Bhodscha') hatte Schiefner in einer Bemerkung zu dem eben besprochenen Aufsatz B.'s (S. 37 des vorlieg. Abdruckes) hingewiesen. Schiefner hatte darin auch schon eine Umarbeitung einer indischen Sammlung von Erzählungen erkannt, welche den Namen *Vikramacarita* ('Wandel des Vikramāditya') oder *Sinhāsanaadvatrinṅga* ('die 32 Erzählungen des Thrones') führt. B. geht näher auf das Verhältnis der beiden Bearbeitungen ein. In der Einleitung seiner Besprechung teilt er mit, dass die von ihm in Nr. 2 geäußerten Ansichten von dem buddhistischen Ursprunge der indischen Märchenliteratur und von der indischen Herkunft der Sindbaderzählungen inzwischen durch neue Funde weitere Bestätigung erhalten haben.

Nr. 3 ist eine Anzeige von Eastwick's Uebersetzung des *Anvár-i-Suhaili*, der persischen Bearbeitung des arabischen *Kallila und Dimna* (aus Jahrg. 1857 der *Gött. gel. Ans.*).—Nr. 4 (aus Jahrg. 1858 derselben Zeitschr.) bespricht eine französische Uebersetzung des *Conde Lucanor* von Don Juan Manuel.—Nr. 5 u. 6 (ebd.) beschäftigen sich mit Rosen's Uebersetzung des *Tatli-námeh* oder 'Papagaienbuches,' einer türkischen Bearbeitung des gleichnamigen persischen Werkes, welches wiederum auf die sanskritische *Čukasaptati* (d. h. '70 Erzählungen eines Papagaien') sowie auf andre indische Sammlungen zurückgeht.—Gemeinsam ist allen diesen Anzeigen eine Fülle neuer Beobachtungen und Untersuchungen über die orientalischen Märchensammlungen. Denn B. benutzt hier wie sonst die Form der Recension vorzugsweise, um seine eigenen Ansichten auszusprechen. Es drängt ihn, den Gewinn festzustellen, welcher der vergleichend-historischen Märchenkunde aus den neuen Arbeiten erwächst, den neuen Ergebnissen ihren Platz in dem gesammten geschichtlichen Systeme der Märchenliteratur anzuweisen, bei dieser Gelegenheit weitere Combinationen zur Ausfüllung der noch bleibenden Lücken vorzubringen, auch etwa über die Fortschritte zu berichten, welche kürzlich von ihm oder anderen auf diesem Gebiete gemacht sind oder auf Dinge hinzuweisen, die besonders dringend der Aufhellung bedürfen. Gerade diese stark ausgeprägte subjective Seite macht B.'s Recensionen besonders wertvoll: und nicht nur insofern, als sie neue, wichtige Ansichten beisteuern, sondern auch weil sie die Forschungsweise B.'s veranschaulichen, Abbilder des unermüdlichen Vorwärtstrebens und geduligen Arbeitens eines grossen Gelehrten und Vorbilder für die Anwendung der historisch-vergleichenden Methode auf ein specielles Gebiet der Literatur sind.

Während die genannten Stücke sich als Quellenuntersuchungen zur Geschichte der ältesten Märchensammlungen bezeichnen lassen, behandeln die beiden folgenden ausführlich die Geschichte je eines einzelnen Märchens; nämlich Nr. 8 (aus Jahrg. 1858 des *Auslandes*) 'Das Märchen von den Menschen mit den wunderbaren Eigenschaften,' Nr. 9 (aus Jahrg. 1859 derselben Zeitschr.) 'Die kluge Dirne. Die indischen Märchen von den klugen Räthsel-lösern und ihre Verbreitung über Asien und Europa.' Aehnlichen Untersu-

chungen ist der grössere Teil von Benfey's Einleitung zum Panchatantra gewidmet. Aber während dort die Fülle des Stoffes zu gedrängter, oft nur andeutender Behandlung nötigte, kann er hier bei jeder der verschiedenen Fassungen länger verweilen und ihr Auseinandergehen im Einzelnen näher verfolgen. Beide Aufsätze setzen ausserdem bei dem Leser weder Kenntnis des Sanskrit noch überhaupt eine gelehrte Fachbildung voraus. Sie sind in allgemein verständlicher Darstellung gehalten und daher auch besonders geeignet, allen Freunden des 'folklore' einen Einblick in die Art zu gewähren, wie B. die historisch-vergleichende Methode auf die Märchenstoffe anwendet. Gerade auf die *Methode* der Märchenforschung legt B. besonderes Gewicht. Man kann dies aus mehreren Stellen entnehmen, namentlich aber aus der Einleitung zu Nr. 9 (S. 156–63 des vorlieg. Abdruckes), die sowohl für B.'s wissenschaftliche Ziele überhaupt ("der Mensch ist seinem Hauptcharakter nach ein geschichtliches Wesen, und um seine Schöpfungen zu begreifen, gilt es vorzugsweise ihre Geschichte zu erforschen"), wie für seinen Standpunkt in der Märchenforschung von so hohem Interesse ist, dass ich mich nur schwer enthalte, sie hier vollständig mitzuteilen. Er sagt am Schlusse dieser Einleitung: "Vielleicht regt die Methode der Vergleichung, welche wesentlich darauf ausgeht die Ringe aufzusuchen, durch welche sich die zu einer Grundform gehörigen Märchen miteinander verketteten, so dass sich ihre gegenseitige Subordination herausstellt—während das bisher gebräuchliche ewige 'vergleiche, vergleiche' geeignet ist, den trügerischen Schein einer Coordination derselben hervorzurufen—auch andere Mitforscher an, denselben Weg zu betreten und so durch gemeinschaftliche Tätigkeit rascher eine allgemeinere Ueberzeugung herbeizuführen."

Der Rest dieser Abteilung enthält vier kurze Mitteilungen aus dem Anfange der siebziger Jahre. In Nr. 10 (*Augsb. allgem. Ztg.*, 1871) berichtet B., dass es Socin gelungen sei, die alte syrische, aus dem 6. Jahrh. stammende Uebersetzung des Panchatantra aufzufinden.—In Nr. 11 (*Academy*, 1872) teilt er mit, dass ihm durch Burnell eine Handschrift des Panchatantra zugegangen sei, welche die südindische Fassung und damit die älteste und wichtigste Gestalt des Werkes auf indischem Boden enthalte.—In Nr. 12 u. 13 endlich (*Nachrichten von d. Gött. Ges. d. Wiss.*, 1873 u. 1874) macht er auf eine Reihe von Steele im J. 1871 herausgegebener Ceylonischer Erzählungen und auf eine von P. Goldschmidt gefundene Jaina-Fassung des 'Märchens von der Tiersprache' aufmerksam, die seine Ansicht von der buddhistischen Herkunft der indischen Märchenliteratur aufs Neue bestätigen. Wir empfinden die Genugthuung nach, welche es B. bereiten musste, zu sehen, wie die von ihm in seiner Märchenforschung gestreuten Keime so bald aufgingen und frische Frucht trugen; wie ferner die neuen Funde seine geschichtlichen Theorien bestätigten und zeigten, dass der von ihm eingeschlagene Weg der richtige sei.

Die vierte Abteilung vereinigt eine kleine Anzahl von Anzeigen und Aufsätzen, die in den drei früheren Abteilungen keinen Platz fanden. Die Anordnung ist auch hier chronologisch.

Nr. 1, eine Besprechung von Creuzer's *Abriss der römischen Antiquitäten*, führt uns in den Beginn der literarischen Tätigkeit B.'s zurück. Sie fällt in das J. 1830, geht also der ersten Arbeit B.'s auf dem Gebiete des Sanskrit,

welche zu Anfang der ersten Abteilung mitgeteilt war, noch um drei Jahre voraus. Meinem Gefühle nach haftet gerade dieser Anzeige wieder ein besonderes Interesse an, und ich glaube, es zeugt von der Umsicht und dem richtigen Tacte des Herausgebers der Kl. Schriften, dass er die wenig beachtete und von B.'s späterem Arbeitsgebiete weit abliegende Recension wieder ans Licht gezogen hat. B. wendet sich hier gegen die rein äusserliche Behandlung der Antiquitäten, insbesondere der Staatsaltertümer, welche den Gegenstand als ein feststehendes System behandle, dabei zwischen Altem und Neuem nicht hinreichend scheide und die verschiedensten Zeiten unter einander wirre. Er dringt dem gegenüber auf geschichtliche Behandlung: man solle den Staat in seiner organischen Entwicklung verfolgen und die Antiquitäten, wie die Geschichte, als etwas Werdenendes betrachten. Und zwar gebe es zwei Methoden, durch welche ein lebendiges Bild der römischen Verfassung erweckt werden könne: "Entweder schicke man eine Geschichte der Verfassung voraus und behandle nachher die einzelnen Institute ihrer besondern Entwicklung nach für sich, oder, und diese Art scheint dem Ref. bei weitem vorzuzieh'n, man gebe so viel als möglich—und bei der römischen Verfassung kann man hier bei weitem mehr leisten, als bei irgend einer andern des Altertums—eine vollständige Geschichte, der Vf. begleite sie von ihrer ersten Form an bis zu ihrem Untergange durch alle ihre Verwandlungen, zeige, wie sie sich ausbildete, warum und wie das Neue aus dem Alten entstand, behandle den Charakter der einzelnen Institute bei ihrem Entstehn sowohl als bei ihren Aenderungen stets im Verhältnis zu dem Ganzen und führe so den römischen Staat in seiner in verschiednen Zeiten verschiednen Gestalt vor unsern Augen vorüber." (S. 6 f.) Man erkennt hier dieselbe Geistesrichtung wie in B.'s Arbeiten auf den Gebieten der indischen Philologie, der Sprachwissenschaft, der Märchenkunde. Er bewährt sich überall als echter Historiker, den in erster Linie nicht die 'Principien' sondern die Veränderungen interessieren: und zwar so, dass Altes und Neues nicht nur der Zeit nach geschieden wird, sondern auch der Weg dargestellt wird, auf welchem das Neue sich ausbildete und die Gründe hervortreten, welche zu diese Ausbildung führten.

Unter Nr. 2 ist eine Anzeige aus den *Jahrb. f. Philol. u. Päd.*, 1837, wiederholt, in welcher B. Wagenfeld's Ausgabe der angeblich neu aufgefundenen Uebersetzung von *Sanchuniathon's Urgeschichte der Phoenizier* als eine literarische Fälschung erweist.

Nr. 3 (aus den *Gött. gel. Anz.*, 1838) beschäftigt sich mit den *Hieroglyphica* des Horapollo und Leemans' Ausgabe des Werkes.

Nr. 4 (ebd. 1839) bespricht eine kleine Schrift von H. Harkness, *Ancient and Modern Alphabets of the Popular Hindu Languages of the Southern Peninsula of India*. B. nimmt hier Gelegenheit, darauf hinzuweisen, dass der Titel 'Satrap' (σατράπης, ἑσατράπης) auf einer indischen Inschrift in der Form *kshatrāpa* vorkomme und gibt im Anschlusse daran die richtige Etymologie der persisch-griechischen Benennung. Diese Deutung lag damals nicht so nahe, wie jetzt, denn die altpersische Form *khshathra-pāva* auf der Inschrift von Behistān war im J. 1839 noch unbekannt.

Nr. 5, 'Einige Bemerkungen über die Götternamen auf den indoscythischen Münzen' (aus der *Zeitschr. d. dt. morgenl. Ges.*, Bd. 8) knüpft an Lassen's Arbeiten über diesen Gegenstand an. Der Aufsatz ist nicht nur wegen der

scharfsinnigen Deutungen der Götternamen bemerkenswert, sondern auch wegen einer Reihe grammatischer Bemerkungen, die nebenbei abfallen. So hebt B. (S. 32) hervor, dass im Avesta urspr. *eret* oder *rt* nicht selten zu *sk* geworden sei, z. B. in *amesha*, *mashya*, *asha*. Dieser Lautwandel ist wol jetzt allgemein anerkannt, aber man hat sich merkwürdig lange gegen seine Zulassung gesträubt. Noch 23 Jahre später (*The Chronicle*, 1867, p. 731 = Kl. Schr. IV 67) musste B. sagen: "Although this identification is suggested by such simple etymological explanations as *amesha*, Sanscrit *amarta* (Rgv. V 33, 6), and removed almost beyond doubt by such reflexes as *Arda behešt* = *Asha vahista*, Justi never pays any attention to it."

Nr. 6, eine Besprechung der *Vorschule der Völkerkunde und der Bildungsgeschichte* von L. Diefenbach (aus den *Gött. gel. Anz.*, 1865) gehört zu den Stücken dieser Sammlung, welche über das Gebiet der orientalischen Philologie und der Sprachwissenschaft hinausgreifen und nicht weniger auf allgemeines Interesse rechnen dürfen, als die in der dritten Abteilung vereinigten Beiträge zur Märchenforschung. Eine Fülle geistvoller und origineller Bemerkungen über Aufgabe und Stellung der Völkerkunde, über das Verhältnis des Individuums zu seiner Nation und der verschiedenen Nationen zu einander u. ähnliches ist hier ausgestreut, die auch heute noch, wo sie nach einem Vierteljahrhundert zum zweiten Male ans Licht treten, für den bei weitem grösseren Teil der Leser den Reiz der Neuheit haben werden. Als Probe will ich hier den Eingang der Stelle hersetzen, an welcher sich B. über die Verschiedenheit der wissenschaftlichen Forschung und Darstellung in Deutschland, England und Frankreich ausspricht (S. 58). "Man kann, ohne zu viel zu sagen, behaupten, dass die Betreibung der Wissenschaft bloss um ihrer selbst willen im grossen Ganzen entschieden eine Eigentümlichkeit der Deutschen ist, dass in England auch auf diesem Gebiet das Nützlichkeitsprincip wenigstens wesentlich vorherrscht, in Frankreich dagegen das Streben nach Genuss—natürlich einem geistigen—, dem niemand, eben so wenig wie dem Nützlichkeitsprincip, eine schöne wenn gleich einseitige Berechtigung absprechen wird. Aus dieser Differenz des wissenschaftlichen Triebes folgt sogleich eine sehr wesentliche Verschiedenheit in der wissenschaftlichen Richtung. Dem Deutschen genügt es, den Gegenstand seiner wissenschaftlichen Tätigkeit herausgestellt zu haben, der Engländer ist nicht eher befriedigt, als bis er ihn brauchbar gemacht hat, der Franzose will ihn gefällig, geniessbar; will man es bildlich ausdrücken, so kann man sagen, der Deutsche holt das Metall aus den Schachten, der Engländer münzt es aus, der Franzose verarbeitet es zu Werken des Schmucks und des Zierrats. So scheidet sich denn auch nach diesen Principien die Darstellung. Der Deutsche lässt den Gegenstand sich selbst aussprechen, er wagt es nicht, irgend einem seiner Elemente eine hervorragendere Stellung einzuräumen, als er durch sich selbst zu beanspruchen vermag, der Engländer hebt die Seiten besonders hervor, von welchen aus er ihm von besonderem Nutzen zu sein scheint, der Franzose die, durch welche er zu dem höchsten geistigen Genuss verarbeitet werden kann."

In der unter Nr. 7 mitgeteilten Besprechung von Haug's Ausgabe des *Zend-Pahlavi Glossary* (aus dem *Chronicle*, 1867) spricht sich B. über seine Stellung in der Streitfrage nach dem Werte der Tradition für die Erklärung des Avesta aus.

Nr. 8 (aus den *Gött. gel. Anz.*, 1869) beschäftigt sich mit Aubaret's *Grammaire de la langue annamite*. Besonders hervorzuheben ist die Erörterung über die Bedeutung der Stimmmodulationen in den einsilbigen Sprachen am Schlusse der Anzeige. Einsilbigkeit und Stimmmodulation stehen nach B. "in einer Art von Compensationsverhältnis, wie wir es bei genauerer Betrachtung der Sprachen in diesen organischen Gebilden des Menscheingeistes eben so sehr zu erkennen vermögen, wie es von Goethe, Geoffroy St. Hilaire, Darwin und andren in den Naturgebilden nachgewiesen ist."—Im Zusammenhange mit Nr. 8 sei Nr. 10 erwähnt: "Skizze einer Abhandlung: Ueber Augensprache, Minenspiel, Gebärde und Stimmmodulation" (aus den *Nachr. d. Gött. Ges. d. Wiss.*, 1873). B. ist der Meinung, dass diese "Accessorien und selbst Stellvertreter der articulierten Rede" eine grössere Bedeutung haben als man ihnen gewöhnlich beimisst und empfiehlt sie der Aufmerksamkeit der Reisenden und der Grammatiker.

Nr. 9 (aus den *Gött. gel. Anz.*, 1870) ist der Besprechung einer neuen Auflage des Elliot'schen Werkes *Memoirs on the history, folklore and distribution of the races in the N. W. Provinces of India* gewidmet. Die Anzeige enthält u. a. einen reichhaltigen Nachtrag von Vergleichen heutiger indischer Wörter mit sanskritischen.

Nr. 11 endlich (aus d. *Gött. gel. Anz.*, 1875) ist eine kurze Untersuchung über die Benennung des Hopfens. Sie knüpft an die Schrift des Freiherrn v. M(edem), *Der Hopfen. Seine Herkunft und Benennung* an. Aber es ist von ihr nur in den ersten Zeilen des ersten Absatzes die Rede, und B. trägt dann eingehend seine eigene Ansicht vor. Er will den Namen des Hopfens aus einer indogerm. Grundform *\*smaila* oder *\*smaira* herleiten, die zu der Wz. *smi* 'lachen, lächeln' gehöre. Es entspreche ihr im Sanskrit das Adjectiv *smera* 'aufgeblüht, blühend,' in den europäischen Sprachen eine Grundform *\*smeila*, die in griech. *σμῖλο-* = slav. *chmĕlŭ* vorliege. Fick hat diese Etymologie in die neue Auflage seines Vergl. Wörterbuches nicht aufgenommen und, wie ich glaube, mit Recht, denn es lässt sich gegen die Aufstellung B.'s mehr als ein Einwand erheben. Zunächst ist *smera* im Sanskrit nicht als Beiwort des Hopfens nachgewiesen. B. behauptet auch nur, es sei nicht unwahrscheinlich, dass es im Sanskrit ein Rankengewächs habe bezeichnen können. Aber von da bis zu der Annahme, *\*smaira* sei in der Ursprache (als Substantiv) der eigentliche Name des Hopfens gewesen, ist doch ein sehr weiter Schritt. Sodann bezeichnet *σμῖλας* im Griechischen nicht den Hopfen sondern den Taxus- oder Eibenbaum und ein Schotengewächs. Ferner stösst die Herleitung der Form *σμῖλο-* aus *\*smeila* auf lautliche Schwierigkeiten. Die Erhaltung des *σμ-* wäre auffällig, zumal die Wz. *smi* im Griechischen durch *μει-* (*μελο-μειδῆς*) vertreten ist. Ausserdem wäre die Vertretung des *ei* durch *τ* unregelmässig. Parallelen wie *σμικρός* neben *μικρός* und *ικτίνος* = sskr. *cyenahel*fen über diese Anstösse nicht hinweg. Ähnliche Bedenken stehen der Zurückführung des slav. *chmĕlŭ* auf eine Grundform *smeila* im Wege. Da anl. *sm* im Slavischen erhalten bleibt und die Wz. *smi* durch asl. *smijati se* vertreten ist, lässt sich *chmĕlŭ* schwerlich zu dieser Wz. ziehen. Für europäisches *-ei-* aber wäre slav. *i*, nicht *ĕ* zu erwarten. Man wird also sagen müssen, dass dieser Teil der Ausführungen B.'s im Sanskrit und Griechischen von Seiten der Bedeutung keine hinreichende Stütze findet und im Griechischen und

Slavischen sich mit den Tatsachen der historischen Phonetik schwerlich vereinigen lässt. Unberührt von diesen Einwänden bleibt der Rest des Aufsatzes, der sich vorzugsweise mit dem Verhältnisse der ahd. Form *hopfo* zu franz. *houblon* beschäftigt und den interessanten Nachweis führt, dass die meisten Benennungen des Hopfens in den modernen Sprachen direct oder indirect auf die slavische Form *chmĕll* zurückgehen.

Eine besonders dankenswerte Beigabe dieses Bandes bildet das Sachregister zu allen vier Abteilungen von Dr. Georg Meyer und das am Schlusse mitgeteilte, 419 Nummern umfassende Verzeichnis der Schriften Benfey's. Wenn wir in letzterem die Früchte der literarischen Tätigkeit B.'s in ihrer erstaunlichen Fülle noch einmal überblicken, so wird alsbald der Wunsch in uns rege, dass die vorliegende Sammlung uns daraus noch einiges mehr mitgeteilt hätte. Aufsätze wie z. B. die unter Nr. 139, 140, 166 des Schriftenverzeichnisses aufgeführten Beiträge zur Märchenkunde sind wahrscheinlich auch heute noch von Interesse; aber sie werden kaum in allen deutschen Universitätsbibliotheken vorhanden und ausserhalb Deutschlands so gut wie unzugänglich sein. Doch wir erinnern uns dessen, was der Herausgeber im Vorworte des ersten Bandes über die notwendige Beschränkung der Auswahl bemerkt hat. Und so wollen wir von dieser Sammlung scheiden, dankbar für das was sie uns bietet und in der Ueberzeugung, dass sie sowohl dem Andenken Benfey's wie der heutigen Wissenschaft zu Gute kommt.

HERMANN COLLITZ.

A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles. Edited by JAMES A. H. MURRAY. Part VI. Clo-Consigner. Oxford, At the Clarendon Press, 1891.

The Same. Vol. III. Part I. E-Every. By HENRY BRADLEY, Hon. M. A. Oxon. Oxford, At the Clarendon Press, 1891.

An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary, based on the manuscript collections of the late Joseph Bosworth, D. D., F. R. S. Edited and enlarged by T. NORTHCOTE TOLLER, M. A., Smith Professor of English in the Owens College, Manchester. Part IV, Section I. Sár-Swifðrian. Oxford, At the Clarendon Press, 1892.

The past year has witnessed the publication of two parts of the New English Dictionary, seeing that Mr. Henry Bradley has been enlisted as associate editor with Dr. Murray. This leads us to hope that the publication will hereafter be more rapid, and that persons now living may hope to see the completion of the work. These parts maintain the same high character that this great work has earned for itself; it easily surpasses in fullness and in historical treatment the dictionary of any language, ancient or modern, heretofore published. Comparing it, for the sake of illustration, with Webster, we find that between *Complement* and *Compliment* it contains nearly double the number of words in Webster, and while in the latter they occupy two columns, in the former they fill eighteen. The columns are of about the same width, and while in the New English Dictionary they are longer, the smaller type of Webster may counterbalance this advantage. The plan of the Dictionary has

been so often described that it is useless to notice it again. Part VI, as stated in the Prefatory Note, "contains 5215 main words, 708 special combinations requiring separate explanation, 985 subordinate words and forms: total, 6908. Of the main words 1281 (= 24½ per cent.) are marked † as obsolete, and 167 (= 3½ per cent.), || as alien or imperfectly naturalized." Vol. III, Part I, "contains 6842 main words, 1565 subordinate words, 786 special combinations explained under the main words: total, 9193. Of the 6842 main words, 1710, or 25 per cent., are marked as obsolete, and 273, or 4 per cent., as alien or imperfectly naturalized." Comparing these percentages with those given in each of the preceding parts, we shall find that this is about the average of obsolete words, so that the statement of Dr. Murray in the Preface of Vol. I, issued in 1888, as to A and B, is confirmed for other letters of the alphabet, namely, "that of the whole English vocabulary on record since the 12th century (so far as A and B show), more than three-fourths is still in current use," which general fact, says he, "furnishes striking evidence of the continuity and general identity of our language during seven centuries."

As showing that the editors have kept a sharp lookout for *new* words, we have but to turn to the revived Americanism *Combine*, which is characterized as "*U. S. colloq.*" and defined as "A combination of persons in furtherance of their own interests, commercial or political; a private combination for fraudulent ends." The three examples date from 1887 and 1888, and are taken respectively from the Boston Journal, the N. Y. Evening Post, and a U. S. Consular Report by A. Roberts. Also *Completed* is inserted as "*U. S. dial. or colloq.* = Complexioned," with examples from American works.

It is gratifying to know that Dr. Murray has decided to prepare a *List of Spurious Words* found in dictionaries, to be given at the end of the work. An illustration of the need for such a list is given in a note, and every scholar will welcome it with thanks. The first example under *Clue*, = "a ball of yarn or thread," from Pauli's Gower, Conf. II 306, is one furnished by the present writer (as this volume of Gower's *Confessio Amantis* was read by him for the Dictionary over ten years ago), and Dr. Murray remarks, "but his spelling is normalized." This is doubtless true, for the spelling as given by Pauli cannot always be relied on, and the common spelling of the word in the 14th century was *Clewe*, as is shown by the examples in the preceding Part V. *Clew* has been used in this sense from Anglo-Saxon times to the present day, and the spelling is even now *Clew* or *Clue*, but it is doubtful whether the spelling *Clue* can be substantiated before the close of the 16th century, 200 years after Gower. *Cock-sure* occupies over a column, and it is stated that "the word was originally perfectly dignified and habitually used in the most solemn connexions." It dates back to the reign of Henry VIII, examples being given from Skelton and Whittinton. Some of its senses are now obsolete, and Dr. Johnson has characterized it as "a word of contempt," but Dr. Murray says that "none of his quotations bear out this character." It is not well to let this expressive word fall into disrepute. *Cocksurenness* is not traced back farther than 1878. *Cocktail*, as a drink, is noted as "Chiefly U. S. [A slang name of which the real origin appears to be lost.]," and the earliest example given is from Washington Irving, where it is used in connection with "stonefence and sherry-cobbler." Doubtless the article itself is of U. S. origin, but



cannot some of our writers on dietetics furnish an older example? No earlier example of the University colloquialism *Coach*, both as noun and verb, is given than from the works of Clough and Thackeray, 1848 and 1849, but its use must be much earlier. Bristed, in his "Five Years in an English University," written in the summer of 1851, uses the word without any note of its newness, and his book refers to a University career that began in 1840. It is important in our great Dictionary to ascertain the very earliest use of each word that can be substantiated, for this is a work that should not need to be done over again.

The number of Romance, Latin and Greek words in this part greatly exceeds the number of native words, due to the numerous words beginning with different forms of the Latin *cum*, *Co-*, *Com-*, *Con-*, and others with assimilated *m*. This is true also of Vol. III, Part I, in which many words begin with different forms of the Latin *ex* or the Greek *ἐκ*. In respect to these words it is interesting to note the importance of Gower as an authority for the earliest usage. Take, for example, the word *Eclipse*, the earliest instance of which we find in Gower, Conf. II 153, "The sonne and mone eclipsen both." So for *Embroidery*, Gower, Conf. II 41, "Of weving or of embrouderie." (Here 41 is misprinted 11, doubtless due to the copyist, for in noting the examples from the first half of volume II, I appended the line as well as the page, and here the line (11) is misprinted for the page (41).) The next example of the word in the sense of the art is taken from Addison, a long interval. Also, for *Encloy*, now obsolete, the earliest example is from Gower, Conf. II 47, "And halted, as he were encloied." One of Gower's words, of which an example was furnished, has been omitted, and this is the more notable as no other example of the form has been given. It is found in Conf. II 346. The Confessor has just been detailing to the Lover the story of Agamemnon and Chryseis (Criseld, as he calls her), and the Lover answers:

"My fader, your ensamplarie  
In loves cause of robberie  
I have it right well understonde."

The word *Ensamplarie* has been omitted. It is not found under *Ensample* nor under *Ensampler*, where it would properly belong, as *Ensamplaire* is cited as a 14th century form of *Ensampler*, but no example of it is given.

A reference to the position of *Even* as noun, = one's like or equal, may be made. *Even*, *sb*<sup>1</sup>, = evening, is given, but there is no *Even*, *sb*<sup>2</sup>, as in other cases of nouns spelt alike. Under the adjective *Even*, 17 b., we find "quasi-*sb*. in various uses," with the earliest example from Gower, Conf. II 240, "Of beaute sigh he never her even." It would seem that this use of *Even* deserved a more prominent position, but I readily yield my judgment to that of the editor. Gower furnishes many other examples of the early use of Romance words, but where an example can be found in Wyclif or Chaucer, it seems to have been preferred. The fourteenth century was the period when the language was so largely enriched by such words, a very important period in the history of the English vocabulary.

Among the words to which our attention is called in the Preface is *Euphuism*. *Euphuies* and its derivatives fill over a column, and it is refreshing to note that *Euphuism* is correctly explained and defined, so that the public may now learn

that it was not originally synonymous with "high-flown diction," an opinion for which our dictionaries are responsible, although it is now applied to such affectation in speech or writing. It is surprising to find both Mrs. Gaskell and George Eliot using *Euphuism* in the sense of *Euphemism*, an error of association in sounds.

Every page of this great work is full of interest and instruction, and as each part appears, it increases our obligations to the learned editors. While we should like to see more rapid publication, we should not like to see thoroughness sacrificed.

The present year has brought us the first section of Part IV of the Bosworth-Toller Anglo-Saxon Dictionary, after an interval of five years. This section comprises pages 817-960, and by comparison with Grein's Glossary it forms about one-third of Part IV, so at this rate it will be still ten years before this Dictionary will be completed. The same general criticisms may be made of this as of the preceding parts, that, while Grein's references for the poetry have naturally been used, they have been added to, and often where Grein gives simply a reference, the passage has been quoted, showing that Professor Toller has verified Grein's references; and that numerous words have been added from the prose-writers. The proper names too have been brought under one alphabet with the other words, which is an advantage. The plan of double references is still kept up, which does not seem to be an advantage, as it occupies space unnecessarily; for example, under *segn-cýning* (where Grein reads *sige-cýning*, and Professor Hunt follows him, although Grein gives *segn-MS*), the passage is quoted in full and the references are "Cd. Th. 188, 22; Exod. 172," the last of which is all-sufficient.

The additions to Grein may be seen from a brief comparison. On the first page between *sdr* and *sdrig*, besides the proper names *Saracene*, *Saracenise*, *Saracen-ware*, and *Sardinie*, no one of which is in Grein's list, we have *sdr-bót*, *sdr-eldþ*, *sdrcren*, *sdréttan*, *sdrga*, *sdrung*, all added from the prose and from glossaries. Under *sdr-benn*, the only two references given are those from Grein, the first of which is quoted in full, and both references are given doubly, e. g. "Andr. Kmb. 2479; An. 1241. Exon. Th. 163, 11; Gú. 992." The second in each case is sufficient, as in Grein, and they do not fill half the space. A better idea of the additions to Grein may be gotten by comparing the common word *sige*. In the place of Grein's *five* references, two of which have alternative readings in the MSS, and so are not used by Professor Toller, we have no less than *twenty-four* additional references, in many of which the passage is quoted in full. Grein glosses the word simply *vicloria*; Toller distributes the meanings under *success in war*, *success in conflict*, and *success in commerce*. Grein gives *thirty-five* compounds of *sige*, Toller *forty-five*, and between *sige-méte* and *sige-ríce*, successive words in Grein, we find in Toller the proper name *Sigen*, the Seine, and *sigend*, *stgere*, *sige-redf*, *sigerian*, variant of *sigorian* (neither in Grein), and *stgerian*, from *stgere*, all added from the prose and glossaries, chiefly Wright's Vocabulary. As showing that Professor Toller has been on the lookout for recent discoveries, we find under *sigorfastness* and *swiþmóðness* a reference to Anglia, XI 173, 12, "*Be sigerfestnisse and swiþmóðnisse uses Drihtnes mid ðam he ða hæþnan ofercom.*" On turning to the Anglia we note that this occurs among certain superscriptions

to Latin prayers from Cod. Reg. 2 A XX of the British Museum, in a brief article entitled "Anglo-Saxonica," contributed by F. Holthausen.

Under *swin*, in a literal sense, for the *single* reference of Grein, Riddles 41, 105, which Professor Toller has quoted with the German abbreviation "Rä.," though he gives also "Exon. Th. 428, 9," we have *eighteen* examples; but in the sense of "the image of a boar as the crest of a helmet," we have only the two well-known ones from "Béowulf," already given in Grein. For the single example of the adjective *swinen* in Grein, we find *six* in Toller.

These illustrations show the importance of Anglo-Saxon prose in the effort to secure a complete vocabulary of the language, and that it has not been neglected by Professor Toller. It is to be hoped that another period of five years will not elapse before the completion of this important work. Parts I and II were issued in 1882, Part III in 1887, and we might have expected the whole of Part IV in 1892, whereas we have but the first section, one-third of it. The labor is doubtless great and we should not complain, but the issuance of each part simply whets our appetite for more, as we now have no complete Anglo-Saxon dictionary and one is very much needed. Even after this work is completed, it will have to be worked over and a hand-dictionary published for the use of college students, somewhat after the fashion of Groschopp's Grein as Englished by Baskervill and Harrison. Whatever deficiencies may be found in Professor Toller's work by the lynx-eyed Germans, all scholars, both German and English, will be grateful to him for it, and will desire its speedy completion.

JAMES M. GARNETT.

The *Iphigenia at Aulis* of Euripides, edited, with critical and explanatory notes, by E. B. ENGLAND, M. A. London, Macmillan & Co.

This book is a noteworthy contribution to the literature of Euripides. Its critical apparatus is full and elaborate. Mr. England has himself made a collation of the Palatine MS and has compared Kirchhoff's critical notes and the collation of v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf in his *Analecta Euripidea* with the readings of the MS. In the case of the Laurentian Codex he has depended upon Vitelli's learned work. The editor's discussions of doubtful passages are always worth reading, whether they are convincing or not, and every page bears the mark of conscientious labor. His sympathies are evidently with those scholars who regard the text of the *Iphigenia Aulidensis* as more or less patchwork, and there is therefore a destructive tendency in his criticism which the conservative will think goes too far. Something like four hundred and fifty lines, or but little less, are deemed by Mr. England to have come from another hand than that of Euripides, and before the play is done the 'enterprising theatrical manager' and the 'interpolators' are invested with a quite surprising definiteness. In the pages of the Introduction devoted to the 'state of the text' Mr. England gives a concise and lucid exposition of his method in approaching his task. He discusses very skillfully the evidence external and internal which bears upon the tradition of the text, with the conclusion that vs. 49 ἐγένοντο Ἀθήα Θεστιάδῃ τρεῖς παρθέναι is, in accordance with the usual manner of Euripides, the opening line of the play, that a lacuna occurs at vs.

114 preceded by a few verses which are the work of a 'corrector,' and that the anapaestic dialogue, v. 1 ff., follows upon this lacuna. "The iambic prologue got displaced" and "vv. 110-14 were composed to patch together the iambic verses with the following anapaests." The exodus of the play, which exactly in its present form even the most conservative will hardly defend, Mr. England naturally rejects, holding it to be the work "of at least two distinct hands of very unequal skill." Certainty is of course not claimed for such conclusions, but in the case of the prologue one is inclined to question whether Mr. England's theory is sufficiently supported to warrant his changing in the text the traditional order of the anapaests and iambs. Scholars will always differ in regard to the degree of certainty which warrants such deviations from the tradition, but we could wish that the editor had not chosen to introduce a change which is so far from being proved. But this defect, if defect it is, is no serious blemish to the book and is mentioned chiefly to show what Mr. England's attitude is toward the text of the play. Disagreement with him becomes more pronounced in some other portions of the drama which are rejected. The 'interpolator' has become a very definite personality and it remains to find traces of his work in other parts of the play. Of course it is hopeless to expect that any two scholars will agree in matters of this kind. The evidence in the nature of the case cannot be convincing, and for an editor to print in small type all the passages which he holds to be spurious may be interesting—and Mr. England has made it this—but it hardly advances greatly the solution of the difficult problems which the text of I. A. offers to the student. Let us take as an example the passages in which the child Orestes is mentioned. The editor (crit. note vv. 462-67) believes with Wecklein that the baby is a "supposititious one" which was possibly introduced by "some enterprising theatrical manager." This of course involves the rejection of a good deal: vs. 418 goes, but this is in itself a bad line, and occurs in a passage which many scholars have agreed to reject; vv. 620 ff., 1119, 1241 ff., 1450 ff. follow suit, and in vs. 1165 *τόνδε* is altered to *τῶνδε* in order to avoid a reference to Orestes. We must then suppose that the 'stage manager' or his helpmate the 'interpolator,' after the baby had once been introduced, added these various references to him in different parts of the play, a hypothesis which at any rate in the case of vv. 1241 ff. and 1450 ff. does not seem very reasonable. That Euripides appreciated the pathetic touch which the infant Orestes might add to the tale of his sister's woes is well shown by I. T., vv. 230-35, 373 and 834-35. Such allusions in another play *might* suggest the introduction of the child to the 'stage manager,' but if such possibilities are to be seriously considered, where is the end? The passage which contains vv. 620 ff. (vv. 607-40) Mr. England rejects on various grounds, and other scholars too have rejected large portions of it; but, as Weil says, "*Ces critiques font beaucoup d'honneur à l'interpolateur.*" There are difficulties, of course, in these lines, and Mr. England makes the most of them, but the student who seeks to follow the development of 'realism' in Euripides will not wish to give up their essential genuineness without a struggle. The whole scene is conceived with singular simplicity, and a line like τέκνον, καθέυδεις πωλικῷ δαμεις ὄχῳ; (vs. 623) has been so totally abandoned by the *severae Musa tragoediae* that its authorship is a matter of considerable interest. There is in it the same spirit of naturalism

which invests the words of Iphigeneia, I. T., vv. 372-77, with a singular charm. That the literary quality evinced by these verses is Euripidean *κατ' ἐξοχήν* will hardly be denied, and a systematic study of its manifestation and growth in the poet's works, if indeed a growth, as I suspect, can be traced, is a worthy labor for the lover of Euripides. Cf. I. A., vv. 1223-30. Again, to take at random a second example, is it not possible that the passage vv. 1264-68, which the editor holds to be spurious, suggested the words of Iphigeneia vv. 1380-82, in spite of some difficulties which appear in these latter lines? Is it not more likely that the poet should have represented the father's words as suggesting ἀπαγαί 'Ἑλληνικαὶ to the daughter, that she might strengthen her reasons for submitting to the sacrifice, than that an interpolator should have added these doubted lines to Agamemnon's speech? The suggestion of the father's words, as Weil has intimated (cf. note ad loc.), is one thing which makes the change in the daughter natural and thus tends to disprove Aristotle's famous charge that her character is a παράδειγμα τοῦ ἀνωμάλου.

It would not be difficult to take issue with Mr. England on some minor points of his textual critique. The tendency which grows out of an attitude of strong suspicion toward the text as a whole often causes what seems a somewhat undue precipitancy in condemning single expressions as impossible. And yet his objections to readings are always instructive and his knowledge of Euripides so great that one hesitates before venturing to differ decidedly from him.

The exegetical notes of the edition are of a character to make us wish there were more of them. They are overshadowed by the critical notes and now and then (a very difficult thing to avoid) invaded by them, but their general sanity of tone in literary criticism is admirable and precisely, one might add, what was to be expected from the editor of the *Iphigenia Taurica* in the Macmillan Series. In this connection attention may well be called to Mr. England's excellent remarks in his introduction under the headings 'Dramaturgy,' 'Minor Scenes' and 'Characters.' The simplicity and directness of the discussion of these topics is eminently satisfactory, and the sympathetic treatment of the character of Iphigeneia will appeal strongly to admirers of this most delightful creation of Euripides. Aristotle's view that her character is a violation of the canon of τὸ ὁμαλὸν does not meet with the editor's approval any more than it did with that of Schiller, who greatly admired "diese Mischung von Schwäche und Stärke, von Zaghaftigkeit und Heroismus," and called it "ein wahres und reizendes Gemälde der Natur." With regard to the character of Menelaus, the view is advanced that he is "cool and crafty," and that the poet intended "his renunciation of his claims at vv. 471 ff. to be only a simulated one." This seems perhaps somewhat over-subtle, and there is a loss of dramatic effect involved in it. If we conceive the first brutality of Menelaus to have arisen from a thoughtless and hasty eagerness in the pursuit of his main object and to have given way when he realized the misery of his brother's position, we have a really dramatic situation. On the other hand, Menelaus as a crafty villain has no *raison d'être* in the play. Both Agamemnon and the chorus accept the change in him as an honest one. So far as they are concerned, deception has no point, for they are not undeceived subsequently, and the dramatic effect of Menelaus's act under this interpretation is lost. In

other words, Mr. England's conception of Menelaus would make him out a *παράδειγμα πονηρίας ἡθους μὴ ἀναγκαῖον*—to use Aristotle's remark with reference to the Menelaus of the Orestes.

A few words about the illustrations in art of the sacrifice of Iphigeneia would have been welcome. Such illustrations are now so much more accessible than they used to be that it is convenient to have references at hand. The Achilles and Ajax throwing dice, by Execias (Baumeister, fig. 744), with its suggestion of Epic influence in art, is, by the way, vividly brought to mind in the picture Euripides gives us of the heroes in camp, vv. 192 ff.

The misprints which have been noted are unimportant and scarcely worth mentioning: vs. 403, exeget. note, 'suggested' appears with one *g*; vs. 1380, *ἔάν* should be *ἐάν* and is so printed in the exegetical note; vs. 1536, crit. note, the reference should be to G. M. T. 369, not 269, since with the older punctuation the clause *μή . . . ἤκει* stands directly after a verb of fearing.

In spite of disagreement with Mr. England in regard to some parts of his work, it would be unjust not to emphasize its high character as a whole. Students of Euripides have strong reason to be grateful to him.

J. R. WHEELER.

Zur Geschichte und Kritik des Mahābhārata, von Dr. ADOLF HOLTZMANN.  
Kiel, 1892.

This is the first of three volumes dealing with the great Indian epic. The second and third volumes are to treat of the divisions of the poem and of the relation of the epic to other Sanskrit literature, while the present introductory chapters reiterate, for the most part, themes long since discussed by the author in previous essays.<sup>1</sup>

The first four chapters almost invite us to enter into a polemic, as our own views are here combated. But in this place a mere outline of opposing opinions in regard to the important subject debated—the origin of the epic—must suffice. Holtzmann inherits from his uncle and upholds with vigor the view that the ultimate teaching of the epic is at variance with its first design, that the heroes of the original have become the villains of the present version, and that, in short, the story of to-day is quite topsy-turvy. Against this interpretation we argued at length in an essay recently published (J. Am. Or. Soc., vol. XIII, 1888), holding that the epic has always had essentially the same plan and characters. Holtzmann here defends his peculiar theory anew, but with less tenacity than of old: "jedenfalls aber beweisen die Ausführungen Hopkins dass die Hypothese von der tendentiösen Umarbeitung des Gedichtes denn doch nicht so allgemein durchgedrungen ist als ich 1881 annehmen zu dürfen glaubte" (p. 13). In one point only we object to the author's very fair presentation of the difference in our views. Holtzmann combats our interpretation of the artificial knightly *morale* (as being due to priestly interference with the original views of the fierce war-dogs whose characters are depicted in the epic), and concludes with this clincher: "Ich glaube die ritterliche

<sup>1</sup> Ueber das alte Indische Epos and Ueber das Mahābhārata (Beigabe zum Programm des Grössherzoglichen Pro- und Realgymnasiums, Durlach, 1880-81; and in the Literarische Beilage der Karlsruher Zeitung, 1881, Nos. 9-12). Compare also Arjuna, 1879.

Denkweise müssen wir . . . in der ritterlichen Poesie suchen" (p. 88). This assumes the very premiss we denied. Where is the *ritterliche Poesie*? Hidden, forever lost, in the redaction of priests. If Holtzmann can prove that the present epic is *ritterliche Poesie* he makes his point. But this is just what cannot be proved. "I doubt," adds H. (loc. cit.), "whether 'chivalrous sentiment' can be claimed for Indian Brahmins"—yet of these Brahmins he says himself (p. 195) that they 'for centuries upheld in the people ethical earnestness, justness and truth to such a degree as to astonish in their time the Greeks and later the Chinese.' Very good. And one of the means employed to attain their end was to manufacture for the knights the kind of epigrammatic chivalrous sentiment taught alike in law-book and epic. We notice only one new touch in Holtzmann's argumentation in this volume, and that is the employment of analogy as argument, a dangerous weapon. To show that an epic may well be written to glorify the worsted party, he cites the Aeneid. We had imagined that Vergil wrote to praise a conqueror. To find analogy with the Indian epic Aeneas should have fought for and lost Italy as well as Troy!

With the fifth chapter begins quite a new division, and some 'old traits' in the epic are discussed—the position of women, family-right, eating of flesh, and other rather trite subjects. What is said of the gods (p. 36 ff.) is valuable if not very fresh to Holtzmann's readers. The contention in the following that there was a primitive *ur-epos* among the Aryans is neither to be admitted nor rebutted. Historical investigation and amusing speculation comprise all philological work. The question as to the characteristics of a yet undiscovered poetry and that in regard to the origin of prehistoric epics belong in the latter category.

The old discussion in regard to Buddhism in the epic is renewed with the old arguments. Holtzmann believes that the virtues of Duryodhana (one of the villains of the epic) are those of Aśoka, and hence Brahmanism turned this unfortunate into a wretch, merely to put down Buddhism the more. But finally, after all his arguments, Holtzmann admits that there are no Buddhist traces in the older part of the poem (p. 115). We abide by Muir: there is no indisputable reference to Buddhism in the epic.

We agree better with our writer when he says, in regard to the poem's authorship: "Vyāsa (reputed author of the epic) is the mark of a whole epoch . . . that in which the collected old literature was reviewed and the stamp of Brahmanism laid upon it" (p. 154).

As to the metres of the work (a debatable theme), a paragraph is inserted with three *perhaps* to the page (163): 'perhaps the choriambic verse is the older . . . perhaps the epic of the first period knew only choriambic and prose . . . perhaps it was the poet of the first, Buddhist, Mahābhārata [*perhaps* there was such a poet!] who consummated the change' (to *śloka* verse).

The author's views in regard to the origin of the poem and the 'periods' of making it are presented in as able a manner as they perhaps could be presented, yet we repeat with conviction our author's own words of a decade back: "das Studium des Mahābhārata ist noch in seiner Kindheit." We take no pleasure in theories of redactions till we have more of special investigation and a properly edited text. The 'four periods' of our author are to our mind chimerical, nor the termini at present worth discussing. But in settling the

beginning of a fourth period as late as 900-1100 A. D. (p. 194), we are certain that Holtzmann is absolutely wrong. Substantially as it now stands the Mahābhārata was completed at least half a millennium before this date.

The next volumes of this work will, we expect, be of more value to specialists and to the general reader alike, than this, which mainly repeats an old story (but *nota bene* the author's own) and treats, in our opinion, of too much in too little. What follows will doubtless be fresher and more important, and—may we hope?—better arranged.

EDWARD WASHBURN HOPKINS.

Syntaxis Aristophaneae capita selecta scripsit SERGIUS SOBOLEWSKI. Mosquae, 1891.

Professor Sobolewski, whose treatise on the Aristophanic use of the prepositions was favorably noticed in a previous volume of the Journal (XI 371), has taken up another province of Aristophanic syntax, and has made us his debtors by a treatise on the conditional, temporal and relative sentences in Aristophanes. In the first chapter he discusses the tenses of the verb and attacks the ordinary statement that the present subjunctive in the protases of the sentences under consideration denotes contemporaneous, the aor. subj. prior action. With this statement S. is dissatisfied, and naturally dissatisfied. It will not work with positive temporal sentences of limit such as *ἕως ἄν* 'until,' and often fails with the others. The truth is that durative on the one hand and complexive or ingressive on the other are the only universals, and special phases of contemporaneousness and priority are mere inferences. It is strange that at this time of day the doctrine should need the emphasis that S. has given it, but it seems that he is not simply beating the air but cudgelling refractory grammarians. Some of his examples, however, under this head are not well chosen. So Vesp. 808: *ἀμῖς—ἦν οὐρητίσσης—παρὰ σοὶ κρεμήσεται* 'The vessel will hang by you (ready to use) in case,' etc., is not a formulated conditional sentence and the apodosis is involved. In the same place (p. 3) he cites *πρὶν* as used with the subj. after an affirmative sentence, but in Eccl. 770: *οὐλάξομαι πρὶν ἂν ἰδῶ*, we must supply *καταθεῖναι* from the context and *οὐλάξομαι καταθεῖναι* = *οὐ καταθήσω*, as he himself notes further on (p. 139). Nor can it be admitted that it is an optional matter whether one says *Χέοψ πεντήκοντα ἐτη ἐβασίλευσε* or *Χ. π. ἐ. ἐβασίλευε* (p. 7). The latter form can be used only in special circumstances of interruption. Otherwise definite numbers require the aorist. See my Pindar, P. 4, 25. Under the head of conditional sentences (p. 13) S. discusses the forms *ἐάν* and *ἦν*, although the matter had already been taken up by Petri. *ἐάν*, it seems, occurs 69 times, against *ἦν* 268 times (26 : 100). The fluctuation is great, and there is no principle discernible. It is true that in the two oldest of the plays, Ach. and Eq., *ἐάν* : *ἦν* :: 5 : 6 or 83 : 100 and 11 : 14 or 78 : 100 respectively, while the proportion is lowest in the Eccl., *ἐάν* : *ἦν* :: 2 : 46 or 4 : 100; but there is no satisfactory evidence of a diminution according to juniority. In the N. *ἐάν* tumbles to 9 from the 78 of the Eq. But no statement is given as to the distribution between dialogue and chorus, and some of the figures are too small to warrant inferences. Noteworthy is the large number of the whole class of anticipatory conditions, 403. Of the future conditions (307), present and aorist are exactly



even in the protasis (152 each), three protases having both present and aorist. Of general conditions there are 76 (40 pr., 36 aor.). Of concessive sentences 16 look forward to the future (11 pr., 5 aor.), 4 are general (pr. 3, aor. 1). According to S.'s count there are 79 conditions with *ei* and the fut. ind., thus giving a slightly larger percentage than my rough count yielded in 1876. *ei* with subj. is rare and doubtful, and after a critical examination he rejects all the seven examples of this construction that occur in trimeter, viz. Eq. 698, 700 (*bis*), Pax 450, Lys. 580, 581, frg. 201. Eq. 805 is anapaestic, and here S. is inclined to leave *ei* with the subj.

As to the sharp distinction between generic and particular, first formulated by Bäumlein and made the head of the corner by Goodwin, S. does not deny its practical value from our point of view, but contends, at the same time, that the Greeks themselves were not distinctly conscious of it. To them generic and particular were alike futures.<sup>1</sup>

To the doctrine that *ἐάν* with the subj. is a greater favorite than *ei* with the future ind. on account of its greater temporal exactness, S. demurs, and notes the change of view that has prevailed of recent years as to the age of the future indic. The phenomenon on which I insisted in my first paper on the subject<sup>2</sup> (Trans. of the Am. Philol. Assoc., 1876, p. 9), that in temporal sentences, in which greater exactness is naturally expected, the subjunctive is practically the only construction, this phenomenon is admitted (*in temporalibus* [fut. ind.] *fere non usurpatur*) but not explained. According to S., who follows Gerth, the subj. is the older form, and wherever the fut. ind. has penetrated, as in the conditional and relative sentences, it has retained its original modal force, which he despatches by a simple = μέλλω c. inf. I am not dissatisfied with this aspect of the problem, only I must insist on the importance of the absence of this bifurcation in the temporal sentence. The retention of the original subjunctive in the temporal sentence, to the exclusion of the future, is assuredly significant, even if the significance be limited to the kind of time, and the notions of contemporaneousness and priority be left out.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>"For this form of the condition we want a word that will harmonize present and future. Anticipation is not expectation, though it is loosely used for expectation and may be stretched to cover it. Anticipation treats the future as if it were present."—Transactions A. P. A., 1876, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup>"The reason [of the preference of *ἐάν* with subj. to *ei* with fut. ind.] seems to be, to a considerable extent, the greater temporal exactness, the same greater temporal exactness which has wholly displaced the future indicative with the temporal particles, the same greater temporal exactness which has given so wide a sweep to the optative with *άν* as a sharper form of the future." A similar notion was advanced by Middendorf the same year and combated by Gerth, Burs. Jahresb. 1878, III 261.

<sup>3</sup>In my reply to Professor Clapp's criticism I have said (J. H. U. Circular No. 99, June, 1892, p. 104): "I should [now] explain the absence of the future indicative from the temporal sentence as exclusion rather than banishment. I should not consider *ὅταν* with the present and *ὅταν* with the aorist as a bifurcation of *ὅτε* with the future indicative, but rather as the earlier forms, in the face of which *ὅτε* with the future indicative could not find a lodgment." Gerth says: "Während der Conjunctiv durch die verhältnis-mässig junge Futurbildung aus den Hauptsätzen verdrängt wurde, war er für das Sprachgefühl mit den Nebensätzen (finalen, hypothetischen, temporalen) so innig verbunden, dass diese Consecutio Modorum durch das Futurum nicht durchbrochen werden konnte. Die Ausnahmefälle, wie das oben erwähnte *ei* c. Ind. Fut., sind so eigenthümlich geartet, dass sie nur geeignet sind, jene Auffassung zu bestätigen."

In the detailed discussion of the subj. conditional sentences many interesting points come up, but it is impossible to follow the treatment point by point. Interesting is the steadiness of the potential condition,<sup>1</sup> *εἰ* w. opt. followed by opt. with *ἄν*, to which Ar. offers only three exceptions out of the fifty-nine. The predominance of the aor. opt. over the present is in marked contrast to the behavior of the subjunctive, and seems to follow the opt. in the wish, where attainment is naturally more common than process.

"The formula of the unreal condition," I said long ago, "is in my judgment too narrow, and the opposition should be represented as opposition to continuance, attainment and completion, and not to past and present simply" (Trans. A. P. A., l. c., p. 8). To say that the imperfect is regularly opposed to the present and the aorist to the past, and to relegate the other phenomena to a remark, is, to put it mildly, an unscientific proceeding that, like most unscientific proceedings, is sure to bring more trouble than it saves. In 33 unreal conditions into which the imperfect ind. enters, either in apodosis or protasis or both, no less than ten, according to Professor Sobolewski's count, denote opposition to the past. Rarer are the examples in which the aor. with *ἄν* is opposed to complexive action in the present, and yet in a number of passages reference to the past would be exceedingly unnatural, not to say impossible; and Professor Sobolewski goes so far as to make the aor. with *ἄν* an unreal of the future. Strictly speaking, there can be no unreal of the future, for the true future cannot be bound, and whatever is settled must be considered past. "If he had lived until next Christmas, he would have been twenty years old" is not an unreal of the future. The proposition has no future. But as the Greeks use the aor. in anticipation of the future, there is some justification for taking this view, especially when one considers how slight the bounds are that divide the aoristic present from the future. But of the passages which have been adduced for this exceptional use of the aor. ind. and *ἄν*, not a few are uncertain.

As to the significance of *εἰ* w. fut. ind.,<sup>2</sup> Professor Sobolewski accepts my view as a whole, but calls attention to the fact that most of the minatory *εἰ*'s w. fut. ind. are found in the second person, while *ἐάν* predominates in the third. This only means that a threat is more natural and more effective when the person threatened is present. The milder *ἐάν* can, of course, always be used in consonance with Greek moderation, but I have elsewhere called attention to the fact that in the examples cited by Professor Sobolewski (p. 104) for an equivalency between *ἐάν* with the subj. and *εἰ* with fut. ind., the metre may have decided in favor of the milder forms.<sup>3</sup> One little correction may be

<sup>1</sup> "It [i. e. the ideal condition] is one of the commonest and steadiest forms, equivalents being less freely employed for the optative with *ἄν*."—Justin Martyr, Apol. I 3, 5. See also A. J. P. III 444.

<sup>2</sup> In a Jena dissertation of the year 1890 (Commentationes Jenenses, IV 266) Gentsch discusses the difference between *εἰ* w. fut. ind. and *ἐάν* with subj. It is not worth while to quote the so-called conclusion which he reaches, especially in view of the fact that every example of the 64 *εἰ*'s with fut. ind. which he cites from Lysias falls under the categories that I have so often repeated.

<sup>3</sup> Johns Hopkins U. C., l. c., p. 103. The passages cited are not all minatory, and six of the seven are kept in place by the metre. N. 933: *ἢν ἐπιβάλλης*. Th. 223: *ἢν μὴ σιωπῆς*. E. 962: *ἐάν τούτῳ πιθῇ*. Ec. 468: *ἢν—μὴ δυνώμεθα* (not minatory). R. 339: *ἢν—λάβῃς* (not minatory). N. 1009: *ἢν ταῦτα ποιῇς* (not minatory). He might have cited 1015: *ἢν δ' ἄπερ οἱ νῦν ἐπιτηδεύῃς*, where both sense and metre would have allowed *εἰ—ἐπιτηδεύσεις*. The remaining example—Ec. 247: *ἢν—κατεργάσῃ*—is not minatory.

made here. Professor Sobolewski is mistaken when he says that Ar. does not use *εἰ* with fut. and *ἥν* with subj. in contrasted passages, for one of my most cogent illustrations (l. c., 11) was taken from the Nubes 586, 591.

But enough of detail criticism. No student of Greek syntax, no student of Aristophanes, can read Professor Sobolewski's work without interest and profit. It is no mere collection of dry statistics, but a series of critical studies, which are suggestive and instructive even where they provoke dissent, as they must do here and there. Even in going over ground that has been carefully worked over, Professor Sobolewski has been able to make useful corrections. Both Prause and Sturm assign only 50 *πρὶν*'s with inf. to Aristophanes, Sobolewski (p. 155) counts 57.

B. L. GILDERSLEEVE.

## REPORTS.

NEUE JAHRBÜCHER FÜR PHILOGIE UND PAEDAGOGIK, 1891, Heft 1-6.<sup>1</sup>

### Fascicle 1.

1. Pp. 1-6. Fr. Blass discusses a new epigram from Crete, published by Halbherr (in Mus. Ital. III 559 ff.). The epigram is from a temple of the mother of the gods and contains instructions for the worshippers. New dialect forms: *à propos* of the form *εὐγλώθιοι* (for which he would read *εὐγλώθοι*), we have a discussion of Cretic  $\vartheta$  and  $\vartheta\vartheta$ .

2. Pp. 6-8. E. Kurtz gives critical and exegetical observations on nine proverbial phrases in Michael Apostolios.

3. Pp. 9-52. H. Blümner treats of the metaphor in Herodotus, as a preliminary study to a general treatment of the metaphor in Greek. [Cf. H. Blümner, Studien zur Geschichte der Metapher im Griechischen. Erstes Heft: Über Gleichniss und Metapher in der attischen Komödie. Leipzig, 1891.] Classification of metaphors of Herod., according to categories of a general and special character. As result of the investigation it appears that Herod., particularly in the speeches, made use of poetical metaphors, especially Homeric, somewhat more extensively than later prose-writers, and very much more freely than Thucydides.

4. Pp. 53-65. F. Rühl, by the rediscovery of a MS of Courier (cod. Vat. Graecus 989), is enabled to establish for the first time a reliable MS foundation for the text of the Hipparchicus of Xen. (The MS contains also the Cynegeticus and the *περὶ ἱππικῆς*.) V(aticanus) forms a class by itself as against the other MSS. In estimating the value of the readings of the common MSS, in each instance those deserve preference which agree with V. Between these two classes no certain criterion seems ascertainable, and hence an eclectic use of their readings must be made.

5. Pp. 65-66. Adolf Faust explains *avis* in Julius Obsequens 27 [86] *Romae bubo et alia avis ignota visa* (134 B. C.) as meaning 'a star,' comparing Ennius ap. Cic. de Div. I 107, and identifies the phenomenon with the report of Chinese astronomical sources of the appearance of a new star in the year 134 B. C.

6. Pp. 67-80. L. Mendelssohn, *Analecta Tulliana*. Critical discussion of 28 places in the first 8 books of Cic. ad Fam.

### Fascicle 2.

7. Pp. 81-102. Otto Rossbach (Kiel), under the title 'Epica,' makes critical and exegetical observations on fragments of the cyclic poets, passages of the Homeric hymns, etc.

<sup>1</sup> See A. J. P. XIII, 111.

8. Pp. 102-106. O. Crusius shows that the change of the Homeric *θεῶν ἐν γούνασι κείραι* into *θεῶν ἐν γ' οὐνασι κείραι* proposed by F. Weck (cf. *Am. Jour. of Phil.* XIII, p. 115) is untenable. The phrase belongs to the proverbial sayings in Homer, and is supported by the *ἐν πέντε κριτῶν γούνασι* of Epicharmus (cf. Zenobius 264, p. 72, and the interpretation there given). The form *οὐνασι* cannot be attested or justified, *γε* gives no meaning, while the meaning given to the whole phrase by Weck does not suit any of the places in Homer.

9. Pp. 107-14. H. von Kleist examines the exceptions found in Thucydides to the rule that the partitive genitive is not found in attributive position, and reaches the conclusion that all of the supposed exceptions admit of explanation as attributive. The examples in Herodotus cannot thus be explained away, but they are all genitives of personal pronouns.

10. Pp. 114-19. E. Weissenborn calls into question Zeller's (*Phil. der Gr.* II<sup>2</sup>, p. 74) use of Xen. *Mem.* III 11 ff., to prove that the motive of Socrates' activity was not ethical but only 'das Interesse des Wissens.' A careful examination of the argument of this passage reveals that §13 and §14 are the only ones which support Zeller's view, and these are, both in language and in thought, inconsistent with the preceding, and not necessary to the continuity of the argument. He therefore considers them interpolated.

11. P. 119. E. Dittich transposes vss. 1446-50 of Lycophron's *Alexandra*, placing them after 1434. He also (12. P. 120) gives a conjectural restoration of a corrupt fragment (3 Stoll) of Antimachus.

13. Pp. 121-30. O. E. Schmid reviews the question of Cicero's conduct at the breaking out of the civil war, and shows that the charges of unfaithful performance of the duty assigned him by the senate depend upon incorrect and prejudiced interpretation of the letters referring to these events. That Cicero, while cherishing perhaps a warmer personal feeling for Pompey, was throughout the whole period a consistent advocate of reconciliation between the two leaders, preferring the *duumvirate* which had already existed to the aristocratic tyrannis of Pompey on the one hand, or to the military dictatorship of Caesar on the other. This policy of compromise was, under the circumstances, thoroughly reasonable.

14. Pp. 130-32. E. Körner places the emancipation of Cicero's slave Tiro in the year 53 B. C. (April). The question hinges on the date of *ad Fam.* XVI 16 (Q. M. Fratri).

15. Pp. 133-36. M. Kiderlin, on the seventh book of Quintilian. Conjectures and critical observations on 9 passages.

16. Pp. 137-38. F. Schröder, on Catullus 116, and (17) on Tacitus, *Annals* II 48.

18. Pp. 139-44. H. Probst. Conjectures and critical observations on 21 passages of the *Histories* of Tacitus.

19. P. 144. J. H. Schmalz shows that not only in legal language but even in Cicero *multi* = *complots*, citing *ad Fam.* II 4, 1, where the total number comprised in *multa* is three.

## Fascicle 3.

20. Pp. 145-59. H. Welzhofer, on the history of the Persian wars. I. A conspicuous example of the early exaggeration of tradition and historical accounts of the wars is the statement of Herodotus, which has since prevailed, that the expedition of Mardonius was directed against Greece. The true object of the expedition was the suppression of the Ionian revolt, and after that the subjugation of the regions of Thrace and Macedonia. The loss of the fleet off Mt. Athos was only an incident of the expedition and greatly exaggerated, as his return to Asia with his army indicates that the object of the campaign had been attained.—II. Of similar character is the report of the great preparations of Darius and Xerxes for the expedition against Athens and Greece. The fierce hatred of the Greeks by the Persians which Hdt. reports is very doubtful, and the expedition seems to have been urged by Mardonius for the sake of acquiring new territory rather than to wreak vengeance on Athens. The canal across the peninsula of Athos was for trading purposes.

21. Pp. 159-64. H. Mayer. Description and collation of an unimportant Engl. MS of Thucydides, now in Berlin (MS Ham. 634 folio sacc. XVI). Belongs to class III and shows closest relationship with Gr(aevianus).

22. P. 164. R. Peppmüller in Il. § 48 conjectures *γαστρί* for *δαίρι*.

23. Pp. 165-67. K. Tümpel shows that the *Τελχίνες* were an Arcadian people, not Rhodian *αὐτόχθονες*, as has been maintained. Their connection with Rhodes is due to early Doric migrations.

24. Pp. 167-68. R. Meister maintains that *Ναόλοχον* in Le Bas-Waddington, III 186 = CIG 2907 is not the designation of an otherwise unknown hero, but the name of the harbor of Priene, in the vicinity of which the pedestal bearing the inscription was found. Cf. Plin., Hist. Nat. V 29, 113.

25. Pp. 169-76. Ch. Cron, in Plato's Euthyphron 15 E, defends *καί* before *τῆς πρὸς κτλ.* and *δτι* at the end.

26. P. 176. K. J. Liebholt, in Herodotus III 19, reads <συν> *εστρατεύον το.*

27. Pp. 177-84. K. H. Keck reviews Demosthenes Rede vom Kranze für den Schulgebrauch erklärt von Fr. Blass. Leipzig, 1890. The commentary is a model of clearness and thoroughness. Exception is taken to the editor's application of his well-known principles of prose rhythm and avoidance of hiatus to the formation of the text. The review contains an interesting communication from Prof. Blass to the reviewer on these two points. An original feature of the edition is the employment of commas to indicate the rhythmical *κῶλα*. Critical discussion of 22 passages.

28. Pp. 185-92. J. Sommerbrodt. Critical discussion of 10 places in the 'Ἀλκις of Lucian. Polemic against E. Schwartz. P. 188 S. expresses his conviction that for the restoration of the text of Lucian more is to be hoped for from conjectural emendation than from hitherto unused MSS.

29. P. 192. M. Cl. Gertz proposes 'Ἀχερδούσιος in Arist. 'Αθην. πολ. 38, p. 99.

30. Pp. 193-97. M. C. P. Schmidt, Kleine Beobachtungen zum lat. Sprachgebrauch. Continuation. 11. *vitare ne*. 12. *defendo* with acc. and inf., and

with *ut* (*ne*). 13. *addere, adicere, adiungere* used as *verba dicendi*. 14. *servare* and *observare* followed by *ut* (*ne*). 15. *Usque eo ut* not only in Terence (Schmalz), but also in Cicero and later writers. 16. *inquam* with dat.

31. P. 198. P. Loewe. Critical discussion of Ovid, Met. V 546.

32. Pp. 199-208. J. Lange. Critical treatment of 13 passages of Caes. B. G. F. Weck, p. 209, B. G. VI 10, 5.

33. Pp. 209-14. K. Hachtmann discusses the passage of Tacitus' *Germania* (2 ad fin.) on the origin of the name *Germani*. He defends J. Grimm's conj. *a victo*, MSS *a victore*.

34. Pp. 215-24. J. H. Schmalz reviews Rom's *Juristen nach ihrer Sprache dargestellt* von W. Kolb. Leipzig, 1890. The book is a worthy contribution to the subject of historical syntax, though not without errors and statements which need to be more sharply defined. Further discussion of points raised by Kolb.

#### Fascicle 4.

35. Pp. 225-59. S. Brandt, under the title 'Lactantius and Lucretius,' shows that Lactantius made occasional use of Lucretius' language to lend color and vivacity to his own style, and that he sometimes refers to expressions of his with approbation and praise. But in the majority of cases he takes issue sharply with the views of Lucr., who is for him a name synonymous with Epicureanism. This hostility is quite as much due to Lactantius' earlier devotion to Stoicism as to the fact that he is a Christian. His works, therefore, form a sort of Anti-Lucretius, in which his opponent's views are ridiculed and criticised, for the most part unjustly, sophistically and without a clear comprehension of their meaning. In the second part of the article Brandt points out that Lactantius would certainly have made use of the report of Lucretius' insanity, if it had been known to him, to urge the absurdity of the Epicurean philosophy. He concludes, therefore, not that the story is an invention and addition of Jerome, but that Suet. de vir. ill., Jerome's source, was not known to Arnobius or Lactantius, and hence not known in Africa in general, while Suet. here must have followed an isolated tradition, possibly based on Lucr. III 826. The conclusion of the very interesting article is an excursus on Lact. de opif. dei 8, 9 ff.

(29). Pp. 259-62. F. Poland and Fr. Hultsch. Critical discussion of passages of the 'Αθήν. πολ.

36. Pp. 262-64. Fr. Hultsch discusses the pre-Solonian system of weights and measures of Pheidon, in the light of Arist. 'Αθήν. πολ., ch. 10. He shows that in this system dry and liquid measure was  $\frac{1}{8}$  smaller than the Attic system established by Solon. The Pheidonian system thus appears identical with the Babylonian-Persian system, which in turn is related to the old-Egyptian.

37. Pp. 264-66. F. Polle criticises the names given to cond. sentences in the Lat. grammars, and suggests that the condition (1) *si habeo, do* (objectiv und zurückhaltend) be called 'die andeutungslose' (Annahme); (2) *si habeo,*

*daño* (objectiv und andeutend) 'die abwartende'; (3) *si habeam, dem* (subjectiv und zurückhaltend) 'die willkürliche'; (4) *si haberem, darem* (subjectiv und andeutend) 'die ablehnende.'

38. Pp. 267-78. F. Knoke, after defending the result of his investigation on the meaning of *plures* in Tacitus against the criticism of E. Wolff, goes on to an investigation of its meaning in Q. Curtius Rufus, and reaches the same result as in Tacitus, viz. that *plures* is never = *complures*, but is always used in a comparative sense.

39. Pp. 278-80. A. Sonny accounts for the fact that Arrian, Curtius and Justinus each give the name of but one place (Rhagae, Thara and Tabae respectively) on the route of Alexander in his pursuit of Darius by the assumption that Trogus (Curtius) either read carelessly TAPAI for PATAI or found the form so corrupted, while TABAE for TARAE in Justinus is to be charged to the copyist. This evidence of the independence of the three sources therefore vanishes.

40. P. 280. F. Polle, in Cic. Cat. III 5, reads *bipertito* <lat> *uerunt*.

41. Pp. 281-86. R. Menge reviews Schliemann's Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Troja im Jahre 1890 (Leipzig, 1891), emphasizing the points which refute Böttcher's theory that Hissarlik was merely a necropolis, and adding some arguments which his own observations during the excavations had suggested.

42. Pp. 286-87. P. Seliger. Critical treatment of Plato, Phaed. 246 B-E, and (43. P. 288) of Arist., Nich. Eth. 1094 A 1.

#### Fascicle 5.

44. Pp. 289-321. G. F. Unger gives the first two parts of a paper on the credibility of the *fasti capitolini*. The investigation aims to prove that the *fast. cap.* are among the most trustworthy monuments of Roman antiquity, and is directed chiefly against the statement of K. Cichorius (de fast. cons. ant., Lips. 1886) that the names of fathers and grandfathers, as well as all of the cognomina from the 3d and 4th cent. a. u. c. contained in these *fasti* are a later forgery for the sake of uniformity. Unger seeks to prove that Cichorius' assumption that *cognomina* were not written before the 5th cent. is not true, but that while in use and in literature they were not common in early Rome, they were entered upon the list of magistrates, just as they were entered in the census. To prove this point all the cognomina before 400 a. u. c. are examined. The second part of the article is a study of the consular *fasti* of Idacius, their source and relation to other authorities. To be continued (Jahrbücher, 1891, p. 625 ff.).

45. Pp. 322-35. H. Stadtmüller. Critical discussion of 16 epigrams of the Anthol. Palatina. Continuation.

46. Pp. 335-36. Fr. Blass writes from Athens the results of a personal examination of the votive inscription of Timandre from Naxos (Roehl, IGA. 407). The form of ξ is merely a square followed by pleonastic σ. At the end ν<ν> is to be read.



(6). Pp. 337-52. L. Mendelssohn, *Analecta Tulliana*. Continuation. Critical discussion of passages from the letters of Caelius and the remaining books ad Fam.

47. P. 352. J. H. Schmalz has a note on the Latin equivalents of the lacking present part. of *esse*. Additional examples of *constitutus* and *positus* = *lov*.

48. Pp. 353-67. A. Teuber, *Zur Kritik der Terentiusscholien des Donatus*. Discussion of certain classes of corruptions, as well as treatment of single passages.

49. Pp. 367-68. O. Höfer, in an inscription given by M. Clerc (*Bull. de corr. hellén.* X, p. 291), reads  $\theta\epsilon\omega\nu <\pi>\alpha\nu\omicron\mu\phi\alpha\iota\omega\nu$ ; *ibid.* XI, p. 65,  $\pi\alpha\nu\theta\epsilon\omega\nu = \pi\alpha\nu\theta\epsilon\iota\omega\nu$ .

#### Fascicle 6.

50. Pp. 369-83. R. Peppmüller, on the incertae sedis fragmenta Homerica. Some are genuine Homeric vss. in rather free rendering, others go back to the Cyclic poets, while others owe their origin to neither of these sources.

51. P. 384. F. Polle, in *Virg.* VII 372, reads *materque* Mycenae.

52. Pp. 385-94. O. Crusius gives examples of the employment of full and abbreviated forms of names designating the same person. Such 'hypocoristic' abbreviation has hitherto been chiefly shown in the case of mythological personages. Crusius makes some additions to the latter class, but his paper is chiefly devoted to new examples of this usage in the case of names of real persons. The second part of the paper presents some similar peculiarities in the use of proper names.

53. Pp. 395-401. Ch. Cron, *Thucyd.* VII 86, 5. Exegetical. F. Polle (p. 401), *Thucyd.* I 93, 2 and I 69, 5. Critical.

54. Pp. 402-4. E. Wörner seeks to show that  $\tau\omicron\ \lambda\epsilon\gamma\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\nu$  is used by Plato frequently to introduce poetical citations, and illustrates his position by passages from the *Phaedo*.

(29). Pp. 405-15. K. Niemeyer discusses the text of several passages of the *'Αθην. πολ.* and criticises the views of F. Cauer and J. Schwarz concerning its authenticity.

55. Pp. 416-18. E. Hasse, in a paper on the fem. dual of the article and pronouns in Attic criticises Blass-Kühner for not recognizing the fem. forms, gives new examples and presents also additional ones of masc. forms of dual used of women.

56. Pp. 419-20. Fr. Hultsch. Critical discussion of *Polyb.* IV 18, 8.

57. Pp. 421-28. R. Oehler presents a topographical study of Saguntum in relation to Hannibal's siege. The author reaches the result that the city was built upon an eminence and could only have been stormed on one side (west), not on three, as Livy says; that the topographical features are such as to make a long siege probable; that famine was probably the chief cause of the city's

capitulation; that the description of Livy (or his source) is not based on a personal examination of the site.

58. Pp. 429-32. G. Götz prints the glosses from cod. Leid. Oct. 88 derived from the Scholiasta Gronovianus. They are partly verbatim excerpts, partly abbreviated and changed in minor points. They serve to supplement the Schol. Gron. to a considerable extent.

MADISON, WIS.

GEORGE L. HENDRICKSON.

HERMES, 1891.

I.

B. Niese, *Die älteste Geschichte Messeniens*. The general impression left on the reader of this paper merely deepens the sense of vacuous and vapory legend produced by the account of Pausanias. Comparing this paper with Grote's account, we find substantial agreement, except that Niese is still more negative, e. g., in denying, somewhat bluntly, the Attic origin of the poet Tyrtaeus. Niese properly insists that the long period of helotage was unfavorable to the maintenance of a patriotic tradition, and emphasizes, as Grote has emphasized before him, the view that the restoration of Messenian autonomy by Epaminondas, 369 B. C., was the real starting-point for what, by a stretch of language, may be called a tradition. Like Grote, he also points out that the treatment of Isocrates in his Archidamos presents substantially the Spartan version, and that Strabo's account (VI, p. 251) is comparatively valuable because it was derived from Antiochos, a contemporary of Thucydides, and therefore free from the bias of the era of Epaminondas. Niese is inclined to place the beginning of the definitely established rule of Sparta over Messenia at about 600 B. C. (p. 31). The identification of Mount Eira he declares to be impossible.

Joh. Geffken, *Zwei Dramen des Lycophron*. An attempt to collect data giving an outline of the fable of the Elpenor and Nauplius of this Alexandrine poet.

U. Köhler, *Zur Geschichte des Amphiloichischen Krieges*. A fragmentary inscription on the Acropolis at Athens deals with some decree concerning repairs of Athena Nike, a statue dedicated in commemoration of a victory over Ambrakians and Corcyreans. According to Köhler, the decree concerning the repair dates from 350-320; the *original* dedication, of course, must refer to the Amphiloichian war, winter 426-25, Thucyd. III 105 (IV misprint in Hermes), which Köhler discusses in detail. He claims that Thuc. is biased in favor of Demosthenes, as is shown by his endeavor to mitigate the bad impression left by that general's discomfiture in Aetolia, which view would of course imply that Thucydides penned the account which we have very soon after the events.

K. Wernick, *Die Polizeiwache auf der Burg von Athen*. Foucart edited an inscr. (Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique, XIV, p. 177; cf. Lolling, *Δελτίον*, 1889, p. 254) which contains a decree abolishing the privilege of asylum to runaway slaves and footpads, providing, at the same time, for the building of an inexpensive guard-house at the entrance to the Acropolis. The

inscr. seems to be of about 440 B. C. Wernick enters into an elaborate antiquarian discussion of the *modus operandi* of contracting for public buildings, the functions of the supervising architect, the *τοξόδοι* at Athens, etc.

A. Höck, Das Odrysenreich in Thrakien. In this study H. draws his materials from Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, from coins, Aristoph. Acharn. 145 with the scholia, from Philip's letter to the Athenians in Demosth., from Polyænus, Plutarch's Alcibiades, Corp. Ins. Att., Aristotle's Polit., Demosthenes contra Aristocratem, Nepos's Timotheus, Scholia on Aeschines, Isocrates De Permutatione, Strabo. The period discussed embraces 450-313 B. C.

Paul Kretschmer, Epigraphische Bemerkungen.

Bruno Keil, De Avium Aristophanis Folio Rescripto. Keil discovered (1886), in the Laurentian library at Florence, two pages of a palimpsest of Aristoph. Avv. 1393-1453 (prefixed to a MS volume of Aelius Aristides), which, however, afforded no new material for revising the text.

G. Wissowa, Der Tempel des Quirinus in Rom.

## II.

Vahlen, Varia (cf. Hermes, 1889, p. 473), prints a purely exegetical paper (a rarity in classical periodicals of the present day) on Cic. ad Attic. I 16: "Non enim umquam turpior in ludo talario consessus fuit: maculosi senatores, nudi equites, tribuni non tam aerati quam, ut appellantur, *aerarii*," etc. Vahlen urges that commentators have generally failed to see the point of the sarcasm, which is the double meaning of *aerarii*, i. e. (p. 165) "pro nomine *aerarios* fuisse, h. e. dignos suo nomine praestitisse, cum aere accepto, sive ut ait ipse. nummulis acceptis corrumperebantur." By way of analogy he quotes from Aristoph. Eqq. 409 sqq., commenting particularly on line 428:

ὅτι τῇ 'πιδόρκεις θ' ἡρπακῶς καὶ κρέας  
ὁ πρωκτὸς εἶχεν,

the whole passage leading up to a *double entente* contained in this line.

H. Hollander, Zur Ueberlieferung der Homerischen Hymnen, maintains views previously expressed as to MSS, their values and classes (chiefly directed against Gemoll). Such readings as are strikingly divergent H. ascribes to the rhapsodes, as Ilgen did before him, H. says, p. 175.

E. Maass, Theocrits Dionysos aus einer Handschrift erläutert. Theocr. XXVI is a hymn to Dionysos. Compared with Eurip. Bacch. 680 sqq., Theocritus gives more details of the ceremonies of the cult of D. Further on Maass reprints an inscr. of an altar of Magnesia on the Maeander relating to the establishment of a special cult of Dionysos there, by the direction of Delphi, including the bringing of three "Maenads" descended from Ino, daughter of Kadmos, from Thebes to Magnesia. Maass then proceeds to discourse upon the etymology of the name of Dionysos, maintaining the *native* Greek character of name and cult, its origin being in Epirus.

v. Wilamowitz, Die sieben Thore Thebens. Professor W. made a personal study of the topography of Thebes in 1890, and subsequently furnished to

Hermes this paper of 52 pages on the Seven Gates of Thebes. He points out *inter alia* how foolish Athens and Thebes were in accepting battle at Chaeronea; but apart from this utterance of strategical science, the main point of the paper is to show that, as a matter of fact, Thebes never had more than three gates. He argues that the rivulets of Dirke and Ismenos formed the limits of the city proper, and that it is not feasible to trace the *περίβολος* of Cassander's restoration, 316 B. C., by present masses of brick. A study of the ancient authors exhibits a list of twelve distinct names of gates. Pausanias really describes no more gates than three. The surface of Thebes, W. says, p. 224, postulates but three gates. Pindar's *ἐπτάπυλοι Θήβαι* is an utterance of "well-founded pride," to designate the "Grossstadt." W. thinks that the ancient epic writer of the Thebais invented the seven gates to fit them to the seven heroes, or *vice versa*. "Ein (p. 228) und derselbe Willküract einer dichterischen Phantasie hat diese Zahlen geschaffen." Some of Wilamowitz's positive suggestions are fine, perhaps too fine, e. g. when he perceives that Euripides in the *Phoenissae* describes a city *invested*, the more so because at the time of composition *Athens was invested* (p. 232). As for the S. c. T., W., in opposition to Beloch, prefers to recognize in the legend an element of substantial history rather than to translate this legend also into meteorology.

H. Diels, De Dionysii et Photii lexicis.

K. Strecker, Zu Erotian. Erotianus was a contemporary of Nero. He wrote τῶν παρ' Ἱπποκράτει λέξεων συναγωγή, which, however, has probably not come down to us in the original form. Str. criticises the last editor (Klein, 1865) for unfounded views, e. g. that Erotianus made use of a Hippocrates glossary by Didymus. Further on Erotianus is compared with Hesychius, as Str. does not believe that he owed anything to Hesychius or to Pamphilus. He did use, and use freely, the great glossary of Aristophanes of Byzantium, at least indirectly through the glossary of Bakcheios, the latter being the main source of Erotianus. Str. prints an alphabetical list of *lemmata*, marking with an asterisk those whose origin seems doubtful. This paper is an excellent illustration of that type of compilations which are composed almost without any system, order or clearness—*rudis indigestaque moles*.

Reitzenstein, Die Inhaltsangabe im Archetypus der Kallimachos Handschriften.

E. G. SIHLER.

ZEITSCHRIFT DER DEUTSCHEN MORGENLÄNDISCHEN GESELLSCHAFT.<sup>1</sup>

Vol. XLVII, Heft I and II.

Pp. 1-53, 173-225. Ġarval b. Aus, Al-Huṭey'a, i. e. the ugly, was a contemporary of Mohammad. He participated in the great revolt (*rida*) against the prophet and his adherents (H. 11), but seems to have made his peace with the victorious Abū Bekr. For the remainder of his days he led the life of a wandering poet. In appearance as well as in character he was the Hipponax of Arabic poetry, an intensely coarse nature, expressing itself in coarse tones. Avarice and covetousness were the dominant traits of his character,

<sup>1</sup> See A. J. P. XIII 378.

and whosoever did not satisfy these to the full extent was ridiculed unsparingly in the poet's *Hiḡās*. The bulk of his poems is made up either of songs of praise of individuals and whole tribes for their deeds of kindness and hospitality toward the unbidden guest, or satires full of the coarsest language, if kindness and hospitality were denied. For this reason he, with others, was persecuted by the caliphs 'Omār and 'Oṭmān. In default of a fitter subject, he often composed satires on his own ugliness. And yet he was considered by later Arabic poets and grammarians as one of the best of the earlier poets. His *Divan* was collected with the greatest zeal and care by the best scholars of the second and third centuries after the *Hegira*. Ignaz Goldziher prints the Arabic text of the first ten poems with critical notes, taken partly from manuscripts left by the late H. Thorbecke.

Pp. 93-129. The relation of Egyptian to the Semitic languages, although studied by many scholars, has not yet been satisfactorily determined. Adolf Erman endeavors to throw additional light upon this obscure subject, and the grammatical as well as lexical similarities and peculiarities of the two great linguistic families. A grammatical sketch of the Old Egyptian language, as it is found in the so-called pyramid texts, discovered in 1880 and published by Maspero in the '*Recueil de travaux*,' etc., since 1882, shows the greatest similarity between the two languages, so that one could readily infer that they belong to the same group. This striking similarity, however, vanishes when we come to study the lexicographical material of these languages. The peculiarities are greater than the similarity, and where the latter exists we usually have loan-words either in the Semitic or in the Egyptian. The latter is the case especially during the period of the new empire, when every Egyptian and Coptic word of a sound similar to that of a Semitic or other foreign word is suspected as a borrowed word, unless its history can be traced back through the middle empire. Thus we have e. g. Egypt. *prhi* 'to bloom' from Hebr. פָּרַח; *ptr* = פָּתִיל 'thread'; *hḏnw* = הֶדְנָה 'vinegar' = Arabic ḥamida 'be sour' (Lagarde, *Übersicht*, 61); *hbr* = הֶבֶר 'ally'; *šbd* = שָׁבַד 'staff'; *db* perhaps from דְּבִיר 'holy of holies.' On the other hand we find a great many Semitic words borrowed from the Egyptian, a fact not sufficiently noticed in Hebrew dictionaries. We quote אִיפָה from *ip-t* (Coptic *oupe*); אֵיל 'ram' from \**ir* (Copt. *oile*); יֶאֱר from *itrw* (*iotru*); עֵין 'well' from \**n* 'canal'; אֶבְיִי from *bin* 'bad, low' (see, however, Lagarde, *Übersicht*, 195 and 198); אֶבְגָּט = *bnd* 'girdle, tie'; בָּתֵּן from *bhn-t* 'watch-tower'; גָּבֵל from *nfr*; נָחַר from *ntr*; לָבִיא perhaps from Egyptian *rw-bw* (Coptic *laβoi*); הֶבְנִים from *hḏni*; הֵין from *hnu*; הֶנְכָּה 'dedication, dedicatory offering' from *hḏk-t* 'sacrifice.' Again, *hmt* 'red jasper' = אֶחְלָמָה; *hnd* 'a cereal' = הֶטָה 'oats,' and *hṯm* 'seal' = חֶטֶם; *ššn* (Coptic *šōšēn*) 'lotus' = שֶׁשֶׁן = *soisson*; *šft* (*šifēl*) 'sword,' whence Arab. *saifun* 'the same' = *σιφως*. *Qibēl* 'pitcher' = קֵב (κάβος); *qmḥ* 'a bread' = קָמַח (Assyr. *qēmu*); *gīf* 'monkey' = קוֹף; \**iab* = תֵּב (Arab. *dubb*); *ṭwf* 'papyrus' = טוֹף; *ṭibēl* = תִּבְעָה; *qb* 'seal' = טַבְעָה; *dt* (Coptic *doit*) 'olive' = הֵית. The general result is: "So wäre denn das Aegyptische gegenüber den semitischen Sprachen als ein Idiom starker lautlicher Zersetzung und Entartung anzusehen; es spielte neben ihnen etwa die Rolle, die das Englische neben dem Deutschen, das Französische neben dem Italienischen spielt." [Also see F. Hommel in *Delitzsch and Haupt's Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, II 342-58.]

Pp. 130-35. A. Kohut believes that *מסכת קידוש* in Talmud Kiddush, 21 b, means 'chess,' and was called so after Iskander, i. e. Alexander the Great, through whom the game is reported to have been introduced in India.

Pp. 136-48. Th. Nöldeke sends remarks to W. Geiger's excellent translation of the Pahlavi book *Yātkārī Zarērān*.

Pp. 146-47. E. Leumann notes the fact that the price of the Jaina books, thus far so very high, has been reduced to one-third of its former amount.

Pp. 149-72 contain a long and searching review by F. Philippi of J. Barth's *Nominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen*, II (Leipzig, 1891).

Pp. 226-68. Most interesting for the student of comparative lexicography is Hübschmann's excellent article on Syriac and Arabic loan-words in Armenian. He discusses carefully the Armenian equivalents of the Semitic sounds, and then examines 136 Syriac and 75 Arabic loan-words, of which he rejects 44 altogether. Many Syriac and Arabic words borrowed by the Armenian are themselves ultimately from the Greek, viz. *ἀγῶγος* = Syr. *אגוג* = Arm. *agugayk'*; *ἐξορία* = Syr. *אכסר* = Arm. *ak'sork'* (exile); *ζεύγος* = Syr. *zauḡā* = Arm. *zoḡk*, and *ζεύγυα* (*zēṽya*) = Arm. *zōm*; *κάδος*, from Hebr. *קד*, returned to the Syriac as *qadṣā*, borrowed by the Armenian as *katsay*; Syr. *karkednā* travelled to the West as *καρχηδόνιος* (Lat. *chalconius*) and to Armenia as *karkedhan*; Arabic *qūrḡūr* became Greek *κέρκυρος* and Arm. *karkuray*; Syr. *qaggēwānā* = Greek *κακάβη* and Arm. *kaka'v*; etc.

Pp. 269-76. J. Jolly continues his contributions to the history of Indian law (cf. A. J. P. XII 106), describing the Dharmaśāstra MSS of the East India Office, as published in the Catalogue of the Sanskr. MSS in the Library of the India Office, Part III, London, 1891. They treat 1) of the original institutes of law, 2) General digests of law, and 3) Works on the civil and sacred law.

Pp. 280-91. The decipherment of the seal inscriptions and coins of the Sassanian period in the Pahlavi language has not made any considerable progress since Thomas and Mordtmann. Of late, Paul Horn has published two books on these gems and coins belonging to the Berlin and British Museums. F. Justi sends a number of notes on 1. the article of Thomas (Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc., vol. 13, 1852); 2. Mordtmann's publication of seals in vols. 18, 29 and 31 of the ZDMG; 3. to P. Horn's article in ZDMG, vol. 44, 650 (A. J. P. XII 108), and to his two books mentioned above.

Pp. 291-300. C. Bartholomae prints a second instalment of his Aryan notes, interpreting words and passages occurring in the Rig-Veda, Avesta and the Behistun inscriptions.

Pp. 311-19. R. O. Franke. Another proof that even in the so-called folk-literature the doctrines and canons of Pāṇini pave the true way for the correct understanding of the linguistic phenomena is the explanation of Pali *maññe* (Sansk. *manye*, Pāṇini, I 14, 106), which, used elliptically in ironical sentences, is explained as = 'forsooth.' Another paragraph deals with the infinitive cum instrumentali in Pali; *Dvandas* in the singular, with the gender of the last member of the sentence, and instrumentals in *-ā* from *a*-stems in Pali.

Pp. 320-23. J. H. Mordtmann explains the expression ما ير ذا 'our farmer' occurring on the Musnad (i. e. dedicatory tablet) of Jerim as a transcription of the Sabaeen word 𐩦𐩣𐩪, found on bronze tablet I, published by Osiander.

Pp. 324-29. Hübschmann interprets Armenian *jatagov* originally 'interceder, mediator,' from Pahlavi *jātagav* = Old Persian \**yātagauba* 'Anteil-sprecher'; Arm. *asd* 'news, report' = Pahlavi *asd* = Old Persian *asdā* from Sanskr. *addhā*, found also in Daniel, II 5 and 8 as 𐎠𐎠𐎡; Arm. *hrovartak* 'edict, decree' = Pahlavi *fravartak*, also found in Aram. 𐩦𐩣𐩪𐩣𐩪𐩣𐩪; *vaspurakan* = Pahl. *vāspuhrakān*, and *sepuh* are names of the nobility; *maškaperčān* 'tent of the Persian king,' from Pahlavi *maškāparčān*; *vašx* 'usury,' from the Persian, Pahlavi *vašx* 'interest of money'; *sur* 'unjust, false,' from Persian *zur* 'falsehood, lie.'

Pp. 330-98 contain a long article by A. Socin on Moḥammad el Wanāi's Eš-šex Matlūf (A. J. P. XIII 373).

Pp. 399-411. D. H. Müller praises Leo Reinisch's Saho-sprache, 2 vols. (Vienna, 1889-90).

Pp. 411-12. E. Nestle explains Qāmeç (,) as a combination of the Xölem point (.) and the Pathax line (-); Seghol (,) may be a combination of Çëre (..) and Xireq (.,).

W. MUSS-ARNOLT.

## BRIEF MENTION.

To his *Euripides Hippolytus, griechisch und deutsch* (Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung), von WILAMOWITZ-MÖLLENDORFF has prefixed an essay—"Was ist uebersetzen?"—which every one who has undertaken to translate will read with painful interest. The brief treatise is full of pregnant sentences and fertile suggestions, but all the seed-vessels of Wilamowitz's thought are barbed, and the reader feels as if he were personally scratched, especially if he has ever dared to translate into the metre of the original. It is only the philologist, W.-M. maintains, that can make a translation; but translation is nothing philological, and the vision of the ideal which only the philologist can have must be paired with the artist's hand. The translator must be competent to constitute the text of his author, he must be a perfect master of the science of metre, he must be able to translate into the language of the original as well as out of it, and not only so, but into the style of the original, he must take up into himself the full meaning of the poet's creation and reproduce it as freely as he has absorbed it. And yet, hard as the task is, it is one that the philologist cannot put aside, as Haupt used to do. He must not content himself, as Haupt did, with saying that ἐπεὶ γ' ἀφέλεσθ' με δόντες cannot be translated with its γε, with its participle. The philologist as a teacher must translate or else keep back a great part of his understanding of the author. Haupt said: "Translation is the death of understanding." Wilamowitz says: "True translation is a metempsychosis." Agreed. But in that metempsychosis what strange forms may appear! One thinks of Ennius's peacock, of Lucian's cock, and the swan note of the antique loses its charm when it is transposed into the squawk of the one or into the crow of the other. The trouble lies in the inevitable association of ideas. For instance, in Euripides' Ode to Eros we read:

οὔτε γὰρ πυρὸς οὐτ' ἀστρων ὑπέρτερον βέλος,  
οἷον τὸ τᾶς Ἀφροδίτας ἴησιν ἐκ χερῶν  
Ἐρω, ὁ Διὸς παῖς,

which becomes in Wilamowitz's metempsychosis,

"sengende flamme noch himmlische blitze  
brennen so heiss wie die pfeile der Kypris.  
Eros schießt sie, das himmlische kind."

Doubtless the German is worthy of Goethe. Of this Germans may judge. But the juxtaposition of 'himmlische blitze' and 'das himmlische kind' is not pleasing, and who that has ever said or sung the good old song can keep out of his mind

"Kein Feuer, keine Kohle kann brennen so heiss  
Als heimliche Liebe von der Niemand nichts weiss"?

In this rendering Phaidra's case becomes Gretchen's case, and the metempsychosis goes bravely forward. But homely simplicity is not noble simplicity.



Mr. GRANT ALLEN, like Wilamowitz, does not believe unreservedly in the principle of translating into the metre of the original, and in his *Attis of Catullus*, which forms No. VI of the dainty *Bibliothèque de Carabas* (London, David Nutt), he has not undertaken a hopeless rivalry with Mr. Ellis's wonderful *tour de force*, but has chosen instead a rapid logaoedic movement, of the iambo-anapaestic order, which is intended to give and succeeds in giving much more of the orgiastic tone than is to be heard in Tennyson's 'Boadicea,' which people will persist in calling Galliambic. The large use of alliteration, which Mr. Grant Allen's version has in common with the original, reproduces what may be called the timbrel effect of the piece, and whereas the jingle of rhyme might be impertinent elsewhere, it is in place when one has to do with the *typanum, tubam Cybelles*. But the translation, however well done, is an excuse for much other matter which transcends the space of 'Brief Mention.' 'In his poem of the *Attis*,' we are told, 'Catullus, a Celt of Gallia Cisalpina, fired and inspired by all the perfervid fancy of the Celtic race, has enshrined for us nobly, in immortal verse, his own transcript of the weird Oriental dirges he had heard himself during his Asiatic wanderings.' Perhaps if we did not have the original of *Ille mi par esse deo videtur*, we might speak of Catullus as having enshrined in immortal verse the ardent love-songs he had heard himself in the suburbs of Verona, and it is hard to believe that *Super alta vectus Attis* is wholly independent of the Greek, though Wilamowitz thinks that the *Attis* is an imitation rather than a translation of Callimachus (Hermes, XIV 197). "Seine *Attis*," says W., "ist kein Document für den religiösen Sinn ihres Verfassers oder ihrer Zeit, sie ist vielmehr ein Meisterstück der Nachahmung Alexandrinischer Kunst in Metrum, Sprache und Stil." But all this does not lessen the value of the *Attis* as an incorporation of orgiastic worship, and it is to the study of the *Attis* as a document of early beliefs that the bulk of Mr. Grant Allen's volume is dedicated. In a long excursus he undertakes to harmonize the ghost-worship of Spencer with the tree-worship of Frazer. The ancestor is the god and the tree is the god, for the ghost of the ancestor lives on in the tree which his body nourishes. The last excursus is on the Galliambic metre, which Mr. Grant Allen makes out to be an iambo-anapaestic measure in a way that will not satisfy metricians, but may serve to justify after a fashion his choice of an English metre in which to render the *rabidus furor animi* of the *Attis*.

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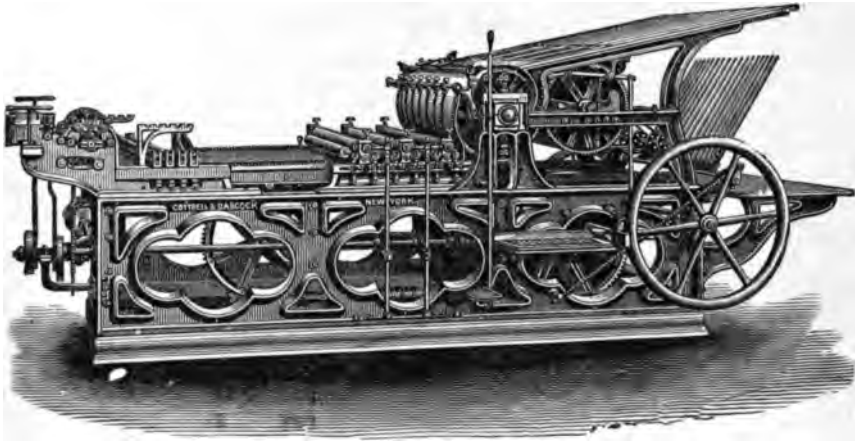
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